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TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

TO THE
SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1905-1906



WASHINGTON
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., August 10, 1907.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The preliminary portion comprises an account of the operations of the Bureau during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906, and this is followed by a monograph on "The Omaha tribe," by Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche (a member of the Omaha tribe).

Permit me to express my appreciation of your aid in the work under my charge.

Very respectfully, yours,

W. H. HOLMES, *Chief.*

MR. RICHARD RATHBUN,

Acting Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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REPORT OF THE CHIEF

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

W. H. HOLMES, CHIEF

RESEARCH WORK

Researches among the Indian tribes were conducted in accordance with the plan of operations approved by the Secretary June 5, 1905; these include investigations among the aborigines of Oregon, Colorado, New Mexico, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Florida, and, more especially, researches in the office of the Bureau and in various museums and libraries throughout the country. The scientific staff of the Bureau remains the same as during the previous year with the single exception that Mr. F. W. Hodge was transferred from the Secretary's office of the Smithsonian Institution to the Bureau, with the title of Ethnologist—a step which permits him to devote his entire time to the completion of the Handbook of the Indians.

Aside from his administrative duties, the chief was occupied with the completion and revision of papers for the Handbook of the Indians and in the preparation of a monographic work on the technology and art of the tribes. He also continued his duties as Honorary Curator of the Division of Prehistoric Archeology in the National Museum.

Mrs. M. C. Stevenson remained in the office during the early months of the year, reading the final proofs of her monograph on the Zuñi Indians, which issued from the press in December. In January she again entered the field, having selected the pueblo of Taos, New Mexico, as a suitable place for the continuation of her researches. In initiating her work in this pueblo Mrs. Stevenson encountered

many difficulties, and her progress at first was slow; but later, owing largely to the very courteous cooperation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, her study of the history, language, and customs of the tribe was facilitated, and was progressing favorably at the close of the year.

During the early part of the year Mr. James Mooney was chiefly occupied, in collaboration with other members of the Bureau, with the Handbook of the Indians, which work was continued at intervals after he took the field. On September 19, 1905, he left Washington for western Oklahoma to continue researches among the Kiowa, Southern Cheyenne, and allied tribes, partly in fulfillment of the joint arrangement between the Bureau and the Field Museum of Natural History. His stay while with the Kiowa was chiefly at the agency at Anadarko, Oklahoma. Among the Cheyenne he made headquarters at Cantonment, Oklahoma, the central settlement of the most conservative element of the tribe. Mr. Mooney returned to Washington about the end of April, and resumed work on his report, giving much attention also to the Handbook of the Indians.

Dr. J. Walter Fewkes completed during the year his report on the aborigines of Porto Rico and neighboring islands. He prepared also an account of his field work in eastern Mexico, conducted under the joint auspices of the Smithsonian Institution and this Bureau during the winter of 1905-6. These papers were assigned to the Twenty-fifth Annual Report and were in type at the close of the year. Doctor Fewkes also made considerable progress in the preparation of a bulletin on the antiquities of the Little Colorado valley, Arizona.

During the year Dr. John R. Swanton completed and prepared for the press all of the Tlingit material, ethnological and mythological, collected by him during previous years; all of the ethnological and a portion of the mythological material has been accepted for introduction into the Twenty-sixth Annual Report. Doctor Swanton interested himself particularly also in the study of the linguistic stocks of Louisiana and southern Texas, many of which are either on the verge of extinction or are already extinct; and a grammar

and dictionary of the Tunica language is well advanced, while a dictionary of the Natchez is in course of preparation.

Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt was engaged almost entirely in investigating and reporting on etymologies of terms and names and in elaborating and preparing important articles for the Handbook of the Indians, and also in reading proof of that important work conjointly with the other collaborators of the Office.

During the year Dr. Cyrus Thomas was engaged almost continuously on the Handbook of the Indians, assisting in final revision of the manuscript and in reading proof. During the first two or three months he assisted also in reading and correcting proofs of Bulletin 28, which treats of Mexican antiquities—a work for which his extensive researches regarding the glyphic writing of middle America especially fitted him.

The manuscript of the body of the Handbook of the Indians was transmitted to the Public Printer early in July. In view of the fact that numerous tribal and general articles were prepared by specialists not connected directly with the Bureau, it was deemed advisable to submit complete galley proofs of the Handbook to each as received. While this involved considerable delay in the proof reading, the corrections and suggestions received showed the wisdom of the plan. By the close of the year all the material was in type through the letter “N,” and of this, 544 pages, to the article “Heraldry,” have been finally printed.

The work on the Handbook of Languages, in charge of Dr. Franz Boas, honorary philologist of the Bureau, was continued during the year. The several sketches of American languages—sixteen in number—which are to form the body of this work are now practically complete, with the exception of those on the Eskimo and the Iroquois. Field work was conducted during the year by Edward Sapir among the Yakima of Oregon and by Frank J. Speck among the Yuchi in Indian Territory.

Mr. Stewart Culin, curator of ethnology in the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, whose monograph on Indian Games forms the bulk of the Twenty-fourth Annual Report,

was engaged during the year in reading the proofs of that work; but owing to his absence in the field for a protracted period the work was not completed at the close of the year.

The movement for the enactment by Congress of a law for the preservation of American antiquities, which was inaugurated during previous years, was continued by various individuals and institutions during the last year, and the perfected measure became a law in June. With the view of assisting the departments of the Government having charge of the public domain in the initiation of practical measures for the preservation of the antiquities of the Southwest, the Bureau has actively continued the compilation of a card catalogue of the archeological sites, especially the ruined pueblos and cliff-dwellings, and during the year has made much progress in the preparation of a series of bulletins to be devoted to the fuller presentation of all that is known regarding these antiquities. In promoting this work Mr. E. L. Hewett was commissioned to proceed to New Mexico for the purpose of making a survey of the ancient remains of the Jemez Plateau region, a large part of which is now included in the Jemez Forest Reserve. A preliminary report on this work was submitted immediately on Mr. Hewett's return to Washington, and later a paper was prepared in the form of an illustrated descriptive catalogue of the antiquities, to be published as Bulletin 32 of the Bureau series. In March Mr. Hewett was called on to represent the Bureau as a member of the Interior Department Survey of certain boundary lines in southern Colorado, the principal object being to determine the relation of the more important ruins of the Mesa Verde region to the boundaries of the proposed Mesa Verde park, a measure for the establishment of which was pending in Congress. Shortly after the receipt of Mr. Hewett's report this measure became a law. A leading object kept in view by Mr. Hewett on this expedition was the collection of data for the compilation of a bulletin on the antiquities of the Mesa Verde region, for the Bureau's bulletin series.

In February Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, of the National Museum, was commissioned to proceed to Osprey, on Sarasota bay,

Florida, for the purpose of examining several localities where fossil human bones, apparently indicating great age, have been discovered. The evidence obtained is adverse to the theory of the great antiquity of the remains, but the observations made by Doctor Hrdlička and Dr. T. Wayland Vaughan, who accompanied him as a representative of the Geological Survey, on the unusual activity of fossilizing agencies in the locality, are of extreme interest.

Dr. Walter Hough, of the National Museum, who has taken a prominent part in the investigation of the antiquities of the Southwest, has in preparation for the Bureau series a bulletin on the antiquities of the Upper Gila valley.

PERMITS GRANTED FOR EXPLORATIONS ON PUBLIC LANDS

During the year applications for permits to conduct explorations on the public lands and reservations of the Southwest were acted on as follows:

(1) In September, 1905, the Southwest Society of the Archaeological Institute of America applied for permission to conduct archeological explorations on Indian reservations and forest reserves in the Southwest, the work to begin in the spring of 1906. Later, permission to make a preliminary reconnaissance during the latter part of 1905 was asked. Recommended by the Bureau; granted by the Office of Indian Affairs and the Forest Service.

(2) In January, 1906, the request of the Bureau of American Ethnology for authority to prosecute ethnological researches in New Mexico, particularly at Taos, was favorably acted on by the Office of Indian Affairs.

(3) In April, 1906, the American Museum of Natural History, through Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology in that institution, requested permission to conduct explorations on Indian reservations in southern California. Recommended by the Bureau; granted by the Indian Office.

One application for a permit was denied, one was withdrawn, and one was pending at the close of the year.

COLLECTIONS

The collections of archeological and ethnological specimens made during the year are more limited than heretofore, owing to the reduced amount of field work undertaken. The most important accession is the product of Mr. E. L. Hewett's explorations among the ancient ruins of the Jemez plateau. Other collections worthy of note are those made by Mr. Mooney in Oklahoma and by Doctor Hrdlička in Florida. All collections were transferred to the National Museum in accordance with established custom.

STUDY OF INDIAN DELEGATIONS

The study of the Indian delegations visiting Washington during the year was continued, as heretofore. One hundred and forty-two portrait negatives were made and measurements and casts were obtained in a number of cases.

EDITORIAL WORK

Mr. John P. Sanborn, jr., who was probationally appointed on April 6, 1905, Editor and Compiler, was permanently appointed October 6; but on October 19 he was, at his own request, indefinitely furloughed. On February 16, 1906, Mr. Joseph G. Gurley was probationally appointed Editor through certification by the Civil Service Commission. The Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Annual Reports and Bulletins 31 and 32 were read and prepared for the press, and proof reading of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Reports and of Bulletins 30, 31, and 32 further occupied the attention of the Editor, although Mr. Hodge and the various collaborators on Bulletin 30 (the Handbook of the Indians) assumed the main burden of the reading of that work.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustration work, including photography, continued in charge of Mr. De Lancey Gill, who was assisted, as heretofore, by Mr. Henry Walther. The number of illustrations prepared for the reports was 852 and the whole number transmitted to the printer was 1,023.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Annual Reports were submitted to the Secretary and the Twenty-fifth was transmitted to the Public Printer, the Twenty-sixth being retained in the Bureau pending the completion of the two next preceding volumes. Bulletin 30 (part 1), submitted at the close of the preceding year, is in press, Bulletin 32 is in the bindery, and Bulletin 31 was transmitted to the printer toward the close of the year. The distribution of publications was continued as in former years. Bulletin 28 was published in October and Bulletin 29 and the Twenty-third Annual Report followed in December.

LIBRARY

The library remained in charge of Miss Ella Leary, who completed the work of accessioning and cataloguing the books, pamphlets, and periodicals up to date. Owing to the crowded condition of the library, about 600 publications, chiefly periodicals, received by gift or through exchange, but not pertaining to the work of the Bureau, were transferred to the library of the National Museum. During the year there were received and recorded 306 volumes, 900 pamphlets, and the current issues of upward of 500 periodicals. One hundred and fifty volumes were bound at the Government Printing Office. The library now contains 12,858 bound volumes, 9,000 pamphlets, and a large number of periodicals which relate to anthropology and kindred topics.

CLERICAL WORK

The clerical force of the Bureau consists of five regular employees: Mr. J. B. Clayton, head clerk; Miss Emilie R. Smedes and Miss May S. Clark, stenographers; Miss Ella Leary, clerk and acting librarian; and Mrs. Frances S. Nichols, typewriter. During the year Mr. William P. Bartel, messenger, was promoted to a clerkship and subsequently transferred to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

PROPERTY

The property of the Bureau is comprised in seven classes: Office furniture and appliances; field outfits; linguistic and ethnological manuscripts, and other documents; photographs, drawings, paintings, and engravings; a working library; collections held temporarily by collaborators for use in research; and the undistributed residue of the editions of Bureau publications.

The additions to the property of the Bureau for the year include a typewriter and a few necessary articles of furniture.

ACCOMPANYING PAPER

With this report appears a comprehensive monograph on the Omaha tribe, which, it is believed, constitutes an important contribution to North American ethnology, especially to our knowledge of the great Siouan group. This monograph is peculiarly fortunate in its authorship. For thirty years Miss Fletcher has been a close student of the Omaha, enjoying a measure of their friendship and confidence rarely accorded one of alien race, while Mr. La Flesche, a member of the tribe and the son of a former principal chief, has brought to the work a thorough grasp of the subject combined with an earnest desire to aid in the preservation and diffusion of information relating to his people.

The purpose and plan of the authors are thus succinctly stated:

This joint work embodies the results of unusual opportunities to get close to the thoughts that underlie the ceremonies and customs of the Omaha tribe, and to give a fairly truthful picture of the people as they were during the early part of the last century, when most of the men on whose information this work is based were active participants in the life here described. In the account here offered nothing has been borrowed from other observers; only original material gathered directly from the native people has been used.

The paper is rounded out by the inclusion of a final section dealing with the relations between the Omaha and the whites, in which are traced in outline from the beginning the ever-increasing encroachments of civilization and the gradual but inevitable molding of the weaker race to conform to the conditions imposed by the new order of things.

ACCOMPANYING PAPER

THE OMAHA TRIBE

BY

ALICE C. FLETCHER

HOLDER OF THE THAW FELLOWSHIP, PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

AND

FRANCIS LA FLESCHÉ

A MEMBER OF THE OMAHA TRIBE

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PHONETIC GUIDE

All vowels have the continental values.

Superior *n* (ⁿ) gives a nasal modification to the vowel immediately preceding.

x represents the rough sound of *h* in the German *hoch*.

th has the sound of *th* in *the*.

ç has the sound of *th* in *thin*.

Every syllable ends in a vowel or in nasal *n* (ⁿ).

FOREWORD

The following account of the Omaha tribe embodies the results of personal studies made while living among the people and revised from information gained through more or less constant intercourse throughout the last twenty-nine years. During this period the writer has received help and encouragement from the judicious criticisms of Prof. Frederic Ward Putnam, head of the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University, and the completion of the task undertaken has been made possible by means of the Thaw Fellowship. Objects once held in reverence by the Omaha tribe have been secured and deposited in the Peabody Museum for safe-keeping. Professor Putnam, curator of that institution, has permitted the free use of the Omaha material collected under its auspices and preserved there, for reproduction in the present volume.

At the time the writer went to live among the Omaha, to study their life and thought, the tribe had recently been forced to abandon hunting, owing to the sudden extinction of the buffalo herds. The old life, however, was almost as of yesterday, and remained a common memory among all the men and women. Many of the ancient customs were practised and much of the aboriginal life still lingered.

Contact with the white race was increasing daily and beginning to press on the people. The environment was changing rapidly, and the changes brought confusion of mind to the old people as well as to many in mature life. The beliefs of the fathers no longer applied to the conditions which confronted the people. All that they formerly had relied on as stable had been swept away. The buffalo, which they had been taught was given them as an inexhaustible food supply, had been destroyed by agencies new and strange. Even the wild grasses that had covered the prairies were changing. By the force of a power he could not understand, the Omaha found himself restricted in all his native pursuits. Great unrest and anxiety had come to the people through the Government's dealings with their kindred, the Ponca tribe, and fear haunted every Omaha fireside lest they, too, be driven from their homes and the graves of their fathers. The future was a dread to old and young. How pitiful was the trouble of mind everywhere manifest in the tribe can hardly be pictured, nor can the relief that came to the people when, in 1882, their lands were assured to them by act of Congress.

The story of their relations with the Government, of contact with the white race, of the overthrow of their ancient institutions, and of the final securing of their homes in individual holdings on their tribal lands, is briefly told in an appendix to this volume. To-day, towns with electric lights dot the prairies where the writer used to camp amid a sea of waving grass and flowers. Railroads cross and recross the gullied paths left by the departed game, and the plow has obliterated the broad westward trail along the ridge over which the tribe moved when starting out on the annual buffalo hunt. The past is overlaid by a thriving present. The old Omaha men and women sleep peacefully on the hills while their grandchildren farm beside their white neighbors, send their children to school, speak English, and keep bank accounts.

When these studies were begun nothing had been published on the Omaha tribe except short accounts by passing travelers or the comments of government officials. None of these writers had sought to penetrate below the external aspects of Indian life in search of the ideals or beliefs which animated the acts of the natives. In the account here offered nothing has been borrowed from other observers; only original material gathered directly from the native people has been used, and the writer has striven to make so far as possible the Omaha his own interpreter.

The following presentation of the customs, ceremonies, and beliefs of the Omaha is a joint work. For more than twenty-five years the writer has had as collaborator Mr. Francis La Flesche (pl. 1), the son of Joseph La Flesche, former principal chief of the tribe. In his boyhood Mr. La Flesche enjoyed the opportunity of witnessing some of the ceremonies herein described. Later these were explained to him by his father and by the old men who were the keepers of these ancient rites and rituals. Possessed of a good memory and having had awakened in his mind the desire to preserve in written form the history of his people as it was known to them, their music, the poetry of their rituals, and the meaning of their social and religious ceremonies, Mr. La Flesche early in his career determined to perfect himself in English and to gather the rapidly vanishing lore of the tribe, in order to carry out his cherished purpose.

This joint work embodies the results of unusual opportunities to get close to the thoughts that underlie the ceremonies and customs of the Omaha tribe, and to give a fairly truthful picture of the people as they were during the early part of the last century, when most of the men on whose information this work is based were active participants in the life here described—a life that has passed away, as have those who shared in it and made its history possible.

Mr. Edwin S. Tracy has given valuable assistance in transcribing some of the songs, particularly those of the Shell society. Several of



FRANCIS LA FLESCHÉ

the songs presented were transcribed and arranged for translation on the piano by the late Prof. John Comfort Fillmore, who for several years had carefully studied the music of the Omaha.

To enumerate all the Omaha men and women who have contributed of their knowledge and memory toward the making of this volume would be to catalogue the best part of the tribe. Unfortunately, but very few are now living to see the outcome of the assistance they rendered during the gathering of the material herein preserved for their descendants.

A. C. F.

THE OMAHA TRIBE

By ALICE C. FLETCHER and FRANCIS LA FLESCHÉ

I

LOCATION; LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS

The people of the Omaha tribe live in the State of Nebraska, in Burt, Cuming, and Thurston counties, about 80 miles north of the city which bears their name.

The Omaha tribe has never been at war with the United States and is the only tribe now living in the State of Nebraska that was there when the white settlers entered the country.

In 1882 Congress passed an act under which every Omaha man, woman, and child received a certain number of acres of the land which the tribe selected as their reservation in 1854, when they ceded to the United States their extensive hunting grounds. The Omaha are dependent for their livelihood on their own exertions as farmers, mechanics, merchants, etc.; by the act of 1882, they were placed under the laws, civil and criminal, of the State of Nebraska. Their ancient tribal organization has ceased to exist, owing to changed environment, the extinction of the buffalo, and the immediate presence of the white man's civilization. Nothing remains intact of the ancient customs except the practice of exogamy between the kinship groups and the people still give their children names that belong to the gentes into which the children are born. A few of the societies exist but their influence is on the wane, although they are enjoyed because of their social character and the pleasure derived from their songs and dramatic dances, which revive the memory of the days when the Omaha were a distinct and independent people.

In June, 1884, the Omaha tribe numbered 1,179. In that month the allotment of lands to members of the tribe was completed. The people were divided as follows:

	Males.	Females.
Adults.....	305	338
Under 18 years.....	259	277
Total.....	564	615

Excess of females over males, 51. Of these, 33 were adults and 18 were minors.

Number of families, 246.

Families having no children, 41.

Owing to the unwillingness of the people to speak of the dead, it was impracticable to attempt to get the exact number of children that had been born.

The following summary shows the proportion of the sexes at different stages of life:

	Males.	Females.
Under 3 years.....	87	82
Between 3 and 7 years.....	69	82
Between 7 and 17 years.....	103	113
Between 17 and 40 years.....	192	232
Between 40 and 55 years.....	72	55
Over 55 years.....	41	51

The marked disproportion between the sexes of ages between 17 and 40 years may be due to the fact that during this stage of life all the men were exposed to the hazards of hunting and of war. As these avocations of the men did not cease until 1876, eight years before this census was taken, the influence of these duties on the length of life of the men is probably shown in the above table.

For many centuries before they became known to the white race through early travelers, traders, and colonists, the aboriginal peoples of North America north of Mexico had been passing and repassing one another from east to west or west to east, and from north to south or from south to north.^a Many traces of these ancient movements had been overlaid by movements the outcome of which is shown by the map, and it is the task of the archeologist to disclose them and read their history. That the system of inland waterways and the extensive coast lines on two oceans have favored the spread of the culture of one region to another seems not improbable, viewed in the light of recent researches, while the accumulating evidence showing attrition between the various stocks indicated on the map in time will permit of generalizations touching the cultural development of the native peoples of this continent.

The Omaha tribe belongs to the Siouan linguistic stock. The map referred to represents the majority of this stock as having already moved westward beyond the Mississippi while some branches had advanced nearly to the eastern foothills of the Rocky mountains and north to the fifty-third parallel. There were also a few outlying Siouan communities—those who may have lagged behind—for example, the group dwelling on the eastern slope of the Appalachian mountains and spreading down toward the coastal plains of the Atlantic, and a group on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico that seem to have been cut off from that portion of their kindred who had pressed to the southwest. The story told by the map both explains and is explained

^a Consult the Map of the Linguistic Families of American Indians north of Mexico (in the *Seventh Annual Report* and in *Bulletin 30*, part 1, of the Bureau of American Ethnology), which shows approximately the territories occupied by the several linguistic stocks when they became known to the whites.

by the traditions of many of the tribes belonging to this linguistic stock. All of these traditions speak of a movement from the east to the west, covering a long period of time. The primordial habitat of this stock lies hidden in the mystery that still enshrouds the beginnings of the ancient American race; it seems to have been situated, however, among the Appalachian mountains, and all their legends indicate that the people had knowledge of a large body of water in the vicinity of their early home. This water may have been the Atlantic ocean, for, as shown on the map, remnants of Siouan tribes survived near the mountains in the regions of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina until after the coming of the white race.

In the extended westward migration of the Siouan stock groups seem to have broken off, some earlier than others, and to have made their way into localities where certain habits incident to their environment appear to have become fixed on them, and contact with other stocks during the migration to have influenced their culture. A group which kept together until within the last few hundred years seems to have been composed of the five closely cognate tribes now known as the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw. Their languages as yet have hardly differentiated into distinct dialects. There are other groups of the Siouan stock which, from the evidence of their language, were probably similarly associated tribes. Some of these groups seem to have developed individual peculiarities of language which prevented them from coalescing with their kindred when in the course of wanderings they met. An instance in point is the meeting and journeying together of the Iowa and the Omaha without establishing tribal union. Although they belonged to the same linguistic stock, the Iowa tongue was practically unintelligible to the Omaha. The final parting of these tribes took place within the last two centuries.

The five cognate tribes, of which the Omaha is one, bear a strong resemblance to one another, not only in language but in tribal organization and religious rites. This account of the Omaha tribe with incorporated notes taken among their close cognates is presented in order to facilitate a comparative study not only of these tribes but of others of the Siouan stock, in the hope of thereby helping to solve some of the problems presented by this extensive linguistic group.

TRIBAL CONCEPT; THE NAME OMAHA

Uki'te, the word for tribe, has a double import: As a verb, it means "to fight;" as a noun, it signifies "tribe." It seems probable that the noun has been derived from the verb; at least it throws light on the Omaha concept of what was an essential to the formation of a tribe. The verbal form signifies "to fight" against external foes,

to take part in conflicts in which honor and fame can be won. Those who thus fought had to stand as one body against their assailants. The term *uki'te* is never applied to quarrels among members of the tribe in which fists and missiles are used; the words *niv'*, *nage'*, *ki'na* are used to designate such contentions, from which the winner receives no renown. *Uki'te* alone in the Omaha tongue means "to fight" as men against men. The warriors of a tribe were the only bulwark against outside attacks; they had to be ever ready "to fight" (*uki'te*), to defend with their lives and safeguard by their valor those dependent on them. The word *uki'te*, as "tribe," explains the common obligation felt by the Omaha to defend, as a unit, the community, the tribe.

The descriptive name *Omaha* (*umo'n'ho'n*, "against the current" or "upstream") had been fixed on the people prior to 1541. In that year De Soto's party met the Quapaw tribe; *quapaw*, or *uga'xpa*, means "with the current" or "downstream," and is the complement of *umo'n'ho'n*, or *Omaha*. Both names are said by the tribes to refer to their parting company, the one going up and the other going down the river.

There are two versions of how this parting came about. One account says that—

The people were moving down the Uha'i ke river.^a When they came to a wide river they made skin boats (see fig. 1) in which to cross the river. As they were crossing, a storm came up. The Omaha and Iowa got safely across, but the Quapaw drifted down the stream and were never seen again until within the last century. When the Iowa made their landing they camped in a sandy place. The strong wind blew the sand over the people and gave them a grayish appearance. From this circumstance they called themselves *Pa'xude*, "gray head," and the Omaha have known them by that name ever since. The Iowa accompanied the Omaha up the Mississippi to a stream spoken of as "Raccoon river"—probably the Des Moines, and the people followed this river to its headwaters, which brought them into the region of the Pipestone quarry.

The other version of the parting between the Omaha and the Quapaw is that—

When the wide river was reached the people made a rope of grape vines. They fastened one end on the eastern bank and the other end was taken by strong swimmers and carried across the river and fastened to the western bank. The people crossed the river by clinging to the grapevine. When about half their number were across, including the Iowa and Omaha, the rope broke, leaving the rest of the people behind. Those who were left were the Quapaw. This crossing was made on a foggy morning, and those left behind, believing that their companions who had crossed had followed the river downward on the western side, themselves turned downstream on the eastern side, and so the two groups lost sight of each other.

If an Omaha were accosted by a stranger and asked to what tribe he belonged, or were the same question to be asked him in the dark, when recognition was impossible, he would reply, *Umo'n'ho'n bthi'n ha*, "I am an Omaha." Should he be asked "Who are you?" he would say:

^a *Uha'i ke*, "the river down which they came;" the name is still applied by the Omaha to the Ohio

"I am [giving his name] the son or the nephew of So-and-so," mentioning the name.

If a group of Omaha should be asked to what tribe they belonged, they would reply, "We are Omaha." If they were asked, "Who are you?" the one making answer would say, "I am the son or nephew of So-and-so, and these are the sons of So-and-so."

If young men were playing a game in which there were two parties or sides, as in ball, and one of the players should be asked, "To which side do you belong?" he would say, *The'giha bthiⁿ ha*, "I belong to this



FIG. 1. Skin boat or "bull-boat."

side or party." *The'giha* means "on this side," and the word can be used only as a designation of a side or party in a game. It has no tribal significance whatever, nor has it ever been used to indicate the Omaha people or their place of abode.

THE FIVE COGNATE TRIBES—EVIDENCE OF FORMER UNITY

Traditions common to the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes state that they were once one people. Their language bears witness to the truth of this tradition and the similarity

of their tribal organization offers equally strong testimony. It would seem that the parent organization had so impressed itself upon the mode of life and thought of the people that when groups branched off and organized themselves as distinct tribes they preserved the familiar characteristic features; for all of these cognate tribes have certain features in common. All are divided into kinship groups which practise exogamy and trace descent through the father only. Each group or gens has its own name and a set of personal names, one of which is bestowed on each child born within the gens. These personal names refer either to the symbol which belongs to and marks the kinship group or to the rites allied to the symbol, which were the especial charge of the gens.

According to traditions preserved among the Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes, their severance from the parent organization of which they once formed a part, as well as their later partings from one another, did not occur through any concerted action; they were the result of accident, as in the case already cited of the Omaha and the Quapaw, or of strifes fomented by ambitious chiefs, or of circumstances incident to following the game. A tradition of the Wazha'zhe or Osage tells that they broke away from the Ponca because of a quarrel over game. The Wazha'zhe gens of the Ponca have a like story, which says "The parting was due to a quarrel about game. Those who left us became lost but we hear of them now as a large tribe bearing our name, Wazha'zhe."

Tradition indicates also that when, for some reason or other, a group broke off, not all of the members belonged to one gens but to several gentes of the parent organization, and when this group organized as a distinct tribe, those of gentile kindred retained their identity in name and the practice of a common rite, and formed a gens in the new tribe. These traditions are corroborated by conditions which obtain in all of these cognate tribes.

For instance, among the Omaha, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw a turtle group is found as a subgens in each tribe, and in each instance its members are the keepers of the turtle rites of the tribe.

Again, among the Omaha, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw the Kansa, or Wind people, form a gens in each tribe, and in each of the tribes are the keepers of rites pertaining to the wind.

Among the Omaha, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes there is in each a gens similar to the Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe ("earth makers").

A Nu'xe, or Ice gens, is found in the Ponca tribe, and the name is borne also by a subgens in each the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes.

There is a tradition that the Ponca were once a gens in the Omaha tribe and broke away in a body, and that when they became a tribe

the subdivisions of the Ponca gens became the gentes of the Ponca tribe. This may possibly be true. It would seem, however, that in earlier days some, at least, of the Ponca had accompanied the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw groups when they separated from the parent organization, and when these groups became distinct tribes the Ponca kindred appear to have combined to form a Ponca gens, for we find a gens of that name in each of the cognate tribes just mentioned.

Another class of evidence which has relation to the former union of these tribes is found in personal names, some of which refer to ceremonies no longer observed in the tribe in which the names exist but still practised in some of the cognate tribes—a fact which indicates apparently that the rite was once known and observed by the tribe in which the personal name is now found. For instance, in the Washe'toⁿ subgens of the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens of the Omaha tribe is the name Ushu'demoⁿthiⁿ, meaning "he who walks in the mist" or "in the dust raised by the wind." This name has no significance taken merely as an Omaha name, but its meaning becomes apparent when we turn to the cognate Osage. In that tribe there is a gens called Moⁿso'tsemoⁿiⁿ, meaning "they who walk concealed by the mist or dust." The word refers to a rite in the keeping of this gens, a rite that pertained to war. When a war party was about to make an attack or was forced to retreat, it was the office of this gens to perform the rite, which had the effect of causing a mist to rise or a strong wind to blow up a cloud of dust in which the warriors could walk concealed from their enemies. Again, the Omaha personal name Uzu'gaxe, meaning "to clear the pathway," finds its explanation in the office of the Osage gens of the same name, whose duty it was to find a way across or around any natural obstacle that lay in the path of a war party, as a safe place to ford a dangerous river or a pathway over or around a cliff.

Instances similar to those cited above could be multiplied, all going to show that rites and customs lost in one tribe have frequently been preserved in another of these cognates. It is probable that were all the rites and customs of these tribes brought together and a comparative study made of them, much of the ancestral organization from which these cognates took their rise might be discovered and light thrown on the question, Why certain forms, religious and secular, were lost and others retained and developed; also, as to which of these were original with the people, which were adopted, and of the latter from what culture they were taken.

In all the traditions that touch on the common source from which these cognates have come no reference to the name of the parent or common organization is to be found. Ponca, Kansa, Wazha'zhe

(Osage) are old terms the meanings of which are lost; these occur as names of gentes in the cognate tribes, and three of the five cognates bear them as tribal names. It is to be noted that the descriptive names Omaha and Quapaw do not appear in any of these tribes as terms denoting kinship groups. Among the names used to denominate kinship groups we find one occurring frequently and always used to designate a group that holds important offices in the tribe. The same term also appears in the designation of tribal divisions which are more comprehensive than the gens. This name is *Hoⁿ'ga*, meaning "leader." In the Kansa tribe there are gentes called the Great *Hoⁿ'ga*, the Small *Hoⁿ'ga*, and the Separate *Hoⁿ'ga*. In the Quapaw are two gentes having this name, the Great and the Small *Hoⁿ'ga*. In the Omaha the term is applied to one of the two grand divisions of the tribe, the *Hoⁿ'gashenu*, *Hoⁿ'ga* people, and one of the gentes in this division bears the name *Hoⁿ'ga*. In the Osage, one of the five divisions of the tribe is called *Hoⁿ'ga*. Within this division there is also a *Hoⁿ'ga* gens. Another of the divisions of the Osage is called *Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi*, Separate *Hoⁿ'ga*. The following Osage tradition tells who the *Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi* were and how they came to be a part of the Osage organization:

The Osage in their wanderings on the hunt came across a tribe whose language was the same as their own. This strange people called themselves *Hoⁿ'ga*. The Osage made peace with them and invited them to join and become a part of the Osage tribe. The *Hoⁿ'ga* tribe consented, and it is their descendants who are known to-day as the *Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi*.

The term *Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi* may be roughly translated as "the Separate *Hoⁿ'ga*," but the words *utana tsi* imply something more than merely "separate;" they explain why this group had to be so designated. The strange *Hoⁿ'ga* whom the Osage met and invited to become a part of their tribe would not give up their own name *Hoⁿ'ga*, and as the Osage were themselves called *Hoⁿ'ga* people, explanatory words had to be added to the name *Hoⁿ'ga* in order to identify and at the same time to distinguish the newcomers from the rest of the tribe. These explanatory words were *utana tsi*, by itself ("separate"). Hence the group in the Osage tribe called *Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi*.

The name of the *Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi* gens of the Kansa tribe has the same meaning, and indicates that the Kansa people, as did the Osage, claimed *Hoⁿ'ga* as their common name.

There is a tradition preserved among the Ponca that in the past they and the other cognate tribes knew the Omaha by the name *Hoⁿ'ga*. An incident is related that explains the meaning of a name given to a small stream in northern Nebraska, *Hoⁿ'ga sheⁿ'noⁿwatha-i ke* (or *Hoⁿ'gawa'xthi i ke*), "where the *Hoⁿ'ga* were slaughtered." On this creek a battle is said to have taken place in which the Omaha

met with a disastrous defeat from an unknown enemy, which decimated the tribe. The tradition concerning the name of this stream is known to both Omaha and Ponca, and in both tribes the tradition is that the name Hoⁿ'ga, as here used, referred to the Omaha. The Omaha name for the month of January was Hoⁿ'ga unu'bthi, meaning "the drifting of the snow into the lodges of the Hoⁿ'ga," that is, of the tribe.

From these traditions and the use of the term Hoⁿ'ga as applied to divisions and gentes in the Omaha, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes, together with the fact that these tribes either claimed for themselves this name or were known to one another by it, it seems not improbable that Hoⁿ'ga may have been the name by which the people called themselves when they were living together as one community or tribe. The general meaning of Hoⁿ'ga ("leader") is not unlike that belonging to names by which other Indian tribes designate themselves, i. e., "the men," "the people," etc. The term Hoⁿ'ga is sometimes combined with another word to form the title of an officer, as Nudoⁿ Hoⁿ'ga, "war leader" or "captain."

The following data concerning the gentes, personal names, and other features of the Omaha cognate tribes are taken from original notes made by the writers.

THE PONCA TRIBE ^a

Pon'ca is an old word, the meaning of which is lost. It occurs as the name of a gens or subdivision of a gens in the Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw tribes, but not in the Omaha, a fact which may have significance because of the tradition that the Ponca constituted a gens of the Omaha before the separation of the tribes. As the Omaha retained at the parting possession of the sacred tribal objects, their rituals and ceremonies, the Ponca were everward after spoken of as "Orphans."

There are seven gentes in the Ponca tribe, namely: Waça'be, Thi'xida, Ni'kapashna, Poⁿ'caxti, Washa'be, Wazha'zhe, Nu'xe. These camped in the order indicated in the diagram (fig. 2), beginning on the southern side of the eastern entrance of the tribal circle, to which

^a The Ponca tribe is now divided. One part is living in northern Oklahoma on lands purchased by the Government from the Cherokee in 1883, which were allotted in severalty to the tribe some ten years later. The other part lives in northern Nebraska on the Niobrara river. Their land was given them in 1881, and some years later was allotted to them under the Severalty act. Already these two parts are spoken of by different designations. Those in Oklahoma are "the hot-country Ponca;" those in Nebraska, "the cold-country Ponca." Relations between the Ponca and the United States were officially opened by a treaty made in 1817 "to reestablish peace and friendship as before the war of 1812." In 1825 another treaty was made by which only American citizens were to be allowed to reside among the tribe as traders, and the tribe agreed to delegate the punishment of offenders to the United States Government. In 1858 the Ponca ceded their hunting grounds to the United States, reserving, however, a certain tract for their own use. In 1865 the Government, by treaty, reconfirmed this tract. In 1877 the tribe was forcibly removed to the then Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). See note, p. 51.

the Ponca give the name *hu'thuga*, the word used by the Omaha also to designate their tribal circle.

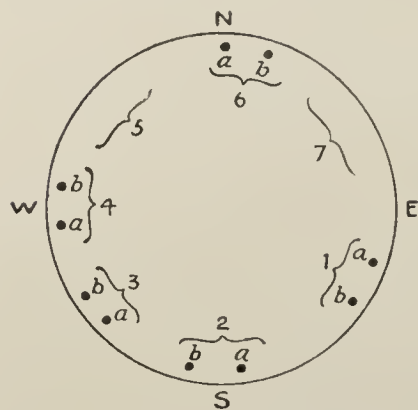


FIG. 2. Diagram of Ponca *hu'thuga*.

1. WAÇA'BE. Black bear. Subgentes: (a) Waça'be; tabu, fat of the black bear. (b) Hi'çada (stretched, referring to the stretch of the legs in running); tabu, birds.
2. THIXIDA. Meaning lost. Subgentes: (a) Thi'xida; tabu, blood. (b) Ingthon'çinçnedeweti (*ingthon'çinçnedc*, puma; *weti*, to dwell in); tabu, blue (or green) paint.
3. NIKAPASHNA. A man's skull. Subgentes: (a) Taha'to itazhi (*ta*, deer; *ha*, skin; *ton*, possess; *i'tazhi*, do not touch); tabu, deer. (b) Teçin'de itazhi (*te*, buffalo; *çin'dc*, tail; *itazhi*, do not touch); tabu, buffalo tail.
4. POCAXTI. Real or original Ponca. Subgentes: (a) Pon'caxti; (b) Mo'ko' (mystery or medicine); one tabu, buffalo head.
5. WASHA'BE. A dark object, as seen against the horizon; tabu, skin of buffalo calf.
6. WAZHA'ZHE. An old term. Subgentes: (a) Wazha'zhe (real Wazha'zhe); name said to refer to the snake after shedding old skin and again in full power. (b) Wazha'zhexude (gray Wazha'zhe); refers to the grayish appearance of the snake's cast-off skin; one tabu, snakes.
7. NU'XE. Ice; tabu, male buffalo.

rites and customs of the gentes

1. WAÇA'BE GENS

To the Hi'çada subgens of the Waça'be gens belonged the keeping of the ritual songs sung at the ceremony held when the first thunder was heard in the spring. This subgens, whose tabu was birds, was spoken of as the Eagle group of the gens, and the people were supposed to be connected with thunder. At death they went to the thunder villages, and their voices would be heard in the thunder-storms. They were forbidden to climb trees, as by so doing they would be going upward, thus anticipating their deaths and therefore shortening their lives. In the legend (see p. 48) the people of this gens were said to wear wreaths of cedar; in all the cognate tribes cedar was associated with thunder rites (note the Ni'ka wakoⁿdagi of the Osage (p. 60); the Cedar Pole of the Omaha (p. 229); the association of the bear and the eagle in the Tha'tada gens of the Omaha (p. 159); also the connection of thunder with war and of the eagle with war and thunder. The position of the Waça'be gens in the Ponca tribal

circle was similar to

that of the We'zhiⁿshte gens in the Omaha tribal circle, which was also associated with thunder.

It was a custom in the Ponca tribe for each gens to have its peculiar manner of marking arrows, so there should be no dispute in hunting as to the gens to which a fatal arrow belonged. This mark, however, did not exclude or interfere with a man's private mark. The arrow of the Waça'be had the shaft red about one-half the length of the feathers.

The symbolic cut of the children's hair consisted in closely cropping one side of the head and leaving the other side untouched to the neck (fig. 3.)



FIG. 3. Cut of hair, Waça'be gens (Ponca).

2. THI'XIDA GENS

It is said that the Pawnee call all the Ponca by the name Thi'xida. To this gens belonged a pack used in testing the truth of warriors when they were accorded war honors. Formerly there were two of these packs, but one was buried some twenty years ago with its keeper, Toⁿ'deamoⁿthiⁿ. The other, near the close of the last century, was kept by Shu'degaxe. The ceremony of conferring honors was similar to the Omaha Wate'giçtu (p. 434). To this gens belonged the right to preside at the election of chiefs.

The members of the subgens I^{ng}thoⁿ'çiⁿçnedeweti painted the peace pipe (that used in the Wa'waⁿ ceremony, p. 376) on one side of their tents and the puma on the other. The tabu, green or blue paint, was used on these pipes. *Du* was the word for green; *du çabe*, blue; *çabe* means black; the words indicate that the two colors were regarded as the same, one being merely a darker shade than the other. The skin of the puma was used to cover or wrap up these pipes. The name of the subdivision (meaning "to dwell with the puma") refers to the covering of the peace pipes; these and the puma were represented in the tent decoration and helped to interpret the name of the subgens—"those who dwell with the covered pipes that give peace." The arrow shafts of this gens were painted black where the feathers were fastened, and the sinew was painted red to represent the tabu of the gens, blood.



FIG. 4. Cut of hair, Thi'xida gens (Ponca).

The symbolic cut of the child's hair consisted in leaving only a roach running from the forehead to the nape of the neck. This roach was trimmed by notching it like a saw. A small tuft of hair was left on each side of the roach (fig. 4). This notched roach is similar to the cut of hair of a buffalo gens in the Oto tribe (also of the Siouan stock), and but for the notching is like that of a buffalo gens of the Omaha. These resemblances suggest that the tabu of the gens may refer to the blood of the slain buffalo.

The people of this gens were said to have the power to cure pain in the head, in the following manner: The sufferer brought a bow and arrow to the Thi'xida, who wet the arrow with saliva, set it on the bow string, pointed it at the sick man's head four times, then rubbed the head with the arrow, and so effected a cure of the pain.

3. NI'KAPASHNA GENS

The name Ni'kapashna ("skull") is said to refer to the exposure of the bone by the process of scalping. This gens had charge of the war pipes and directed the council of war. To them belonged also the supervision of all hunting of the deer.

When a member of the subdivision Taha'toⁿ itazhi died, moccasins made from the skin of the deer (which was tabu to the living) were put on his feet that he might not "lose his way," but go on safely and "be recognized by his own people" in the spirit world.

The symbolic cut of the child's hair consisted in removing all the hair except a fringe around the head, as shown in figure 5.



FIG. 5. Cut of hair, Ni'kapashna gens (Ponca).

4. POⁿCAXTI GENS

The Poⁿcaxti (*xiti*, "original," or "real") camped in the rear part of the tribal circle, facing the opening. This gens and its subdivision, the Moⁿkoⁿ', had charge of the principal pipes, one of which was the chief's pipe that was used

for conjuring. In this gens was preserved the tradition of the finding of the Omaha Sacred Pole; it was a man of the Moⁿkoⁿ' sub-gens who in the race was the first to reach the Pole (p. 218).

There were only two ceremonies during which the Ponca tribe was required to camp in the order shown on the diagram, when, as it was said, "the people must make the *hu'thuga* complete." These ceremonies were the Feast of Soldiers, which generally took place while the tribe was on the buffalo hunt, and Turning the Child. At the latter ceremony the lock was cut from the boy's head and a name which belonged to its gens was given to the child. The Moⁿkoⁿ' subdivision had the direction of both of these ceremonies. The ceremony connected with the child took place in the spring. A tent was pitched in front of the Moⁿkoⁿ' subdivision and set toward the center of the tribal circle, "made complete" for this ceremony. The tent was dedicated—"made holy"—a stone placed in the center near the fire and sweet grass laid on it. It was the duty of the mothers to bring their children to the old man to whom belonged the hereditary right to perform the ceremony of Turning the Child. After the child had entered the tent he took it by the hand, led it to the center of the tent, and stood it on the stone, facing the east; then he lifted the child by the shoulders, turned it to the south, and let its feet rest on the stone. In the same manner he again lifted the child, turned it to the west, and then rested its feet on the stone. Once more he lifted it, as before, causing it to face the north, and set its feet on the stone; finally he lifted it back, with its face to the east. "The Turning of the Child," the old informant said, "brought the child face to face with the life-

giving winds of the four directions," while "the stone represented long life." The child's baby name was then "thrown away," and a name from the gens to which its father belonged was publicly announced and bestowed upon it. All children were "turned" but only boys had the lock of hair severed from the crown of the head, the lock being laid away in a pack kept by the old man who performed the rite. The boy was then taken home and the father cut his hair in the symbolic manner of his gens. (See Omaha rite of Turning the Child, p. 117.)

(For an account of the Feast of the Soldier and its ritual, see pp. 309-311.)

This gens had duties also in connection with the buffalo hunt.

The people of the Moⁿko^{n'} subdivision painted their tents with black and yellow bands.

The symbolic cut of the child's hair consisted in leaving only a tuft on the forehead, one at the nape of the neck, and one on each side of the head (fig. 6).



FIG. 6. Cut of hair, Po^{n'}caxti gens (Ponca).

5. WASHA'BE GENS

The name of this gens, Washa'be, was the same as the name of the ceremonial staff used by the Omaha leader of the annual tribal buffalo hunt, and also of that subdivision of the Omaha Ho^{n'}ga gens which had charge of the tent containing the White Buffalo Hide, of its ritual, and of that of the maize (see p. 261). The Ponca gens, like the Omaha Washa'be subdivision, had duties connected with the tribal buffalo hunt, and was associated with the Moⁿko^{n'} subdivision of the Po^{n'}caxti gens in regulating the people at that time and appointing officers to maintain order on the hunt. There were no ceremonies in the Ponca tribe relative to the planting or the care of maize. The Ponca are said



FIG. 7. Cut of hair, Wa-sha'be gens (Ponca).

to have depended for food principally on hunting, and to have obtained their maize more by barter than by cultivation.

The symbolic cut of the child's hair consisted in leaving only a tuft on the forehead and one at the nape of the neck (fig. 7).

6. WAZHA'ZHE GENS

The name Osage is a corruption of the native term *wazha'zhe*. Whether or not in the tabu and customs of this gens the Ponca have conserved something of the early rites of the Wazha'zhe, or Osage, people (rites connected with the snake) can be determined only by more careful research than it has been possible for the writers to make.

A member of this gens must not touch or kill a snake, and care had to be exercised always to enter the tent by the door, otherwise snakes would go in and do harm. Mothers in this gens were very particular to impress on their children the importance of entering the tent by the door and little children were watched lest one should creep under the tent cover and so bring harm to itself or the inmates.

A man harboring a grudge against a person could bring about the punishment of that individual by dropping inside the offender's tent a figure of a snake cut out of rawhide. Shortly afterward the man would be bitten by a snake. A drawing made of the snake to be cut out showed it to be a rattlesnake.

When any one in the tribe chanced to be bitten by a snake, he sent at once for a member of the Wazha'zhe gens, who on arriving at the tent quickly dug a hole beside the fire with a stick, and then sucked the wound so as to draw out the blood and prevent any serious trouble from the injury. The purpose in digging the hole could not be learned from the writer's informant.

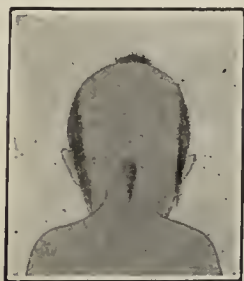


FIG. 8. Cut of hair, Wazha'zhe gens (Ponca).

When on the tribal hunt, the women gathered the bones of the buffalo and boiled them to extract the marrow for future use. If a person wished to tease a woman so employed, he would catch up with a stick and throw away some of the scum from the pot. This act would prevent any more marrow from leaving the bones, and the only way to undo the mischief was to send for a Wazha'zhe, who on arriving removed by means of a stick some of the fat from the boiling bones. The marrow would then come out freely at once and the woman would be able to secure an ample supply of tallow. "That is the mystery of my people," said the old informant, with a sly smile, in response to inquiries on the subject.

It is said that the Wazha'zhe were a warlike and quarrelsome people, and that at the organization of the tribe a peace pipe was given into their keeping. By accepting this trust they committed themselves to more peaceful and orderly conduct in the tribe. It is still a matter of dispute within the gens as to which of the two subdivisions the custody of the peace pipe originally belonged, whether to the "real" or to the "gray" Wazha'zhe.

The office of tribal herald was in this gens.

The symbolic cut of the hair consisted in leaving a lock on the forehead, one at the back of the head, and one over each ear (fig. 8).

7. NU'XE GENS

The name of this gens, Nu'xe ("ice"), found also in the Osage tribe, refers to the hail. The Osage gens of this name is closely associated with the Buffalo-bull people, and in this connection it is to be noted

that the tabu of the Ponca Nu'xe gens is the male buffalo. The Osage have a tradition that the Ponca were once a part of their tribe, but that very long ago the people became separated on the buffalo hunt, and the Ponca never came back. It will be noted that the Osage have a Ponca gens and the Ponca a Wazha'zhe gens, that there is a Waça'be gens in each tribe, also a Hi'çada gens, which in each tribe had rites referring to thunder; all of these resemblances are probably the result of movements which took place long before the Ponca and the Omaha were as closely associated as at a later period, prior to finally becoming distinct tribes.

LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS ^a

THE PEACE PIPES

The people came across a great water on rafts—logs tied together—and pitched their tents on the shore. While there they thought to make themselves *u'shkon*, limits or bounds within which to move, and regulations by which their actions were to be governed. They cleared a space of grass and weeds so that they could see one another's faces, and sat down, and there was no obstruction between them.

While they were deliberating they heard the hooting of an owl in the timber near by, and the leader, who had called the people together, said, "That bird is to take part in our action; he calls to us, offering his aid." Immediately afterward they heard the cry of the woodpecker and his knocking against the trees, and the leader said, "That bird calls and offers his aid; he will take part in our action."

The leader then addressed the man he had appointed to act as servant, and said, "Go to the woods and get an ash sapling." The servant went out and returned with a sapling having a rough bark. "This is not what we want," said the leader. "Go again, and get a sapling that has a smooth bark, bluish in color at the joint" (where a branch comes). The servant went out, and returned with a sapling of the kind described.

When the leader took up the ash sapling, an eagle came and soared above where the council sat. He dropped a downy feather; it fell, and balanced itself in the center of the cleared space. This was the white eagle. The leader said, "This is not what we want;" so the white eagle passed on.

Then the bald eagle came swooping down as though making an attack upon its prey, balanced itself on its wings directly over the cleared space, uttering fierce cries, and dropped one of its downy feathers, which stood on the ground as the other eagle's feather had done. The leader said, "This is not what we want;" and the bald eagle passed on.

Then came the spotted eagle and soared over the council and dropped its feather, which stood as the others had done. The leader said, "This is not what we want;" and the spotted eagle passed on.

The eagle with the fantail (imperial eagle, *Aquila heliaca* Savigny) then came, and soared over the people. It dropped a downy feather which stood upright in the center of the cleared space. The leader said, "This is what we want." The feathers of this eagle were those used in making the peace pipes, together with the other birds (the owl and the woodpecker) and the animals, making in all nine kinds of articles. These pipes were to be used in establishing friendly relations with other tribes.^b

^a Obtained from chiefs and other prominent Ponca.

^b This account of the Ponca introduction to the Wa'wa pipes should be compared with the Omaha account of receiving these pipes from the Arikara (p. 74) and the Omaha ceremony (p. 376). The nine articles are as follows: Owl feathers, eagle feathers, woodpecker, rabbit, deer, ash tree, paint, cat-tail, and sinew.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBE

When the peace pipes were made (those for "establishing friendly relations with other tribes"), seven other pipes were made for the keeping of peace within the tribe. These pipes were also for use to prevent bloodshed. If one man should kill another, in such a case the chiefs were to take a pipe to the aggrieved relatives and offer it to them. If they refused, the pipe was to be again offered them; if the pipe was offered and refused four successive times, then the chiefs said to them, "You must now take the consequences; we will do nothing, and you can not ask to see the pipes," meaning that if trouble should come to any of them because of their acts taken in revenge they could not appeal for help or mercy.

When these seven pipes were finished they were taken to be distributed among the different bands of the tribe.

The first band to which the pipe bearers came was the Waça'be. They were found to be engaged in a ceremony that did not pertain to peace, but rather to the taking of life. The Hi'çada sat in a tent with red-hot stones, and had on their heads wreaths of cedar branches. The pipe bearers passed them by, and even to this day they are reminded of this occurrence by the other bands saying, "You are no people; you have no peace pipe!"

The next band the pipe bearers came to was the Thi'xida. To them a pipe was given, and they were to have charge of the council which elected chiefs.

Next they came to the Ni'kapashna, and to them a pipe was given, and they were to have the management of the council of war and also the direction of the people when they went to hunt the deer, so that order might be preserved in the pursuit of that game.

The Poⁿcaxti and the Moⁿkoⁿ' were reached next, and a pipe was given them.

The Washa'be were next, and a pipe was given them. This band, together with the Moⁿkoⁿ', were given charge of the tribal buffalo hunt—the direction of the journey, the making of the camps, and the preservation of order. From these two bands the two principal chiefs must come.

When the pipe bearers reached the Wazha'zhe the latter were divided, and there were trouble and murder between the factions. So, instead of giving them a flat-stemmed pipe, they gave them one with a round stem, ornamented. Because of the feud there was carelessness, and to this day there is a dispute as to the division to which the pipe for the maintenance of peace was presented.

When the pipe bearers reached the Nu'xe, they gave them a pipe and an office in the buffalo hunt.

Each band had its pipe, but there was one pipe which was to belong to the chiefs. This could be filled only by the leading chiefs, and was to be used to punish people who made trouble in the tribe. It was placed in charge of the Moⁿkoⁿ' band.

When a man was to be punished, all the chiefs gathered together and this pipe was filled by the leader and smoked by all the chiefs present. Then each chief put his mind on the offender as the leader took the pipe to clean it. He poured some of the tobacco ashes on the ground, and said, "This shall rankle in the calves of the man's legs." Then he twirled the cleaning stick in the pipe and took out a little more ashes, and, putting them on the earth, said, "This shall be for the base of the sinews, and he shall start with pain" (in the back). A third time he twirled the cleaning stick, put more ashes on the earth, and said, "This is for the spine, at the base of the head." A fourth time he twirled the cleaning stick in the pipe, poured out the ashes, put them on the ground, and said, "This is for the crown of his head." This act finished the man, who died soon after.



STANDING BUFFALO



WHITE EAGLE (XITHA'CKA)

THE WAZHA'ZHE GENS

Standing Buffalo (pl. 2), of the Wazha'zhe gens, told the following story some ten years ago:

When I was a boy I often asked my mother where my people came from, but she would not tell me, until one day she said, "I will give you the story as it has been handed down from generation to generation.

"In the real beginning Wakoⁿ'da made the Wazha'zhe--men, women, and children. After they were made he said 'Go!' So the people took all they had, carried their children, and started toward the setting sun. They traveled until they came to a great water. Seeing they could go no farther, they halted. Again Wakoⁿ'da said 'Go!' And once more they started, and wondered what would happen to them. As they were about to step into the water there appeared from under the water rocks. These projected just above the surface, and there were others barely covered with water. Upon these stones the people walked, stepping from stone to stone until they came to land. When they stood on dry land the wind blew, the water became violent and threw the rocks upon the land, and they became great cliffs. Therefore when men enter the sweat lodge they thank the stones for preserving their lives and ask for a continuation of their help that their lives may be prolonged. Here on the shore the people dwelt; but again Wakoⁿ'da said 'Go!' And again they started and traveled on until they came to a people whose appearance was like their own; but not knowing whether they were friends or foes, the people rushed at each other for combat. In the midst of the confusion Wakoⁿ'da said, 'Stand still!' The people obeyed. They questioned each other, found they spoke the same language, and became friends.

"Wakoⁿ'da gave the people a bow, a dog, and a grain of corn. The people made other bows like the one given them and learned to use them for killing wild animals for food and to make clothing out of their skins. The dogs gave increase and were used as burden bearers and for hunting. The corn they planted, and when it grew they found it good to eat, and they continued to plant it.

"The people traveled on and came to a lake. There the Omaha found a Sacred Tree and took it with them. The people (Ponca) went on and came to a river now called Nishu'de (the Missouri). They traveled along its banks until they came to a place where they could step over the water. From there they went across the land and came to a river now called Nibtha'cka (the Platte). This river they followed, and it led them back to the Missouri.

"Again they went up this river until they came to a river now called Niobrara, where we live to-day."

The latter part of this legend, which deals with the Ponca movements after the Omaha found the Sacred Tree, has been obtained from a number of old men. All follow the general outline given by Standing Buffalo, while some preserve details omitted by him, as the meeting with the Padouca (Comanche), the obtaining of horses, etc., which are given elsewhere. (See p. 78.)

HOW WHITE EAGLE BECAME A CHIEF

The following account of how White Eagle (pl. 3) came to be a chief was given by him ten years or more ago and was introductory to the information he then imparted to the writers. He regarded

the story as important, for it served to make clear his tribal status and therefore, he thought, to give weight to his statements concerning the Ponca tribe. The story is repeated here as throwing light on Ponca customs during the eighteenth century:

A chief by the name of Zhi^{ga}'gahige (Little Chief), of the Washa'be band, had a son who went on the warpath. The father sat in his tent weeping because he had heard that his son was killed, for the young man did not return. As he wept he thought of various persons in the tribe whom he might call on to avenge the death of his son. As he cast about, he recalled a young man who belonged to a poor family and had no notable relations. The young man's name was Waça'bezhi^{ga} (Little Bear). The chief remembered that this young man dressed and painted himself in a peculiar manner, and thought that he did so that he might act in accordance with a dream, and therefore it was probable that he possessed more than ordinary power and courage. So the chief said to himself, "I will call on him and see what he can do."

Then the chief called together all the other chiefs of the tribe, and when they were assembled he sent for Little Bear. On the arrival of the young man the chief addressed him, saying, "My son went on the warpath and has never returned. I do not know where his bones lie. I have only heard he has been killed. I wish you to go and find the land where he was killed. If you return successful four times, then I shall resign my place in your favor."

Little Bear accepted the offer. He had a sacred headdress that had on it a ball of human hair; he obtained the hair in this manner: Whenever men and women of his acquaintance combed their hair and any of the hair fell out, Little Bear asked to have the combings given to him. By and by he accumulated enough hair to make his peculiar headdress. This was a close-fitting skull cap of skin; on the front part was fastened the ball of human hair; on the back part were tied a downy eagle feather and one of the sharp-pointed feathers from the wing of that bird. He had another sacred article, a buffalo horn, which he fastened at his belt.

Little Bear called a few warriors together and asked them to go with him, and they consented. Putting on his headdress and buffalo horn, he and his companions started. They met a party of Sioux, hunting. One of the Sioux made a charge at Little Bear, who fell over a bluff. The Sioux stood above him and shot arrows at him; one struck the headdress and the other the buffalo horn. After he had shot these two arrows the Sioux turned and fled. Little Bear, who was uninjured, climbed up the bluff, and, seeing the Sioux, drew his bow and shot the man through the head. Besides this scalp Little Bear and his party captured some ponies. On the return of the party Little Bear gave his share of the booty to the chief who had lost his son.

Little Bear went on three other expeditions and always returned successful, and each time he gave his share of the spoils to the chief. When Little Bear came back the fourth time the chief kept his word and resigned his office in favor of the young man.

Little Bear was my grandfather. When he died he was succeeded by his eldest son, Two Bulls. At his death his brother, We'gaçapi (pl. 4),^a who was my father, became chief, and I succeeded him.

^a An old Ponca, speaking of We'gaçapi, said: "He was a successful man, and had a pack which had descended to him. He always carried it in war. Both he and the original owner of the pack are said to have had dreams of wolves." We'gaçapi had the honor of having some of his brave deeds preserved in song by the Hethu'shka society, and the song is known to members of the society in both the Ponca and Omaha tribes.



WE'GAÇAPI



STANDING BEAR

RECENT HISTORY; PERSONAL NAMES

The following list of Ponca names was taken in November, 1874, while the entire tribe was living on the Niobrara river.^a

The total population of the tribe at that time was 733, divided as follows: ^b.

	Full bloods.	Mixed bloods.		Full bloods.	Mixed bloods.
Men	172	32	Girls.....	129	45
Women	164	21	Families	185	32
Boys.....	135	35			

The people dwelt in three villages. The village at the United States agency contained 89 families and 377 persons. The village called Hubtho' ("those who smell of fish") had 46 families and 144 persons. "Point" village had 82 families and 248 persons.

There were eight chiefs, each of whom had his "band." These bands were probably composed of persons from the gens or subgens to which the chief belonged.

	Families.	Persons.
White Eagle's band (Waça'be, Hi'çada subgens).....	26	89
Big Soldier's band (Waça'be, Hi'çada subgens)	31	97
Traveling Buffalo's band (Thi'xida).....	23	72
Black Crow's band (Ni'kapashna).....	28	90
Over the Land's band (Po'caxti and Mo'ko'no').....	21	73
Woodpecker's band (Washa'be).....	27	75
Standing Bear's band (Wazha'zhe).....	20	82
Big-hoofed Buffalo's band (Nu'xe).....	9	22

^a In 1853 the Ponca ceded their hunting grounds to the United States, and reserved for their home the land about their old village sites on the Niobrara river. They were never at war with the Government or the white race. Their reservation was reconfirmed to them by the Government in 1865. In 1868 a large reservation was granted to the Sioux, in which the Ponca reservation on the Niobrara was included. The Ponca tribe was ignorant of this official transfer of its land. In 1877 the Ponca, without any warning, were informed they must move to the Indian Territory, and the eight chiefs were conducted there by an official and told to select a new reservation. The reason for leaving their old home was not explained to the protesting chiefs or to the people. The chiefs who went with the official refused to select a home in "the strange land." They begged to be allowed to go back. Being refused, they left the official, and, in the winter, with but a few dollars and a blanket each, started home, walking 500 miles in forty days. When they reached the Niobrara the United States Indian agent summoned the military and on the 1st of May the entire tribe was forcibly removed to the Indian Territory. The change from a cool climate to a warm and humid one caused suffering. Within a year one-third of the people were dead and nearly all the survivors were sick or disabled. A son of Chief Standing Bear (pl. 5) died. The father could not bury him away from his ancestors, so taking the bones, he and his immediate following turned from "the hot country," and in January, 1879, started to walk back. They reached the Omaha reservation in May, destitute, and asked the loan of land and seed, which was granted. As they were about to put in a crop, soldiers appeared with orders to arrest Standing Bear and his party and take them back. They were obliged to obey. On their way south they camped near Omaha city. Their story was made known, the citizens became interested, lawyers offered help, and a writ of habeas corpus was secured. The United States denied the prisoners' right to sue out a writ, because "an Indian was not a person within the meaning of the law." The case came before Judge Dundy, who decided that "An Indian is a person within the meaning of the law," and that there was no authority under the laws of the United States forcibly to remove the prisoners to the Indian Territory, and ordered their release. In the winter Standing Bear visited the principal cities of the East, repeating the story of his people. The United States Senate ordered an investigation of the Ponca removal, when all the facts were brought out. Those Ponca who chose to remain in Oklahoma were given good lands. Their old home on the Niobrara was restored to Standing Bear and his followers and lost property was paid for. In September, 1908, Standing Bear died and was buried with his fathers. By his sufferings and courage he was instrumental in putting an end to enforced Indian removals.

^b Data furnished by Office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

PERSONAL NAMES ^a

WAÇA'BE GENS, HI'ÇADA SUBGENS

*White Eagle's band**Male.*

Çi'ha—Soles (O.: Te'pa, Tha'tada, Tapa').
 Çithe'dezhiⁿga—Little heel (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 De'moⁿthiⁿ—Talks walking.
 Gahi'ge zhiⁿga—Little chief (O.: Iⁿke'çabe, Koⁿ'çe).
 Gaku'wiⁿxe—Whirled by the wind.
 Gamoⁿxpi—Wind strikes the clouds (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Gashta'gabi—Beaten into submission.
 Ha'nugahi—Nettle weed.
 Ke'toⁿga—Big turtle (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Mi'xazhiⁿga—Duck.
 Moⁿchu'nita—Grizzly bear's ears.
 Moⁿchu'wathihi—Stampedes the grizzly bear.
 Moⁿchu'zhiⁿga—Little grizzly bear.
 Moⁿe'gahi—Arrow chief (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Moⁿ'shoⁿzhide—Red feather.
 Moⁿ'tega—New arrow.
 Ni'çtumoⁿthiⁿ—Walking backward (O.: Xu'ka, Tha'tada).
 Nishu'dezhoⁿ—Missouri River timber.
 Niwa'i—Gives water.
 Noⁿ'pabi—One who is feared (O.: Waça'be, Tha'tada).
 Nudoⁿhoⁿga—Leader (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Nudoⁿmoⁿthiⁿ—Warrior walking.
 On'poⁿçabe—Black Elk.
 Pe'degahi—Fire chief (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Shoⁿtoⁿga—Gray wolf.
 Shu'degaxe—Smoke maker (pl. 6).
 Shui'na—Meaning uncertain (O.: Waça'be, Tha'tada).
 Shuka'moⁿthiⁿ—Walking in groups (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Teçoⁿ'—White buffalo (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Tenu'gaçabe—Black bull.
 Thi'oⁿbagigthe—Lightning passing (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Thi'oⁿbatigthe—Sudden lightning (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Tide'gigthe—Passes by with a roar.

Ti'uthioⁿba—Lightning flashes in the tent (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).

Wahu'toⁿthe—Gun.

Waiⁿ'gabtha—Spreads robe.

Wazhi'dathiⁿ—Has red medicine.

Xitha'çka—White eagle (O., Tapa').

Female

Mi'gashoⁿthiⁿ—Traveling sun (O., Iⁿke'çabe).

Mi'texi—Sacred moon (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿka-gaxe).

*Big Soldier's band**Male*

Agi'chidatoⁿga—Big soldier.

A'hi'çka—White wings (O.: Te'pa, Tha'tada).

A'shkanonⁿge—Short runner.

A'xewoⁿ—Covered with frost.

Gahi'ge—Chief (O.: Iⁿke'çabe, Te'pa, Tha'tada), plate 7.

He'xude—Gray horns (O., Teçiⁿ'de).

I'kuⁿhabi—He who causes fear

Iⁿshta'duba—Four eyes (O.: Waça'be, Tha'tada).

Ki'shtawagu—Said to be a Pawnee name (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿka-gaxe).

Moⁿ'hiⁿgahi—Knife chief.

Moⁿ'thumoⁿçe—Metal or iron chief.

Nini'ba—Pipe (O., Te'pa, Tha'tada).

Noⁿba'moⁿthiⁿ—Two walking (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).

Noⁿ'gemoⁿthiⁿ—Travels running (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿka-gaxe).

Nudoⁿaxa—Cries for war.

Pahoⁿ'gamoⁿthiⁿ—Walking first (O., Iⁿke'çabe).

Shage'duba—Four hoofs (O., Tapa').

Shu'kabi—Bunch of clouds.

Tatoⁿ'gapa—Bull head.

Tenu'gaçka—White bull.

Te'thiti—Buffalo rib (O.: Waça'be, Tha'tada).

Thi'tiⁿaxa—Cries for rib.

U'hoⁿzhiⁿga—Little cook (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).

Uzhoⁿ'ge—Road.

Waça'bezhiⁿga—Little black bear (O.: Waça'be, Tha'tada).

^a This list is necessarily incomplete. Names found in tribes other than the Ponca are followed by the names of the respective tribes, accompanied by those of the gentes where known, in parentheses. (O.= Omaha.)



SMOKE-MAKER (SHU'DEGAXE)



GAHI'GE

Wakoⁿdagi—Monster.
 Wazhiⁿ'ga—Bird (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'-
 tada).
 Wazhiⁿ'gaçabe—Blackbird (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿ-
 kagaxe).
 Wazhiⁿ'gagahi—Bird chief (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga,
 'Tha'tada).
 We'zhnoⁿwathe—He who causes fog.
 Zha'beçka—White beaver.
 Zhiⁿ'gapezhi—Bad little one.
 Zhoⁿ'xude—Gray wood.

Female

A'oⁿwiⁿ—Meaning uncertain (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Mi'tena—Meaning uncertain (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Mi'waçoⁿ—White moon (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Noⁿçe'iⁿçe—Meaning uncertain (O., We'-
 zhiⁿshte).
 Teçoⁿ'dabe—White buffalo (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Teçoⁿ'wiⁿ—White buffalo woman (O.,
 Hoⁿ'ga).
 Toⁿ'iⁿgthiⁿe—Sudden appearing of new
 moon (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Zhoⁿ'i'wathe—To carry wood (O., We'-
 zhiⁿshte).

THI'XIDA GENS

*Traveling Buffalo's band**Male*

Gaku'wiⁿxe—Soaring eagle (O.: Te'pa,
 Tha'tada).
 Ha'shimoⁿthiⁿ—Walking last in a file (O.,
 Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 He'shathage—Branching horns (O., Iⁿ-
 shta'çuⁿda).
 Hewoⁿ'zhiⁿtha—One horn (Dakota).
 Hezha'ta—Forked horns (O., Tapa').
 Hezhiⁿ'ga—Little horn.
 Ka'xenoⁿba—Two crows (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Keba'ha—Turtle showing himself (O.,
 Tapa').
 Ma'azhiⁿga—Little cottonwood (O.: Wa-
 zhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Mixa'çka—White swan (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿka-
 gaxe).
 Moⁿa'zhiⁿga—Little bank (O., Iⁿgthe'-
 zhide).
 Moⁿchu'çka—White bear.
 Moⁿshi'ahamoⁿthiⁿ—Moving above (O.,
 Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Noⁿbe'thiku—Cramped hand.
 On'poⁿtoⁿga—Big Elk (O., We'zhiⁿshte).

Pa'thiⁿnoⁿpazhiⁿ—Fears not Pawnee (O.:
 Waça'be, Tha'tada).
 Sha'geçka—White claws (O., Tha'tada).
 Sha'geshuga—Thick claws.
 Sha'nugahi—Meaning uncertain (O.,
 Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Shathu'—Gurgle (water).
 Tatoⁿ'ga—Great male deer (old name)
 (O., Tapa').
 Tatoⁿ'ganoⁿzhiⁿ—Standing bull.
 Tenu'ganoⁿba—Two buffalo bulls (O.,
 Tapa').
 Tenu'gazhiⁿga—Little bull (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 U'doⁿ—Good.
 Uga'shoⁿtoⁿ—The traveler or wanderer
 (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 Waba'hizhiⁿga—The little grazer (O.,
 Koⁿ'çe).
 Waça'betoⁿge—Big black bear (O., Moⁿ'-
 thiⁿkagaxe).
 Wada'thiⁿge—Refers to chief (O., Iⁿke'-
 çabe).
 Wami'—Blood (O., Koⁿ'çe).
 Wanoⁿ'xe—Ghost.
 Washi'chuçabe—Black man (Sioux).
 Washiⁿ'nuka—Wet fat, or fresh fat.
 Washi'shka—Shell (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Washu'she—Brave (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Wazhiⁿ'çka—Wisdom (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Wazhiⁿ'gaçi—Yellow bird.
 Wazhiⁿwathe—He who provokes anger.
 Xitha'çka—White eagle (O., Tapa').

Female

Mi'gashoⁿthiⁿ—Traveling moon (O., Iⁿke'-
 çabe).
 Mi'gthedoⁿwiⁿ—Moon hawk woman (O.,
 Iⁿke'çabe).
 Mi'gthitoⁿiⁿ—Return of new moon (O.,
 Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Mi'oⁿbathiⁿ—Moon moving by day (O.,
 Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Mi'tena—Meaning uncertain (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Nazhe'gitoⁿ—Meaning uncertain (O.,
 Hoⁿ'ga).
 Noⁿçe'iⁿçe—Meaning uncertain (O.,
 We'zhiⁿshte).
 Toⁿ'ithiⁿ—New moon moving (O.,
 Hoⁿ'ga).
 Wate'wiⁿ—May refer to the stream Wate
 (O., Tha'tada).
 We'toⁿna—Meaning uncertain (O., Iⁿ-
 shta'çuⁿda).

NI'KAPASHNA GENS

*Black Crow's band**Male*

- A'kidagahigi—Chief who watches (O., Tapa').
 Çikoⁿxega—Brown ankles (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Gahi'gewashushe—Brave chief.
 Gahi'gezhiⁿga—Little chief (O., Koⁿ'çe).
 Gthedoⁿ/noⁿzhiⁿ—Standing hawk (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Gthedoⁿ/xude—Gray hawk (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 He'çithiⁿke—New yellow horn (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Hethi'shizhe—Crooked horn.
 Iiⁿ'xega—Brown hair (Omaha).
 Hu'toⁿtigthe—Cries out in the distance.
 I'bahoⁿbi—He is known (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Iⁿchuⁿ'gaçka—White weasel (O., Tapa').
 Kaxe'çabe—Black crow (O., Tapa'), plate 8.
 Ke'zhiⁿga—Little turtle (O.: Ke'iⁿ, Tha'tada).
 Mika'—Raccoon.
 Mixabaku—Bent goose (O.: Ke'iⁿ, Tha'tada).
 Moⁿchu'dathiⁿ—Crazy bear.
 Moⁿ'geutiⁿ—Strikes the breast.
 Moⁿhiⁿ'thiⁿge—No knife (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Moⁿnoⁿ'utoⁿ—Paws the earth.
 Moⁿ'shkaaxa—Cries for crawfish (O.: Waça'be, Tha'tada).
 Moⁿshoⁿ'çka—White feather (O., Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Noⁿba'atoⁿ—Treads on two.
 Noⁿ'getithe—Passes by running.
 Noⁿ'ka'tu—Blue-back (O., Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Nudoⁿ'gina—Returns from war.
 Shoⁿ'gehiⁿçabe—Black horse.
 Tatoⁿ'gamoⁿthiⁿ—Big deer walking (O., Tapa').
 Ta'xtiçka—White deer.
 Waçe'zhide—Red paint.
 Wanoⁿ'pazhi—Without fear (O., Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Zhiⁿga'uⁿça—Little runner.

Female

- Gthedoⁿ/shtewiⁿ—Hawk woman (O., Tapa').

- Mi'gthedoⁿ/wiⁿ—Moon hawk woman (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Moⁿ'shadethiⁿ—One moving on high (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Toⁿ'iⁿgina—New moon coming (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).

POⁿ'CAXTI GENS*Over the Land's band**Male*

- Çiⁿ'deçka—White tail (Omaha).
 Çiⁿ'dedoⁿka—Blunt tail (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Çithiⁿ'ge—No feet.
 Ezhnoⁿ/noⁿzhiⁿ—Stands alone.
 Gthedoⁿ/texi—Sacred hawk.
 Hoⁿ'gazhiⁿga—Little Hoⁿ'ga (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Iⁿke'toⁿga—Big shoulder (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Iⁿshta'pede—Fire eyes (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Keoⁿ'hazhi—Turtle that flees not (O.: Waça'be, Tha'tada).
 Kigtha'zhoⁿzhoⁿ—Shakes himself (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 Mika'xage—Crying raccoon (O., Tapa').
 Moⁿ'ka'ta—On the land (old name, now used among the Dakota).
 Moⁿkoⁿ/toⁿga—Big medicine.
 Moⁿzhoⁿ/ibahoⁿ—Knows the land.
 Noⁿ'gethia—Not able to run (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 Nuga'—Male (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Nuga'xte—Original male (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Oⁿ'poⁿzhiⁿga—Little elk (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Shenoⁿ'zhiⁿ—Stands there.
 Te'moⁿthiⁿ—Buffalo walking (O., Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Tenu'gawakega—Sick bull.
 Thae'gethabi—One who is loved (O., Tapa').
 The'baxoⁿ—Broken jaw.
 The'dewathe—Looks back.
 Thihie'noⁿ—Frightens the game.
 Une'gthoⁿxte—Seeks poison.
 Waba'hizi—Yellow grazer (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Wagi'oⁿ—Thunder bird (Dakota).
 Washkoⁿ'zhiⁿga—Little strength.
 Wa'xanoⁿzhiⁿ—Standing in advance (O., Tapa').
 Xitha'gahige—Eagle chief (O., Tapa').
 Xitha'gaxe—Eagle maker (O., Tapa').
 Zhiⁿga'nudoⁿ—Little warrior.



BLACK CROW (KAXE'QABE)



BIG GOOSE



Female

- Açe'toⁿga—Meaning uncertain (O., Koⁿ'çe).
 Gthedon'wiⁿtexe—Sacred hawk woman (O., Tapa').
 Mi'akoⁿda—Sacred moon (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 Mi'bthiwiⁿ—Meaning uncertain (O., Tha'tada).
 Mi'moⁿshihathiⁿ—Moon moving on high (O., Tha'tada).
 Mi'tena—Meaning uncertain (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Mi'waçon—White moon (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Poⁿca'çoⁿ—White Ponca (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿ-kagaxe).
 Zhoⁿiⁿwathe—To carry wood (O., We'zhiⁿshte).

WASHA'BE GENS

*Woodpecker's band**Male*

- A'gahamoⁿthiⁿ—Walks outside (O.: Xu'ka, Tha'tada).
 Çiⁿ'deçabe—Black tail.
 E'thoⁿthoⁿbe—To appear repeatedly (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Hexa'gaçabe—Black elk.
 Hexa'gamoⁿthiⁿ—Standing elk (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Hiⁿçi'zhiⁿga—Little yellow hair (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 Hu'hazhi—Meaning uncertain (O., Tapa').
 Iⁿshta'çabe—Black eyes (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 Iⁿshta'dathiⁿ—Crazy eyes.
 Iⁿshta'duba—Four eyes (O., Waça'be, Tha'tada).
 Koⁿ'çetoⁿga—Big Kansa.
 Ma'çitoⁿ—Lone cedar tree.
 Mi'kaçixthaha—Lean coyote.
 Mi'xatoⁿga—Big goose (pl. 9).
 Moⁿ'çedoⁿ—Meaning uncertain (O., Iⁿ-gthe'zhide).
 Moⁿchu'çiⁿdethiⁿge—Bob-tailed bear.
 Moⁿga'azhi—Not afraid of arrows (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Moⁿgazhiⁿga—Little skunk.
 Noⁿ'çoⁿdazhi—Does not dodge (O., Tapa').
 Noⁿ'kaçka—White back.
 Noⁿzhiⁿ'moⁿthiⁿ—Rain travels (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).

- Nudoⁿ'hoⁿga—Leader (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Paçi'duba—Four buffaloes—very old name (O., Koⁿ'çe; Osage).
 Sha'ge—Hoofs.
 Shoⁿ'geçabe—Black horse (O., Tapa').
 Te'çehiⁿçabe—Black hair on belly of buffalo (O., Tapa').
 Te'nuga—Buffalo bull (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Tezhe'bate—Buffalo chip (pl. 10).
 Te'zhiⁿga—Little buffalo (O., Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Thigthi'çemoⁿthiⁿ—Zigzag lightningwalking (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Tishi'muxa—Spreading tent poles (O., Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Uga'shoⁿzhiⁿga—Little traveler (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Ugtha'atigthe—He who shouts (victory name).
 Uhoⁿ'noⁿba—Two cooks (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Uhoⁿ'zhiⁿga—Little cook (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Wahaxi—Yellow skin (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Wahoⁿ'thiⁿge—Orphan (O. Teçiⁿ'de).
 Wa'inoⁿzhiⁿ—Standing over them (O., Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Wapa'de—One who cuts the carcass (O., Tapa').
 Washkoⁿ'moⁿthiⁿ—Walking strength (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Zhiⁿga'gahige—Little chief (O., Tapa').
 Zhiⁿga'washushe—Little brave.

Female

- Gthedoⁿ'wiⁿtexi—Sacred hawk woman (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Mi'gthedoⁿwiⁿ—Moon hawk woman (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Migthi'toⁿiⁿ—New moon. (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Mi'tena—Meaning uncertain (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Mi'waçon—White moon (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Moⁿsha'dethiⁿ—Moving on high (O., Iⁿ-shta'çuⁿda).
 Poⁿ'caçoⁿ—Pale Ponca. (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Poⁿ'cawiⁿ—Ponca woman (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Wihe'toⁿga—Big little sister (O., We'zhiⁿshte).

WAZHA'ZHE GENS

*Standing Bear's band**Male*

A'gahawashushe—Distinguished for bravery (O.: Waça'be, Tha'tada).
 A'thiude—Abandoned (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Bachi'zhithe—To rush through obstacles (O., Tapa').
 Çigthe'noⁿpabi—One whose footprints are feared (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Da'doⁿthiⁿge—Has nothing (O., Koⁿ'çe).
 Gaçu'be—Meaning uncertain (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Gahi'gezhiⁿga—Little chief (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Gakuwiⁿxe—Eagle soaring (O.: Te'pa, Tha'tada).
 Hexa'ga—Rough horns (O., Tapa').
 Hoⁿ'gashenu—Hoⁿ'ga man (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Iⁿde'xaga—Rough face.
 Ki'moⁿhoⁿ—Facing the wind (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Koⁿ'çehoⁿga—Kansa leader (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Maci'kide—Shooting cedar (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Moⁿchu'duba—Four bears, grizzly.
 Moⁿchu'kinoⁿpabi—The bear who is feared.
 Moⁿchu'noⁿzhiⁿ—Standing bear.
 Moⁿchu'toⁿga—Big bear.
 Moⁿstiⁿ'çka—White rabbit (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Ni'juba—Little water.
 Noⁿ'kahega—Brown back (O., Tapa').
 Noⁿoⁿ'bi—One who is heard (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 Noⁿpe'wathe—One who is feared (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Noⁿxi'dethiⁿge—The incorrigible.
 Nushia'haginoⁿ—Returns bending low.
 Pethi'shage—Curly brows.
 Shoⁿ'gehiⁿçi—Yellow horse.
 Tade'umoⁿthiⁿ—Walking wind (O., Koⁿ'çe).
 Tai'hiⁿtoⁿga—Big mane.
 Tatoⁿ'ganoⁿzhiⁿzhiⁿga—Little standing bull.
 Tatoⁿ'gashkade—Buffalo playing (O., Teçiⁿ'de).

Tenu'gazhiⁿga—Little buffalo bull (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 The'çegabe—Black tongue (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Uçu'gaxe—To make paths (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Uzha'ta—Confluence.
 Waaⁿ'—To sing (O., Iⁿgthe'zhide).
 Waba'açe—He puts to flight (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Wabahi'zhiⁿga—Little nibbles (O., Koⁿ'çe).
 Wagi'asha—Meaning lost (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Wakoⁿ'da—Power (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Wanoⁿ'shezhiⁿga—Little soldier (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Washkoⁿ'hi—Strong (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Washu'she—Brave (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Wa'thidaxe—Sound of claws tearing (O.: Wazhiⁿ'ga, Tha'tada).
 Wathi'xekashi—He who pursues long.
 Waxpe'sha—Old name, meaning lost (O., Tapa').
 Wazhe'thiⁿge—Without gratitude (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 We'ç'a—Snake (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 We'ç'ahoⁿga—Snake leader (O., Tapa').
 We'ç'atoⁿga—Big snake (pl. 11).
 We'ç'azhiⁿga—Little snake (O., Iⁿshta'çuⁿda).
 Xitha'nika—Eagle person (O., Tapa').
 Xitha'zhiⁿga—Little eagle (O.: Te'pa, Tha'tada).

Female

Açe'xube—Sacred paint (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Mi'tena—Meaning uncertain (O., Hoⁿ'ga).
 Noⁿçe'inçe—Meaning uncertain (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Noⁿzhe'gitoⁿ—Meaning uncertain (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Ta'çabewiⁿ—Black deer woman (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Te'çoⁿwiⁿ—White buffalo woman (O., Teçiⁿ'de).
 Toⁿ'ingthiⁿge—New moon soaring (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Umoⁿ'hoⁿwau—Omaha woman.
 Wihe'toⁿga—Big little sister (O., We'zhiⁿshte).



BIG SNAKE



OSAGE CHIEF



OSAGE CHIEF

NU'XE GENS

*Big-hoofed buffalo's band**Male*

- Bthoⁿti—Scent borne by wind (O., Weⁿzhin^shte).
 Çiⁿdethihoⁿ—Lifting the tail (O., Teçinⁿde).
 Duⁿbamoⁿthiⁿ—Four walking (O., Inkeⁿçabe).
 Inshaⁿgemoⁿthiⁿ—Old man walking (O., Inshaⁿçuⁿda).
 Inshaⁿbaçude—Shedding hair about the eyes (O., Hoⁿga).
 Noⁿgethia—Not able to run (O., Teçinⁿde).
 Nuⁿxezhiⁿga—Little ice.
 Paheⁿagthiⁿ—Sits on hill.
 Pudeⁿtha—Meaning unknown (O., Inkeⁿçabe).
 Shaⁿbenoⁿzhiⁿ—Stands dark (O., Hoⁿga).
 Shoⁿgeⁿçka—White horse (O., Moⁿthiⁿkagaxe).
 Tenuⁿgagahi—Male buffalo chief (O.: Wazhiⁿga, Thaⁿtada).

- Tenuⁿgashagetoⁿga—Big-hoofed bull.
 Thaeⁿgoⁿ—Pitiful.
 Uhoⁿgemoⁿthiⁿ—Walking at end of file (O., Inⁿgtheⁿzhide).
 Uhoⁿgenoⁿzhiⁿ—Standing at end of file (O., Inⁿgtheⁿzhide).
 Ukiⁿpatoⁿ—Rolling himself (O., Inⁿgtheⁿzhide).
 Uⁿshkadazhi—Undaunted (O., Moⁿthiⁿkagaxe).
 Uthiⁿxide—Looking about (O., Inkeⁿçabe).
 Uzhnaⁿgaxe—To make clear (refers to buffalo wallows) (O., Teçinⁿde).
 Waçaⁿapa—Meaning uncertain (O.: Waçaⁿbe, Thaⁿtada).
 Waçaⁿbezhiⁿga—Little black bear (O.: Waçaⁿbe, Thaⁿtada).

Female

- Miⁿmite—Meaning uncertain (O., Inkeⁿçabe).
 Weⁿtoⁿna—Meaning uncertain (O., Inkeⁿçabe).

THE OSAGE, OR WAZIIA'ZIIIE, TRIBE ^a

RECENT HISTORY; ORGANIZATION

The Osage tribe is composed of five kinship groups, each of which is made up of a number of subgroups. Of these latter many have a group attached that acts as *sho'ka*—servant or attendant at a given ceremony. Of the five kinship groups two always camp on the northern side of the eastern opening of the tribal circle. The other three remain on the opposite side of the circle, but change their relative positions. The tribe, therefore, has two grand divisions, that on the northern side being composed of two kinship groups and that on the southern side of three kinship groups.

^a The Osage now live in the northern part of Oklahoma, on the Arkansas river. This locality was not their home when they were first met by the white race. They were then dwelling on the western side of the Mississippi, both north and south of the Missouri, including the Ozark Mountain region, the name Ozark being a corruption of the native term Wazha'zhe. The territory occupied by the Osage, lying, as it did, adjacent to the Mississippi river, was very soon needed by the white people who were pressing westward. The Osage made a number of cessions to the United States, the earliest in 1808, when they parted with territory on the Mississippi. In 1818 they gave up their claim to land on the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers. In 1825 they ceded all their lands in Missouri and Arkansas. Further cessions were made in 1839 and 1865. Finally, in 1871 and 1872 lands were purchased from the Cherokee in the then Indian Territory, and on these lands the Osage are living to-day. The payments for lands ceded by them in Missouri and Kansas were placed in the United States Treasury at interest, yielding the Osage a considerable sum per capita and relieving the people from urgent necessity to labor in order to obtain food and clothing—a condition not altogether favorable to the best development of a naturally strong and promising tribe. (Pictures of Osage chiefs are shown in pls. 12, 13, 15.)

Owing to the shifting of the positions of the three groups forming the southern side, there were three arrangements of the tribal circle (see figs. 9-11), which was called *tsi'uthuga*. This is the same as the Omaha *hu'thuga*, with the dialectic difference in pronunciation. Moreover, the Osage circle was symbolically oriented, as was the case with the Omaha, the actual opening being in the direction the tribe was moving. The marked similarity in the form of camping and in the fundamental ideas representing the tribal organization seems to show that the two tribes are organized on the same plan. (See p. 138.)

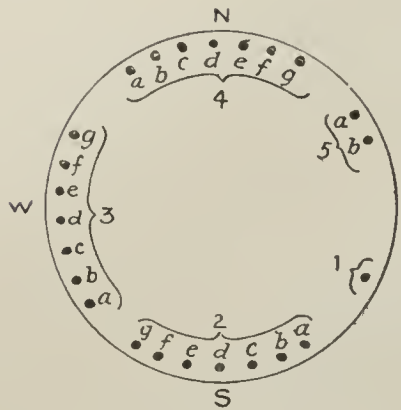


FIG. 9.

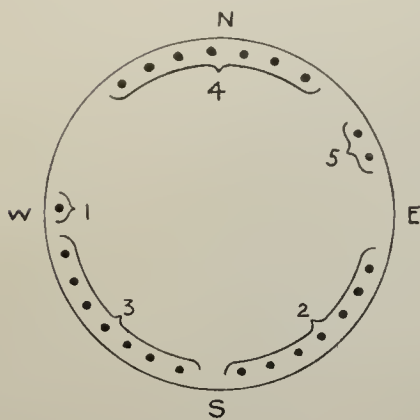


FIG. 10.

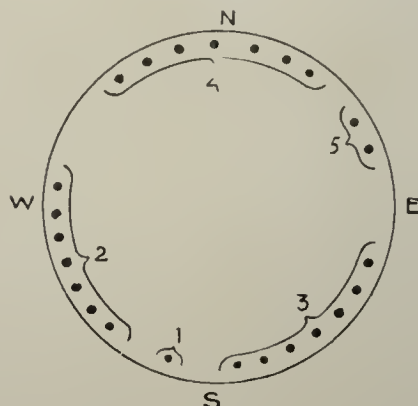


FIG. 11.

FIG. 9. Diagram of Osage *hu'thuga*—usual order. 1. HO^NGA UTANATSI (pp. 58-59). 2. WAZHA'ZHE (p. 59). Subgroups: (a) Wazha'zhečka; (b) Ke'k'ia; (c) Mike'estetse; (d) Wa'tsetsi; (e) Uzu'gaxe; (f) Tathi'hi; (g) Hu zhoigara. 3. HO^NGA (p. 60). Subgroups: (a) Waça'beton; (b) I'groa'ga zhoigara; (c) Opxoa; (d) Mon'inkagaxa; (e) Pon'ea washtage; (f) Xi'tha; (g) I'batsetatse. 4. TSI'ZHU (p. 60). Subgroups: (a) Tsi'zhu wanon; (b) Si'ntsagre; (c) Pe'ton'tonga zhoigara; (d) Tseto'ga i'tse; (e) Mi'k'ia wanon; (f) Ho zhoigara; (g) Tsi'zhu uthuhage. 5. NI'KA WAKO^NDAGI or GRON^TN (p. 60-61). Subgroups: (a) Xon'tsewatse; (b) Nu'xe.

FIG. 10. Diagram of Osage *hu'thuga*—hunting order. 2. WAZHA'ZHE. 3. HO^NGA. 1. HO^NGA UTANATSI. 4. TSI'ZHU. 5. NI'KA WAKO^NDAGI or GRON^TN. The dots represent the same order of subgroups as given in figure 9.

FIG. 11. Diagram of Osage *hu'thuga*—sacred order. 3. HO^NGA. 1. HO^NGA UTANATSI. 2. WAZHA'ZHE. 4. TSI'ZHU. 5. NI'KA WAKO^NDAGI or GRON^TN. The dots represent the order of the subgroups, which is the same as in figure 9.

KINSHIP GROUPS ^a

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Ho ⁿ 'ga utanatsi | } Comprising southern half of <i>hu'thuga</i> . |
| 2. Wazha'zhe | |
| 3. Ho ⁿ 'ga | |
| 5. Ni'ka wako ⁿ dagi or Groni ⁿ | } Comprising northern half. |
| 4. Tsi'zhu | |

^a The information here given relative to the names, duties, and positions of the kinship groups was furnished by the following men, members of the tribe: Shoⁿ'toⁿgabe, Wazha'zhewadaⁿga, Washiⁿ'ha (pl. 14), and Big Heart.



WASHI'HA (OSAGE)

1. HOⁿGA UTANATSI (THE SEPARATE HOⁿGA) GROUP

The meaning and significance of this name have been already explained. (See p. 40.) The Hoⁿga utanatsi are spoken of as "Instructor of rites."

Subdivision: Moⁿhiⁿçi ("stone knife").^a This group was *sho'ka*, or servant, to the Hoⁿga utanatsi. This office was an honorable one, being that of intermediary between the officials in charge of a ceremony and the people who took part in it.

2. WAZHA'ZHE GROUP

This is an old and untranslatable term. The group was divided into seven subgroups, each with its distinctive name and attendant *sho'ka* group, but all having a right to the general name Wazha'zhe.

Subgroups

(a) Wazha'zhe *çka* ("the white" or "pure Wazha'zhe"); *çka* is the Osage equivalent of the Omaha *x̄ti*, meaning "original," "unmixed." This group is the keeper of the seven pipes for making peace within the tribe. Inⁿgroⁿga ni moⁿtse ("puma in the water") is the name of the Sho'ka subdivision.

(b) Ke'k'iⁿ ("great turtle").

Pak'a zhoigara (*pak'a*, mystery; *zhoigara*, those who are with, i. e., the group whose rites pertain to), Sho'ka subdivision.

(c) Mike'estetse, the cat-tail (*Typha latifolia*).

Ka'xewahuça, the loud-voiced crow,^b Sho'ka subdivision.

(d) Wa'tsetsi. It is said that a comet fell from the morning star and came to join the council of this subgroup. Xutha'paçoⁿ zhoigara (*xutha'paçoⁿ*, the bald eagle), Sho'ka subdivision.

(e) Uzu'gaxe^b (*uzu'*, straight; *gaxe*, to make—they who make the path straight). It was the duty of this subgroup to make clear the way of a war party; to find a safe way around any obstruction. The scouts of the war parties were taken from this group.

Moⁿso'tsemoⁿiⁿ (*moⁿ*, land; *so'tse*, smoke; *moⁿiⁿ*, to walk—they who walk in smoke, fog, or dust), the Sho'ka subdivision, was called on to cause a fog, or a wind to raise the dust in order to conceal the movements of a war party.

(f) Tathi'hi, white-tail deer.

Watsi'tsazhiⁿga zhoigara (*watsi'tsazhiⁿga*, small animals), subdivision.

^a Articles of utility in the past, although they may have passed out of daily use among the people, are frequently conserved in sacred rites. For example, the stone knife was the only kind of knife that could be used ceremonially and its name appears as a personal name among the Omaha families that had hereditary duties connected with rites that belonged to the Iashta'gunda and We'zhi'shte gentes.

^b The name of this subdivision appears as a personal name in the Omaha tribe.

(g) Hu zhoigara (*hu*, fish). Enoⁿmiⁿtse toⁿ (*enoⁿ*, they alone; *miⁿtse*, bow; *toⁿ*, to have or possess—they alone possess the bow), Sho'ka subdivision. These were known as the bow makers.

3. HOⁿ'GA (LEADER) GROUP

This kinship group was divided into seven subgroups, as follows:

(a) Waça'be toⁿ (*waça'be*, bear; *toⁿ*, to possess).

Waça'be çka ("white" or "original bear"), Sho'ka subdivision.

(b) Iⁿgroⁿ'ga zhoigara (*iⁿgroⁿ'ga*, puma).

Hiⁿwa'xaga zhoigara (*hiⁿwa'xaga*, porcupine), Sho'ka subdivision.

(c) O'pxoⁿ, elk. Tahe'shabe zhoigara (*tahe'shabe*, male elk with dark horns), Sho'ka subdivision.

(d) Moⁿiⁿkagaxe (*moⁿiⁿka*, earth; *gaxe*, to make—earth-makers).

(e) Poⁿ'ca washtage (*washtage*, peace). This subgroup had the office of peacemakers.

(f) Xitha ("white eagle").

(g) Hoⁿ'gashinga ("little Hoⁿ'ga"). I'batsetatse (*ibatse*, coming together; *tatse*, the wind—associated by rites pertaining to the wind), Sho'ka subdivision. The office of herald was in this group.

4. TSI'ZHU (HOUSEHOLD) GROUP

This kinship group also had seven subgroups:

(a) Tsi'zhu wanoⁿ (*wanoⁿ*, the oldest; age implies wisdom), or Wakoⁿ'da noⁿpabi (*wakoⁿ'da*, gods; *noⁿpabi*, afraid of).

Waba'xi, Sho'ka subdivision.

(b) Siⁿ'tsagre ("wearing the wolf's tail on the scalp lock").

Shoⁿ'ke zhoigara (*shoⁿ'ke*, wolf), Sho'ka subdivision.

(c) Pe'toⁿ toⁿga zhoigara (*pe'toⁿ*, crane; *toⁿga*, big).

(d) Tseto'ga iⁿtse (*tseto'ga*, buffalo bull; *iⁿtse*, face). It is said that Waba'xi went in search of game. He found a buffalo, pointed his finger at its face, and killed it; Wakoⁿ'da reproved him for the act. Because of this deed his people were called Buffalo-face people.

Tsea'koⁿ, Sho'ka subdivision.

(e) Mi'k'iⁿ wanoⁿ (*mi*, sun; *k'iⁿ*, to carry; *wanoⁿ*, the oldest). Tsi'zhu washtage (*washtage*, peaceful), division. This division made peace. Red-eagle people.

(f) Hoⁿ zhoigara (*hoⁿ*, night).

Ta'pa zhoigara (*ta'pa*, the name of the Pleiades), Sho'ka subdivision.

(g) Tsi'zhu uthuhage (*uthuhage*, the last). The last household refers to the end of the line of the group.

5. NI'KA WAKOⁿDAGI OR GRONIⁿ GROUP

This kinship group had three subgroups. (Derivation of name: *Ni'ka*, people; *wakoⁿdagi* refers to the thunder—the Thunder people).

(a) Xoⁿ'tsewatse (*xoⁿtse*, cedar; *watse*, to touch, as the striking of an enemy). The name refers to the cedar tree upon which the thunder rested as it descended.

This subgroup acts as sho'ka in the rites of the Thunder people.

(b) Nu'xe, ice. This is the name of a people from the upper world. When one came down he was asked, "What are you?" He answered, "I am Nu'xe," ice or hail.

Sub-Shoka group, Tseto'ga zhoigara (*tseto'ga*, buffalo bull).

The two divisions of the Osage tribe were called the Tsi'zhu and the Hoⁿ'ga. The Tsi'zhu was composed of two kinship groups and occupied the northern side of the tribal circle viewed as having the opening at the east. The position of the Osage Thunder group was similar to that occupied by the Omaha Iⁿshta'çuⁿda, whose name and rites referred to thunder, and the Tsi'zhu division seems in a measure to correspond to the ideas symbolized by the northern half of the Omaha tribal circle. (See p. 138.)

The Hoⁿ'ga division was composed of three kinship groups. Those given in the diagram on page 58 show that their positions with relation to one another changed during tribal rites and ceremonies, but remained stable in comparison with the Tsi'zhu division. The similarity between the position and the duties devolving on this southern half of the oriented Osage tribal circle and those of the corresponding division of the Omaha suggests a strong probability that both organizations had a common pattern or origin.

While the Ponca tribe does not present the picture of a closely organized body, the similarity in the position of the Nu'xe gens of the Ponca as compared with that of the Nu'xe group of the Osage seems to indicate the perpetuation of some idea or belief common to the two tribes.

ADOPTION CEREMONY

The ceremony of adoption into the Osage tribe throws light on the functions and symbolism of the Osage groups. It was described by old chiefs as follows:

When a war party took a captive, anyone who had lost a child or who was without children could adopt the captive to fill the vacant place. After the ceremony the person became an Osage in all respects as one born in the tribe and was subject to the duties and requirements of the family into which he entered by a kind of new birth.

When a captive was held for the purpose of adoption, the captor sent an invitation to the leading men of the Tsi'zhu washtage, who were peacemakers, and also to the chiefs of the Iⁿgroⁿ'ga, who had charge of war rites. Food was prepared and set before these leaders, when the host, in a solemn speech, set forth his desire to adopt the captive. Thereupon these leaders sent for the leading men who were versed in the rituals of the groups which were to take part in the ceremony. These were the Nu'xe, ice; the O'pxoⁿ, elk; the I'batse, wind; the Wa'tsetsi, water; and the Hoⁿ'ga, who were the leaders of the tribal hunt. When all were assembled the captive was brought and placed in the back part of the lodge opposite the entrance, the seat of the stranger. Then the ritual used at the initiation and naming of a child born in the tribe was given. This ritual recounts the creation and history of the tribe and the four stages of man's life. At the close the captive was led to the chief of the Tsi'zhu washtage, who

passed him on to the Iⁿgroⁿ/ga, whose place was on the south side of the tribal circle. By this act the captive symbolically traversed the tribal circle, passing from those on the north, who made peace, to those on the south, who had charge of war—the act indicating that he was to share in all that concerned the tribe.

Then the chief of the Iⁿgroⁿ/ga took a sharp-pointed flint knife and made a quick stroke on the end of the captive's nose, causing the blood to flow. The chief of the Tsi'zhu washtage wiped away the blood. Then the chief of the Wa'tsetsi brought water, and the chief of the Hoⁿ/ga food (corn or meat), and these were administered to the captive by the chief of the Tsi'zhu washtage, who then took the sacred pipe, filled it, and placed on it fronds of cedar brought by the I'batse. The pipe was lit and ceremonially smoked by the captive. Then the chief of the Nu'xe brought buffalo fat and anointed the body of the captive, after which the chief of the O'pxoⁿ painted two black stripes across the face from the left eyebrow to the lower part of the right cheek. This done, the chief of the Tsi'zhu washtage announced the name, Ni'wathe ("made to live"), and the captive became the child of the man who adopted him.

The letting of blood symbolized that the captive lost the blood and kinship of the tribe into which he had been born. All trace of his former birth was removed by the washing away of the blood by the Wa'tsetsi. He was then given food by those who led the tribe in the hunt when the food supply was obtained. The new blood made by the Osage food was thus made Osage blood.

This symbolic act was confirmed and sanctified by the smoking of the pipe, the aromatic cedar being provided by the I'batse. Finally, the anointing of the body by the Nu'xe (who, together with the Buffalo people, controlled the planting of the corn) brought the captive entirely within the rites and avocations of the tribe. The black stripes put on by the O'pxoⁿ were in recognition of the Thunder as the god of war and the captive's future duties as a warrior of the tribe. The giving of the name Ni'wathe explained and closed the ceremony.

It was further explained that the drama "means to represent the death of the captive not only to the people of his birth but to his past life, and his rebirth into the family of the Osage who saved him and "made" him "to live" by adopting him."

At the close of the ceremony all the chiefs who had taken part in the rites partook of the feast which the man who adopted the captive had provided for the occasion. Not long after, the name Ni'wathe was dropped and the adopted child without further ceremony was given a name belonging to the father's group.

LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS

THE PRESENT TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

(Given by Black Dog, pl. 15.)

The Wazha'zho kinship group had seven pipes. These were used to make peace within the tribe. If a quarrel occurred, one of these pipes was sent by the hand of the sho'ka, and the difficulty was settled peaceably.

When the Wazha'zhe met the Hoⁿ/ga, they were united by means of one of these peace pipes. After they were united they met the Hoⁿ/ga utanatsi, who had a pipe of their own; but peace was made, and the Hoⁿ/ga utanatsi united with the Wazha'zhe and the Hoⁿ/ga. Later these three met and united with the Tsi'zhu.

According to Big Heart and others, each of the five groups had its own traditions, and one did not interfere with another.



BLACK DOG AND OTHER OSAGE CHIEFS

Black Dog (Show'tongabe) appears on the extreme left

WAZHA'ZHE GROUP

Way beyond (an expression similar to "once upon a time") a part of the Wazha'zhe lived in the sky. They desired to know their origin, the source from which they came into existence. They went to the sun. He told them that they were his children. Then they wandered still farther and came to the moon. She told them that she gave birth to them, and that the sun was their father. She told them that they must leave their present abode and go down to the earth and dwell there. They came to the earth, but found it covered with water. They could not return to the place they had left, so they wept, but no answer came to them from anywhere. They floated about in the air, seeking in every direction for help from some god; but they found none. The animals were with them, and of all these the elk was the finest and most stately, and inspired all the creatures with confidence; so they appealed to the elk for help. He dropped into the water and began to sink. Then he called to the winds and the winds came from all quarters and blew until the waters went upward as in a mist. Before that time the winds traveled only in two directions, from north to south and then back from south to north; but when the elk called they came from the east, the north, the west, and the south, and met at a central point,^a and carried the water upward.

At first rocks only were exposed, and the people traveled on the rocky places that produced no plants, and there was nothing to eat. Then the waters began to go down until the soft earth was exposed. When this happened the elk in his joy rolled over and over on the soft earth, and all his loose hairs clung to the soil. The hairs grew, and from them sprang beans, corn, potatoes, and wild turnips, and then all the grasses and trees.

The people went over the land, and in their wanderings came across human footprints, and followed them. They came upon people who called themselves Wazha'zhe. The Hoⁿ'ga and the Elk^b affiliated with them, and together they traveled in search of food. In these wanderings they came across the Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi. The Wazha'zhe had a pipe. This they filled and presented to the Hoⁿ'ga, who accepted it, and thus the Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi were incorporated with the three affiliated bands. Then they came upon the Tsi'zhu, and they were taken in, with their seven bands.

HOⁿ'GA GROUP

The Hoⁿ'ga came down from above, and found the earth covered with water. They flew in every direction seeking for gods to call upon who would render them help and drive away the water; but they found none. Then the elk came and with his loud voice shouted to the four quarters. The four winds came in response to his call, and they blew upon the water and it ascended, leaving rocks visible. The rocks gave but a limited space for the people to stand on. The muskrat was sent down into the water and was drowned. Then the loon was sent, but he also was drowned. Next the beaver was sent down, and was drowned. Then the crawfish dived into the waters, and when he came up there was some mud adhering to his claws, but he was so exhausted that he died. From this mud the land was formed.

WA'TSETSI GROUP

The stars are believed to be the children of the sun and moon. The people of the Wa'tsetsi^c are said to have been stars that came down to the earth like meteors and became people.

^a Note the name I'batsetatse ("winds coming together") of the Sho'ka subdivision of (g) of the Hoⁿ'ga group (p. 60).

^b The O'pxo^a, or Elk, is (c) of the Hoⁿ'ga group. Note the use of the term Hoⁿ'ga in this legend as the name of a people, in connection with what has already been pointed out on pp. 40-41.

^c The Wa'tsetsi subgroup (d) of the Wazha'zhe group, p. 59.

THE WATER PEOPLE

There are people who came from under the water. They lived in the water weeds that hang down, are green in color, and have leaves on the stem. The people who lived in water dwelt in shells which protected them from the water, keeping the water out and serving as houses.

There were creatures who lived under the earth, as the cougar, the bear, the buffalo, and the elk. These creatures came up out of the ground. The land creatures and those that lived in shells came to the earth, and the star people came down; all three came together, intermarried, and from these unions sprang the people of to-day.

The men of the Hoⁿ'ga division cut the hair so that there should be five bunches in rows running from front to back.

The men of the Tsi'zhu division wore the hair in three bunches—one just above the forehead, one at the top of the head, and one at the nape of the neck.

PERSONAL NAMES

The following Osage names were obtained in 1896:

TSI'ZHU WASHTAGE (PEACEMAKERS' HOUSEHOLD)

Male

- A'huzhiⁿe—Little wings.
 Blo'gahike—All the chiefs.
 Bpabaxoⁿ—Cut head. Refers to war. Cutting off the head.
 Dhoⁿ'tsewahi—Bone heart (O., Tapa').
 Dtoⁿ'woⁿgaxe—Village maker (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Dtoⁿ'woⁿihi—Refers to war. The warriors cause the villagers to stampede.
 Gahi'geste—Tall chief (O., Iⁿke'cabe).
 Gahi'gkewadaiⁿga—Chief's power to control the people (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Gka'washiⁿka—Little horse.
 Gkoⁿ'sanoⁿbawahri—Kills two Kansa. War name.
 Gkoⁿ'sawataiⁿga—Gkoⁿ'sa, Kansa; wataiⁿga, eccentric (old word).
 Gredoⁿ'shiⁿka—Little hawk (O., Tha'tada).
 Grezhe'ruse—War name. Captures spotted horses.
 Haxu'mizhe—Woman's name. Ropes.
 Howa'saope—War name. Goes on the warpath after mourning.
 Hua'shutse—Red eagle.
 Iⁿshta' moⁿze—Iⁿshta', eye; moⁿze, protruding like breasts (O., We'zhiⁿshte).
 Moⁿ'hogriⁿ moⁿkasabpe—Sitting by the bank. Refers to a village site.
 Moⁿ'kasabe—Black breast. Refers to the elk.
 Moⁿ'zenoⁿopiⁿ—Iron necklace.
 Moⁿ'zhakita—(Moⁿzha, land; kita, watches—watches over the land). Refers to the wind (O., Koⁿ'ce).
 Moⁿ'zhakuta—(Kuta, shoots; guards or shoots over the land). Refers to the wind (O., Kansa).
 Ni'wathe—Made to live. (See Adoption ceremony, p. 61.)
 Noⁿbe'ze—Yellow claws. Refers to the eagle.
 Opxoⁿshibpe—Elk entrails.
 Ota'noⁿ—Space between two objects. Refers to warriors passing between the tents.
 Othu'hawae—Envious.
 Pahu'cka—White hair. Refers to white buffalo (O., Hoⁿ'ga and Tapa').
 Pasu'—Hail.
 Poⁿhoⁿ'gregahre—War name. One who strikes the enemy first.
 Sa'pekia—Paints himself black.

Toⁿwoⁿgaxe—Village-maker (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Tsesiⁿ'enoⁿpe—Buffalo-tail necklace.
 Tsi'zhuhoⁿka (2)—Hoⁿ'ga household. Leader name.
 Tsi'zhuniⁿkashiⁿka—Little Hoⁿ'ga household.
 Tsi'zhushiⁿka—Little household.
 Tsi'zhutsage—Old man of the Tsi'zhu gens.
 Tso'he—Puckery taste. Nickname.
 Uki'sa—Deserted (as an empty village or house) (O., Iⁿshta'cuⁿda).
 Wakoⁿ'daokie—Talks to Wakoⁿ'da (an old Omaha name—Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Wathigroⁿringe (2)—No mind (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Watsa'noⁿzhiⁿ—War name. One who grasps the enemy.
 Wazhiⁿ'bpizhi—Anger.
 Wazhiⁿ'gasabpe—Blackbird (O., Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe).
 Wazhiⁿ'hotse—Gray bird. Refers to hawk (O., Tapa').
 Wazhiⁿ'sabpe—Cautious mind.

Female

Mi'taiⁿga—Coming, or new moon (O.).
 Mi'taiⁿgashiⁿka—Little new moon.

SI^NTSAGRE*Male*

Ba'zoⁿtsie—War name. Going into the midst; attacking a village.
 Bpa'htatoⁿiⁿ—Big head. Refers to buffalo head.
 Bpa'riⁿwawexta—War name. Attacking the Pawnee.
 Doⁿhe'moⁿiⁿ—Good walker.
 Gahi'gashi—Not a chief.
 Gka'wasabpeagthiⁿ—One who rides a black horse.
 Gkoⁿ'segaxri—War name. One who kills a Kansa.
 Gkoⁿ'sekibpa—War name. Meeting the Kansa.
 Gredoⁿ'moⁿiⁿ—Walking hawk (O., Iⁿke'çabe).
 Ho'moniⁿ—Howler.
 Hone'goⁿ—War name. Refers to the success of the warrior. Success comes as though seeking the man.
 Hutha'watoniⁿte—War name. The light of the eagle soaring on high.
 Iⁿ'dokawadaiⁿga—War name. Refers to taking trophies.
 Moⁿ'zeunoⁿzhiⁿ—Iron shirt (Ponca).
 Ni'gka'sabegaxri—War name. One who kills a black man.
 Ni'kanoⁿtsewa—War name. One who kills the enemy.
 Ni'koibroⁿ—Smelling a human being (O., Tha'tada).
 Otha'hamoⁿiⁿ—War name. Follower; one who follows the leader.
 Shoⁿ'gkeihi—War name. Refers to the barking of dogs when the warriors approach.
 Tha'bthiⁿwaxri—Kills three.
 Tsewa'hu—Buffalo bone.
 Wa'bisuⁿtse—War name. A warrior presses an enemy to the ground.
 Wa'dashtae—War name. Refers to setting fire to the grass to scare out the enemy.
 Wadoh'kie—War name. Refers to taking the scalp.
 Wahoⁿ'gashi—Mischievous. Nickname.
 Wa'iⁿnoⁿzhiⁿ—War name. Holding the captive.
 Waki'ashke—Refers to hunting and packing the buffalo meat.
 Watse'wahe—War name.
 Waxri'—Stingy. Nickname.
 Wazha'kibpa—War name. Refers to meeting a Wazha'zhe.
 We'iⁿgaxe—Refers to hunting. Making a pack strap.

MI'K'I^N WANO^N

Male

Be'ga'xazhi (pl. 12)—War name. One who can not be outstripped. Refers to running.

Bpahi'thagthiⁿ—Good hair.

Ho'thagthiⁿ—Good voice.

Migk'iⁿwadai^{nga}—Eccentric sun carrier.



FIG. 12. Kansa chief.

Mi'hiçe—Yellow hair.

Refers to buffalo calf.

Mio'tamoⁿⁱⁿ—Straight sun or moon.

Shiⁿniça—Refers to intercepting the game.

We'toⁿmoⁿⁱⁿ—War name. Refers to the women singing *wetoⁿ* songs.

THE KANSA TRIBE^a

The name Kansa is an old term. As the rites pertaining to the winds belong to the Kansa gens in the several cognate tribes, it may be that the word had some reference to the wind.

GENTES

The following list of gentes is not complete, nor has it been possible to obtain satisfactory information as to the location of each gens in the tribal circle,

owing to the disintegration of the tribe and the breaking up of their ancient customs and ceremonies. The information obtained goes to

^a Of the Kansa tribe fewer than 300 are now living; these are in northern Oklahoma. Their lands adjoin those of the Osage. They, too, have been pushed from the place where they were dwelling when the white people first came into their vicinity. They were then northwest of the Osage, in the region along the river which bears their name. They began ceding land to the United States in 1825. Further relinquishments were made in 1846, and again in 1859 and 1862. In 1872 their present reservation was purchased from the Osage. While the Kansa have not been so reduced as the Quapaw, they have failed to maintain fully their old tribal organization; though much has lapsed from the memory of the people owing to disuse of former customs and rites, considerable knowledge of the ancient tribal life still might possibly be recovered. (Portraits of Kansa chiefs are shown in pl. 16 and fig. 12.)



KANSA CHIEF

show that their former organization was similar to that of the other cognates, that the tribe was composed of two great divisions, and that the names of Kansa gentes are to be found in the Osage, Ponca, Omaha, and Quapaw tribes. The names obtained and verified are:

1. Moⁿiⁿ'ka ("earth"). This name corresponds to Moⁿ'iⁿkagaxe of the Osage tribe, and to Moⁿ'thiⁿkagaxe of the Omaha tribe, both of which mean "earth makers."

2. Wazha'zhe. This name occurs as the name of the Osage tribe and of one of the large kinship groups in that tribe; also as the name of a gens in the Ponca tribe.

3. Ponca. This name occurs as the name of a gens in the Osage and Ponca tribes.

4. Kansa. There is a Kansa gens in the Omaha tribe.

5. Wazhiⁿ'ga inikashikithe (*wazhiⁿ'ga*, bird; *inikashikithe* corresponds to the Omaha *iⁿ'nikashiga*, and means that with which they make themselves a people—that is, by observing a common rite they make themselves one people). (See Wazhiⁿ'ga subgens of the Tha'tada, p. 160.) Birds figure in the rites of all the cognates, and are tabu in those gentes practising rites which pertain to certain birds.

6. Te inikashikithe (*te*, buffalo). Buffalo rites occur in all the five cognates.

7. O'pxoⁿ inikashikithe (*o'pxoⁿ*, elk). Gentes bearing the name of the elk occur in the Osage and Quapaw tribes, and in the Omaha the elk is tabu to the We'zhiⁿshte gens.

8. Hoⁿ (night). This name occurs in the Osage tribe as the name of a group.

9. Hoⁿ'gashiⁿga ("little Hoⁿ'ga"). This name occurs in the Osage and Quapaw tribes, and the name Hoⁿ'ga in the Omaha and Osage tribes.

10. Hoⁿ'gatoⁿga ("big Hoⁿ'ga"). This name is found also in the Quapaw.

11. Tsedu'ga ("buffalo bull"). This occurs also in the Osage tribe.

12. Tsi'zhu washtage (*washtage*, docile, peaceable). Tsi'zhu is the name of a large group of the Osage, and Tsi'zhu washtage of the peacemakers of that group.



FIG. 13. Quapaw man.

THE QUAPAW TRIBE^a

The origin of the word *quapaw* has already been explained (see p. 36).

^a The remnant of the Quapaw tribe (hardly a hundred in number) are living in the northern part of Oklahoma. (See figs. 13, 14.) When first met by the white people they were living south of the Osage. The Quapaw came into contact with the French and Spanish traders of the sixteenth century, being in the line of march of these early traders from the South. With the stimulus given to immigration and settlement after the Louisiana Purchase, their lands were soon wanted. In 1818 they ceded to the United States their country lying between the Arkansas, Canadian, and Red rivers, receiving a tract for themselves south of the Arkansas and Washita rivers. This reservation they relinquished in 1824, retiring to a smaller tract in the vicinity of their present home. Their vicissitudes have been such as to shatter their tribal life, so that it is now difficult to obtain accurate information concerning their ancient organization. Only fragments can be gathered here and there, to be pieced together by knowledge gained from those cognates who have been more fortunate in preserving their old tribal form and rites.

GENTES

It has been difficult to obtain definite information concerning the gentes of the tribe. The people have become so disintegrated that questions are usually met with a weary shake of the head as the answer comes, "All is gone; gone long ago!" A fragmentary list of gentes has been secured. Some of the following may be subgentes. There were two divisions in the tribe, but how the following groups were divided between these it has been thus far impossible to learn.

1. Hoⁿ'gato^{nga}—Big Hoⁿ'ga.
2. Hoⁿ'gazhi^{nga}—Little Hoⁿ'ga.
3. Wazhiⁿ'ga inikashiha (*wazhi^{nga}*, bird; *inikashiha*, meaning with which they make themselves a people, i. e., by the rite of which the bird is the symbol).
4. Teⁿ'nikashiha (*te*, buffalo).
5. Onⁿ'poⁿ inikashiha (*onⁿ'pon*, elk).
6. Huⁿ'inikashiha (*hu*, fish).
7. Keⁿ'nikashiha (*ke*, turtle).
8. Naⁿ'pa^{nta}—deer.
9. Waⁿ'sa inikashiha (*was*, black bear).
10. Moⁿ'chuⁿ inikashiha (*monⁿ'chu*, grizzly bear).
11. Mihaⁿ'ke inikashiha (*mihaⁿ'ke*, star).
12. Peⁿ'toⁿ inikashiha (*peton*, crane).
13. Miⁿ'inikashiha (*mi*, sun).
14. Wakoⁿ'ta inikashiha—Thunder.



FIG. 14. Quapaw woman.

The foregoing brief account of the four tribes that are close cognates of the Omaha has been given for the following reasons:

First, to indicate some of the peculiarities of tribal organization which, while common to all, are remarkably developed

among the Omaha, as will be apparent from the following detailed account of that tribe.

Second, to suggest the importance of careful study of such a cognate group as likely to throw light on the manner in which tribes have come to be built up into separate organizations and to bear on the reason why each shows different phases of development.

In the Omaha and the four cognates there appear to be certain stable characteristics which indicate a common ideal of organization, as the two divisions of the tribal circle and the functions pertaining to each; the ceremonies connected with warfare and the awarding of war honors. There seems to be also a common type of religious

ceremonial for the recognition of those cosmic forces which were believed to affect directly the life of man, as the rites attending the naming of children and the class of names given, and the customs relating to birth and to death. These resemblances between the tribes will become clearer as the story of the Omaha tribe is told and discussion is had of customs among the cognates which seem to be similar in purpose even when they differ in details, the differences being as suggestive as the similarities.^a

^a Since the foregoing brief account of the Osage tribe was written an ethnological study of that tribe has been undertaken by Mr. Francis La Flesche for the Bureau of American Ethnology. It is expected that, as a result of this investigation, additional light will be thrown on the relationship between the tribes of the cognate group to which the Osage and the Omaha belong.

II

ENVIRONMENT; RESULTANT INFLUENCES

OMAHA SACRED LEGEND

EARLY HABITAT AND CONDITIONS

The Omaha do not claim to have been born in the region they now occupy. On the contrary, their traditions, like those of their cognates, place their early home in the East, "near a great body of water." This account of their ancient environment had become blended with the idea of a physical birth, as was explained by Shu'denaci when he repeated the fragmentary Legend, at the time the Sacred Pole was turned over to the writers to be deposited for safe-keeping in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. This Legend was in the custody of those who had charge of that ceremonial object and was considered sacred.

The Legend says:

In the beginning the people were in water. They opened their eyes but they could see nothing. From that we get the child name in the Ho^{n'}ga gens, *Nia'di inshtagabtha*, "eyes open in the water." As the people came out of the water they beheld the day, so we have the child name *Ke'tha gaze*, "to make (or behold) the clear sky." As they came forth from the water they were naked and without shame. But after many days passed they desired covering. They took the fiber of weeds and grass and wove it about their loins for covering.

It is noteworthy, when taken in connection with the traditions and usages already mentioned as associated with the name Ho^{n'}ga, (p. 40) that the personal names which refer to the birth of the people are preserved in the Ho^{n'}ga gens.

The Legend continues:

The people dwelt near a large body of water, in a wooded country where there was game. The men hunted the deer with clubs; they did not know the use of the bow. The people wandered about the shores of the great water and were poor and cold. And the people thought, What shall we do to help ourselves? They began chipping stones; they found a bluish stone that was easily flaked and chipped and they made knives and arrowheads [sic] out of it. They had now knives and arrows [sic], but they suffered from the cold and the people thought, What shall we do? A man found an elm root that was very dry and dug a hole in it and put a stick in and rubbed it. Then smoke came. He smelled it. Then the people smelled it and came near; others helped him to rub. At last a spark came; they blew this into a flame and so fire came to warm the people and to cook their food. After this the people built grass houses; they cut the grass with the shoulder blade of a deer. Now the people had



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fire and ate their meat roasted; but they tired of roast meat, and the people thought, How shall we have our meat cooked differently? A man found a bunch of clay that stuck well together; then he brought sand to mix with it; then he molded it as a vessel. Then he gathered grass and made a heap; he put the clay vessel into the midst of the grass, set it on fire, and made the clay vessel hard. Then, after a time, he put water into the vessel and it held water. This was good. So he put water into the vessel and then meat into it and put the vessel over the fire and the people had boiled meat to eat.

Their grass coverings would fuzz and drop off. It was difficult to gather and keep these coverings. The people were dissatisfied and again the people thought, What can we do to have something different to wear? Heretofore they had been throwing away the hides they had taken from the game. So they took their stone knives to scrape down the hides and make them thin; they rubbed the hides with grass and with their hands to make them soft and then used the hides for clothing. Now they had clothing and were comfortable.

The women had to break the dry wood to keep up the fires; the men had some consideration for the women and sought plans for their relief. So they made the stone ax with a groove, and put a handle on the ax and fastened it with rawhide. This was used. But they wanted something better for breaking the wood. So they made wedges of stone. [These were of the same shape as the iron wedges used for splitting logs, explained the old narrator.]

The grass shelter became unsatisfactory and the people thought, How shall we better ourselves? So they substituted bark for grass as a covering for their dwellings.

The comfort derived from their skin clothing seems to have suggested the idea of trying the experiment of covering their dwellings with skins, for the Legend says:

The people determined to put skins on the poles of their dwellings. They tried the deerskins, but they were too small. They tried the elk, but both deer and elk skins became hard and unmanageable under the influence of the sun and rain. So they abandoned the use of the skins and returned to bark as a covering for their houses.

There is no mention made in this Legend, or in any known tradition, as to when or where the people met the buffalo; but there is an indirect reference to the animal in this Legend from which it would seem that the meeting with the buffalo must have taken place after they had left the wooded region where they could obtain elm bark for the covering of their houses, and that the need of a portable shelter started the idea among the people of experimenting again with a skin covering for their tents, for the Legend says:

Until they had the buffalo the people could not have good tents. They took one of the leg bones of the deer, splintered it, and made it sharp for an awl and with sinew sewed the buffalo skin and made comfortable tent covers. (Pl. 17.)

From this Legend and other traditions both the buffalo and the maize seem to have come into the life of the people while they were still in their eastern habitat. The story of finding the maize is told as follows in this Legend:

Then a man in wandering about found some kernels, blue, red, and white. He thought he had secured something of great value, so he concealed them in a mound. One day he thought he would go to see if they were safe. When he came to the mound

he found it covered with stalks having ears bearing kernels of these colors. He took an ear of each kind and gave the rest to the people to experiment with. They tried it for food, found it good, and have ever since called it their life. As soon as the people found the corn good, they thought to make mounds like that in which the kernels had been hid. So they took the shoulder blade of the elk and built mounds like the first and buried the corn in them. So the corn grew and the people had abundant food.

In their wanderings the people reached the forests where the birch trees grow and where there were great lakes. Here they made birch-bark canoes and traveled in them about the shores of the lakes. A man in his wanderings discovered two young animals and carried them home. He fed them and they grew large and were docile. He discovered that these animals would carry burdens, so a harness was fixed on them to which poles were fastened and they became the burden bearers. Before this every burden had to be carried on the back. The people bred the dogs and they were a help to the people.

WESTERN MOVEMENTS

The western movement of the people is not definitely traced in any of their traditions, nor is there any account of the separations of kindred which from time to time must have taken place. By inference, there must have been considerable warfare, as the making of peace with enemies is referred to. The tribe seem to have lingered long in the northern territory now covered by the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Iowa, and between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers; their claims to portions of this territory were acknowledged in the last century when they joined in the treaty made at Prairie du Chien in 1830, at which time they relinquished all their rights to this land to the United States. Six years later they made a like relinquishment of their claims east of the Missouri river in the States of Missouri and Iowa. Tradition is silent as to their movements from the Lake region south to the Ohio river, where it is said they parted from the Quapaw, as already told.

A period of considerably more than three hundred years must have elapsed between the time of parting from the Quapaw on the banks of the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Ohio, and the date of the Omaha's first cession to the United States, mentioned above. After the separation from the Quapaw it is not probable that the Omaha were ever again as far south as the Ohio river or as far east as Lake Michigan.

Tradition says that the Omaha after parting from the Quapaw followed the Mika'toⁿ ke river (the Des Moines) to its headwaters, and wandered northeast. One day about thirty years ago the old men were talking of these early movements of the tribe when Shu'denaçi said, "I think that we could trace the sites of the old Omaha villages of the time the tribe went up the Mi'katoⁿ ke". The question, How could the sites be identified? elicited the reply: "By the circles of stones which were left when the people abandoned a village." It was the custom to place stones around the bottom of the tent cover to hold it firmly on the ground; when the tent was taken down the

stones were left where they had been used. Some of the old men said that they had seen such traces of deserted village sites east of the Missouri in the region where the tribe is said once to have lived. Dakota tradition tells of their meeting the Omaha near the Blue Earth and Minnesota rivers. That the Omaha dwelt for a considerable time in the forest region seems to be borne out by both legends and rites, which show the influence of the woods. The Sacred Pole was cut while the people were dwelling in the wooded country, as all the traditions of the cutting seem to indicate. When that occurred the Ponca were still with the Omaha, and their legends are similar to those of the latter touching the finding and cutting of the Pole. The tree from which it was cut is said to have stood near a lake, and the suggestion has been made that the place was Lake Andes, in Choteau county, South Dakota; but this identification has not been accepted by the best tribal authorities and traditions do not favor placing the act in the vicinity of this lake.

It was prior to the cutting of the Sacred Pole that the Omaha organized themselves into their present order. The inauguration of the rites connected with the Sacred Pole seems to have been for the purpose of conserving that order; and it was after these rites had been instituted that the Omaha reached the vicinity of the Big Sioux, where on the banks of a small stream that flows in from the northeast they built a village. It was while they were living here that a disastrous battle took place (tradition does not say with whom), and as a result this village seems to have been abandoned, after the dead had been gathered and buried in a great mound, around which a stone wall was built. In the middle of the last century this wall was still to be seen. Tradition says, "In this battle the Sacred Pole came near being captured."

It was while the Omaha were in the vicinity of the upper Mississippi that they came into contact with the Cheyenne. The Legend says, "We made peace with the Cheyenne. At that time the Ponca were with us, and the Iowa and Oto joined in the peace." The old narrator added: "The Osage say they were with us, too; but it is not so told by our people." This overture of peace may have been made in consequence of the Omaha having invaded the Cheyenne territory in the northern movement. According to Dakota traditions the Cheyenne were in possession of the upper Mississippi country when the Dakota arrived there. It may be difficult to determine whether or not at this time the Dakota as distinct tribes had come into contact with the Omaha and the Ponca.

While in this region experiences disruptive in character must have visited the people—possibly the defection of the Ponca—which finally resulted in their complete separation. At any rate, something

happened which caused the Omaha to take steps toward a closer organization of the people. The Legend says:

At this place [where peace with the Cheyenne had been made] we formed a government. The people said, "Let us appoint men who shall preserve order." Accordingly they selected men, the wisest, the most thoughtful, generous, and kind, and they consulted together and agreed upon a council of seven who should govern the people.

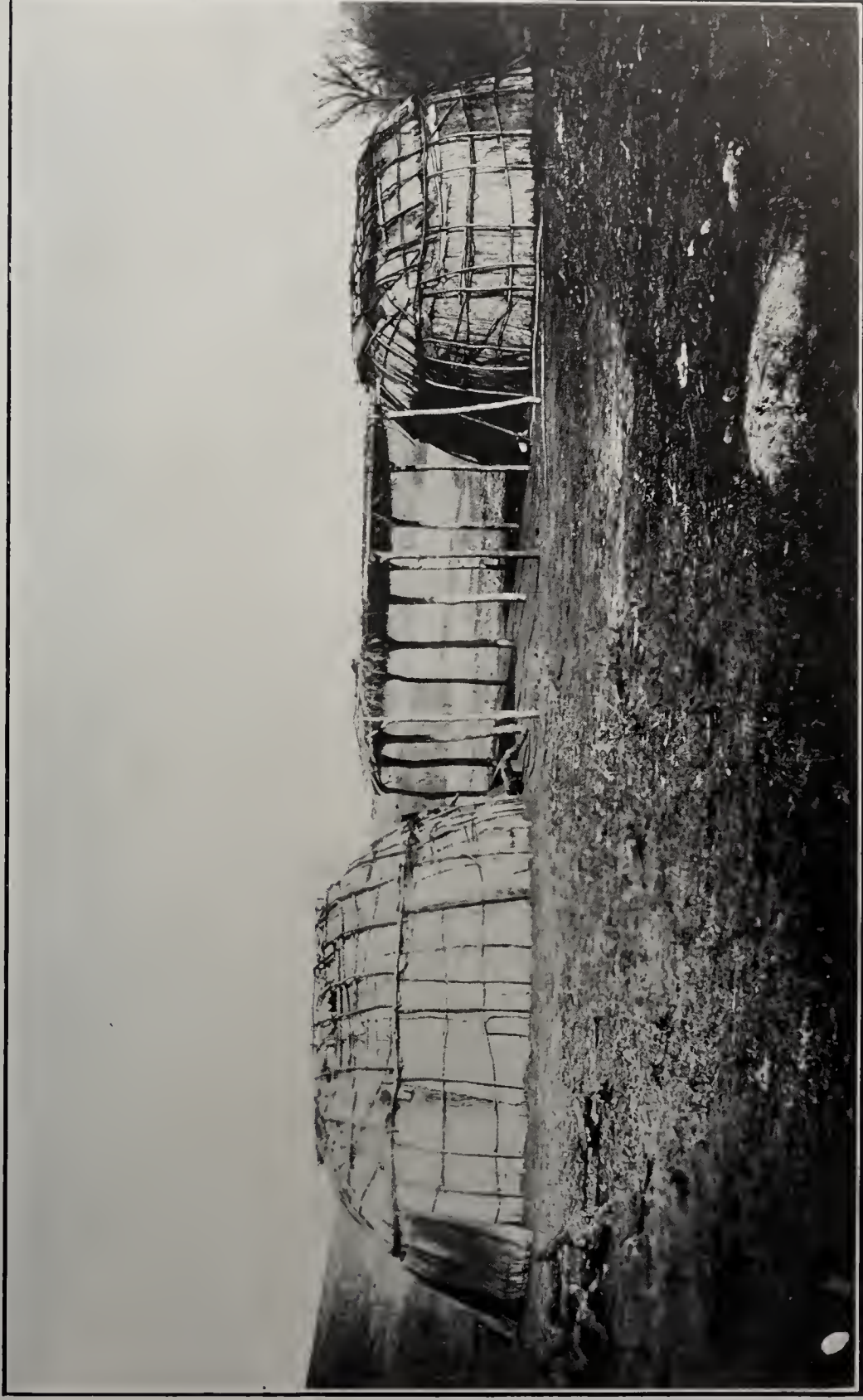
Then follows the account of the organization of the tribe in its present order and the story of finding and cutting the Sacred Pole. Both of these narratives will be given later on.

After the great battle on the Big Sioux the Omaha seem to have turned slightly southward, but to have remained in the main on the east side of the Missouri, although war parties apparently reached the river and even crossed to the farther side, where they met and fought the Arikara, who were dwelling where the Omaha live to-day. Traditions are definite in stating that "the Arikara were first encountered on the west side of the Missouri."

About the time of these events the Omaha seem to have returned to the Big Sioux and to have built a village where the river makes a loop, at a point where a small stream enters from a canyon which, the Omaha story says, has "two cliffs, like pinnacles, standing at its entrance, through which the wind rushes with such violence as to disturb the water." When they built this village, according to the Legend, the Omaha were living in bark houses (pl. 18). They had met and fought the Arikara, but had not yet adopted the earth lodge. The continued forays of the Omaha made the Arikara seek peace and it was in this village at the mouth of the canyon that peace was made among the Arikara, the Cheyenne, the Omaha, the Ponca, the Iowa, and the Oto, and sought to be confirmed through the ceremony now known among the Omaha as the *Wa'wa*^a (see p. 376)—the same ceremony as the Pawnee *Hako*.^a

In view of the part this ceremony has played in the life of the Omaha and its cognate tribes, it is fitting to call attention to the extent of territory throughout which it was observed before and during the seventeenth century. The early French travelers found it among the Caddo group in the country now known as Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, while Marquette met with it among the tribes living on the Mississippi when he entered that stream from the Wisconsin river. The Omaha Legend shows that it was known to the Arikara on the Missouri river and was probably introduced by them to the Omaha, Ponca, Iowa, Oto, and Cheyenne at the village on the Big Sioux river. The Cheyenne seem to have lost the rite in the course of their western movement, but it has ever since been practised by the other tribes who took part in this peacemaking. A rite which was both recognized and revered throughout so extensive a

^a See *Hako*, in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pt. II.



BARK HOUSES



EARTH LODGE

territory, occupied by so many tribes, must have been instrumental in modifying the customs of the peoples practising it, in extending the use of certain symbols, and in bringing about some measure of unity in the forms of religious beliefs.

CONTACT WITH THE ARIKARA

Traditions are more explicit concerning contact with the Arikara than with any other tribe. Both Omaha and Ponca legends give evidence of the influence exerted on the people by this tribe. When the Missouri river was reached by the Omaha, they found the Arikara there, cultivating the maize and living in villages composed of earth lodges—evidently a peaceful, sedentary folk. Omaha war parties from the east side of the river harassed the Arikara, who were living on the west side. The Arikara sought to obtain peace through the influence of the *Wa'wa*ⁿ ceremony, as already related, but Omaha war parties seem finally to have driven them from their homes and to have forced them northward up the Missouri river. The tradition that the Arikara were driven away from the land the Omaha now own is confirmed by a Ponca story that refers to the sale of the Omaha lands to the United States Government in the middle of the last century; at that time an Arikara said to a Ponca: "Had my people known that these lands were valuable, they would have contested the right of the Omaha to make the sale, for the Arikara were the first to occupy the land, a proof of which is to be seen in the remains of our earth lodges and village sites on the bluffs of the Missouri." These earth circles have often been seen by the writers on the Omaha reservation, and the traditions of the Omaha declare them to be the remains of the earth lodges occupied by the Arikara when they dwelt in this region. Both Omaha and Ponca traditions say that the tribes were together when they met and drove the Arikara northward. It was from the Arikara that the Omaha and Ponca learned to make and use earth lodges. According to the Omaha Legend: "It was the women who saved the life of the people. They built the sod houses; they made them by their labor. The work was divided. Men cut the poles and fixed the frame and tied the opening for the smoke hole; the women brought the willows and sod and finished the building."

In this connection it is interesting to note that while the Omaha adopted the earth lodge (pl. 19) they did so from a purely practical point of view, as affording them a better permanent dwelling than tents, and were probably ignorant of the symbolic character of the structure. With the tribe from which it was taken this lodge represented certain religious ideas. Rituals attended the cutting of the trees for its structure and the planting of the four posts that inclosed the space about the central fire. The Omaha did not observe any of

these ceremonies nor did they use the prescribed number of posts. They set up about the fireplace six, seven, or eight posts as suited their convenience, for the sole purpose of supporting the roof, these posts possessing no ceremonial importance or other significance. The Omaha built the earth lodge only for village use; the tipi, or tent, was still the habitation when on the buffalo hunt. There is a tradition that the tribe received the maize from the Arikara but it is questionable if this was the first knowledge the Omaha had of the plant. It may be that in their northward migrations the people passed out of the corn belt into environments not favorable to its cultivation, so that its general use was partially discontinued; but nothing definite is known, although there are indications favorable to this conjecture. If there was any hiatus in the cultivation of the maize among the Omaha, as the following story might suggest, there is nothing to indicate that the tribe has not constantly cultivated it since the time the Missouri was reached. This story, preserved among the Omaha but credited to the Arikara, tells how the latter found the maize and how the former received it from them:

The Arikara were the first to find the maize. A young man went out hunting. He came to a high hill, and, looking down upon a valley, he saw a buffalo bull standing in the middle of a bottom land lying between two rivers where they conjoined. As the young man surveyed the country to find a safe way of approaching the buffalo he was impressed with the beauty of the landscape. The banks of the two rivers were low and well timbered. He observed that the buffalo stood facing the north; he saw that he could not approach the animal from any side within bow shot. He thought that the only way to get a chance to shoot the buffalo would be to wait until the animal moved close to the banks of one of the rivers, or to the hills where there were ravines and shrubs. So the young man waited. The sun went down before the buffalo moved; the young man went home disappointed. Nearly all night the hunter lay awake brooding over his disappointment, for food had become scarce and the buffalo would have given a good supply. Before dawn the young man arose and hurried to the scene of the buffalo to see if he could find the animal somewhere near the place, if it had moved. Just as he reached the summit of the hill, where he was the day before, the sun arose, and he saw that the buffalo was still in the same spot. But he noticed that it was now facing the east. Again the young man waited for the animal to move, but again the sun went down and the buffalo remained standing in the same spot. The hunter went home and passed another night of unrest. He started out again before dawn and came to the top of the hill just as the sun arose, and saw the buffalo still standing in the same place, but it had turned around to face the south. The young man waited until dark for the buffalo to move, and had to go again to his home disappointed, where he passed another sleepless night. The hunter's desire to secure the game was not unmixed with some curiosity to know why the buffalo should so persistently remain in that one spot without eating or drinking or lying down to rest. With this curiosity working in his mind, he arose for the fourth time before dawn, and hastened to the hill to see if the buffalo was still standing in the same place. It was again daylight when he came to the hill, and there stood the buffalo exactly in the same place, but it had turned around to face the west. Being now determined to know what the animal would do, the young man settled down to watch as he had done the three days before. He thought that the animal was acting in this manner under the influence of an unseen power for some mysterious purpose,

and that he, as well as the buffalo, was controlled by the same influence. Darkness came upon him again with the animal still standing in the same position. The hunter returned to his home and lay awake all night, wondering what would come of this strange experience. He arose before dawn and again hurried to the mysterious scene. As he reached the summit of the hill the light of day spread over the land. The buffalo had gone. But in the spot where it had been standing there stood something like a small bush. The young man approached the place with a feeling of curiosity and disappointment. He came to the object that from the distance appeared like a small bush and saw that it was a strange plant. He looked upon the ground and saw the tracks of the buffalo, and followed them as they had turned from the north to the east and to the south and to the west, and in the center there was but one buffalo track, and out of that had sprung this strange plant. He examined the ground near this plant to find where the buffalo had left the place, but there were no other footprints besides those near the plant. The hunter hurried home and told of his strange experience to the chiefs and the prominent men of his people. The men, led by the hunter, proceeded to the place of the buffalo and examined the ground, and found that what he had told them was true. They saw the tracks of the buffalo where he had turned and stood, but could find no tracks of his coming to the place or leaving it. While all of these men believed that this plant was given to the people in this mysterious manner by Wakoⁿda, they were not sure how it was to be used. The people knew of other plants that were used for food, and the season for their ripening, and, believing that the fruit of this strange plant would ripen at its own proper time, they arranged to guard and protect it carefully, awaiting the time of its ripening.

The plant blossomed, but from their knowledge of other plants they knew that the blossom of the plant was but the flower and not the fruit. When they were watching the blossom to develop into fruit, as they expected it would, a new growth appeared from the joints of the plant. Their attention was now diverted from the blossom to this growth. It grew larger and larger, until there appeared at the top something that looked like hair. This, in the course of time, turned from pale green to a dark brown, and after much discussion the people believed that this growth was the fruit of the plant and that it had ripened. Up to this time no one had dared to approach within touch of the plant. Although the people were anxious to know the use to which the plant could be put or for which it was intended, no one dared to touch it. As the people were assembled around the plant undetermined as to the manner of examining it, a youth stepped forward and spoke:

"Everyone knows how my life from my childhood has been worse than worthless, that my life among you has been more for evil than for good. Since no one would regret, should any evil befall me, let me be the first to touch this plant and taste of its fruit so that you may know of its qualities whether they be good or bad." The people having given their assent, the youth stepped boldly forward and placed his right hand on the blossoms of the plant, and brought his hand with a downward motion to the root of the plant as though blessing it. He then grasped the fruit and, turning to the people, said: "It is solid, it is ripe." He then parted the husks at the top very gently and, again turning to the people, he said: "The fruit is red." He took a few of the grains, showed them to the people, then ate of them, and replaced the husks. The youth suffered no ill effects, and the people became convinced that this plant was given them for food. In the fall, when the prairie grass had turned brown, the stalk and the leaves of this plant turned brown also. The fruit was plucked and put carefully away. In the following spring the kernels were divided among the people, four to each family. The people removed to the spot where the strange apparition had taken place, and there they built their bark huts along the banks of the two rivers. As the hills began to take on a green tinge

from the new prairie grass, the people planted the kernels of this strange plant, having first built little mounds like the one out of which the first stalk grew. To the great joy of the people the kernels sprouted and grew into strong and healthy plants. Through the summer they grew, and developed, and the fruit ripened as did that of the first stock. The fruit was gathered and eaten, and was found to be good. In gathering the fruit the people discovered that there were various colors—some ears were white and others were blue and some were yellow.

The next season the people reaped a rich harvest of this new plant. In the fall of the year these people, the Arikara, sent invitations to a number of different tribes to come and spend the winter with them. Six tribes came, and among them were the Omaha. The Arikara were very generous in the distribution of the fruit of this new plant among their guests, and in this manner a knowledge of the plant spread to the Omaha.

The composition of this story presents points of interest. The importance and the mysterious power of the great game, the buffalo, reflect the thought of the hunting tribe; with it is blended the equally mysterious gift of the maize, so sacred to the tiller of the ground, for the buffalo and the maize represented the principal food supply of the people. The scene of the marvelous occurrence is placed in a hilly country where flowed rivers and yet the prairie seems to have been near at hand, for the story tells of the observation of the people that "in the fall, when the prairie turned brown, the stalk and leaves of this plant turned brown also," and that they timed the planting of the kernels the following spring by the upspringing of "the new prairie grass." Then we are told that "when the people removed to the spot, where the strange occurrence had taken place, they built their 'bark huts' along the banks of the two rivers."

The bark hut (see pl. 18) is a type of dwelling belonging to a forest people. The Omaha used to live in such houses, as is told in the ancient Legend here so often quoted, and in other Omaha traditions. The people seem well aware that they once lived in bark houses like those in use among the Winnebago at the present day. The Arikara were not a forest people, and did not use the bark hut. The presence of these details illustrates how a story takes on coloring and becomes modified in passing from a people of one culture to a people of another. That the cultivation of the maize was long known and practised by the Arikara is evident from their rites, traditions, and customs when they were first known historically; but that the Omaha gained their first knowledge of the plant from them is very doubtful.

SEPARATION OF PONCA FROM OMAHA; FINDING OF HORSES

The Ponca were the last of the cognates to form a tribe by themselves. They were with the Omaha at the peace ceremony with the Arikara and other tribes, but their departure seems to have taken place not far from that time and on or near the Missouri river.

According to Ponca traditions already given, the people followed this stream northward to a place where "they could step over the water," and thence they seem to have turned southward. As they were going "across the land," they hunted buffalo far toward the Rocky mountains, and on one of their hunts they encountered the Padouca (Comanche). The following tradition tells of this meeting and its results:

At that time the Ponca had no animals but dogs to help them to carry burdens. Wherever they went they had to go on foot, but the people were strong and fleet; they could run a great distance and not be weary. While they were off hunting buffalo they first met the Padouca, and afterward had many battles with them. The Padouca were mounted on strange animals. At first the Ponca thought the men and animals were one creature, but they learned better after a while. The Padouca had bows made from elk horn. They were not very long, nor were they strong. To make these bows the horn was boiled until it was soft. While in this condition it was scraped down, then spliced and bound together with sinew and glue. Their arrows were tipped with bone. But the weapon the Padouca depended on in fighting was a stone battle-ax. Its long handle was a sapling bound with rawhide to which a grooved stone ax head, pointed at both ends, was bound by bands of rawhide. This weapon made them terrible fighters at close quarters. The weakness of their bows and arrows reduced the value of their horses in battle save as a means to bring them rapidly up to their enemies, where they could bring their battle-axes into play. If their foes were armed with strong bows and arrows, the Padouca would suffer before they came to close range. To protect their horses from arrows they made a covering for the horses' breasts and sides, to prevent an arrow taking effect at ordinary range. This covering (armor) was made of thick rawhide cut in round pieces and made to overlap like the scales of a fish. Over the surface was sand held on by glue. This covering made the Ponca arrows glance off and do no damage. The Padouca protected their own bodies by long shields of rawhide. Some of them had breastplates made like those on their horses. When the Ponca found out that the terrible creature they first encountered was a man on the back of an animal, they called the animal *kawa*, a name in use by the Osage to-day to designate the horse. The Ponca noticed the smell of the horse, and the odor would apprise them of the approach of the Padouca. When a man perceived the smell, he would run and tell the herald, who would at once go about the camp, and cry: "The wind tells us the *kawa* are coming!" So the Ponca would make ready to defend themselves. The Ponca had many battles with the Padouca. The Ponca did not know the use of the horses, so they killed them as well as the men. Nor could they find out where were the Padouca villages, for when the two tribes met, the Padouca always moved in an opposite direction from the location of their dwellings. So the Ponca could not discover where the Padouca lived.

One day the two tribes had a great battle. The people fought all day long. Sometimes the Ponca were driven, sometimes the Padouca, until at last a Ponca shot a Padouca in the eye, and he dropped from his horse. Then the battle ceased. After the death of this man one of the Padouca came toward the Ponca and motioned that one of the Ponca should come toward him. Then the Padouca said in plain Ponca: "Who are you? What do you call yourselves?" The Ponca replied: "We call ourselves Ponca; but you speak our language well; are you of our tribe?" The Padouca said: "No; we are Padouca. I speak your language as a gift from a Ponca spirit. As I lay one day on a Ponca grave after one of our battles with you a man rose from the grave and spoke to me, so I know your language."

Then it was agreed to make peace. Visits were exchanged, the Ponca bartered their bows and arrows for horses, and found out the whereabouts of the Padouca village.

The Padouca taught the Ponca how to ride and to put burdens on the horses. When the Ponca had learned how to use horses they renewed war with the Padouca and attacked them in their village. The Padouca met the Ponca outside their village but, being driven, jumped into the stockade which surrounded the village and fought from behind the barricade. The Ponca made such continual war on the Padouca and stole so many of their horses that the Padouca abandoned their village and departed we know not where. After that the Ponca followed the Platte river east and returned to the Missouri, bringing the horses back with them.

That is how the Ponca first had horses, and we have had them ever since.

There is no definite tradition among the Omaha as to the tribe from which they first obtained horses. The Legend already quoted says:

It happened that a man in his wanderings discovered two animals. At first he thought they were elk, but they did not look like elk. Then he thought they were deer, but they were larger than deer. He did not know what they were, although he saw many. When the man showed himself the animals did not run away, but circled around him. He was troubled, and, fearing them, he tried to get away, but the animals kept about him; he edged off and finally reached the village. The people were curious; they saw that the animals were gentle and could be led. Some of the men tried to mount them, but fell off, for they did not know how to ride. The people found the animals could bear burdens and be led by a string. There were two, male and female; they multiplied; and thus horses came among the Omaha. The people loved the horses, and when they died the people wailed. So dogs were no longer the sole bearers of the people's burdens.

There are traditions which say that "horses came from the Southwest."

Traditions concerning the movements of the Omaha when in the vicinity of the Missouri river are somewhat more definite but they are still vague.

In 1695 Le Sueur places the Omaha near the Missouri river, where the Iowa had joined them.^a As he was about to establish his trading post on the Blue Earth, Le Sueur sent runners to recall the Iowa that they might build a village near the fort, as these Indians were "industrious and accustomed to cultivate the earth." The trader hoped thus to procure provisions for his post as well as workers for the mines.^b De l'Isle's map (1703) places the Omaha near the mouth of the Big Sioux. About 1737 a trading post was established near the southern end of Lake Winnipeg, where the Omaha are said to have traded;^c they have a tradition that "long ago they visited a great lake to the far north and traded there with white men." This post may have been Fort La Reine. It appears on Jeffery's map of 1762.^d Carver, who traveled in 1766, says that "to this place the Mahahs, who inhabit a country 250 miles southwest, come also to trade with them; and bring great quantities of Indian corn, to ex-

^a *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1, 328, 332.

^b Nell's *The History of Minnesota*, etc., 164, Philadelphia, 1858.

^c *Ibid.*, 186.

^d *Ibid.*, 300.

change for knives, tomahawks, and other articles."^a The Omaha knowledge of this northern country would seem to have been traditional, and may have been connected with their earlier sojourn in the wooded region of the north.

MEETING WITH THE WHITE MEN^b

From the Sacred Legend already quoted, in which epochal events of the tribe are mentioned, it appears that the first meeting with the white race was in the northern region near the lakes, where the Omaha used birch-bark canoes. The Legend says:

One day the people discovered white objects on the waters, and they knew not what to make of them. The white objects floated toward the shores. The people were frightened. They abandoned their canoes, ran to the woods, climbed the trees, and watched. The white objects reached the shore, and men were seen getting out of them. The Indians watched the strange men, but did not speak or go near them. For several days they watched; then the strangers entered into the white objects and floated off. They left, however, a man—a leader, the Indians thought. He was in a starving condition. Seeing this, the Indians approached him, extending toward him a stalk of maize having ears on it, and bade him eat and live. He did eat, and expressed his gratitude by signs. The Indians kept this man, treating him kindly, until his companions returned. Thus the white people became acquainted with the Omaha by means of one whom the latter had befriended. In return the white people gave the Indians implements of iron. It was in this way that we gained iron among us.

From the story of this encounter and the fact that the Omaha are known historically to have traded at a fort near Lake Winnipeg, it is probable that the incident cited in the legend refers to some reconnoitering party of white adventurers, possibly of the Hudson Bay Company, one of whose number remained behind, and was later picked up or joined by the rest of the party.

The Omaha had come into contact with the French prior to 1724. At that time, in order to prevent the eastward spread of Spanish influence, a trading post was established on the Missouri river. The French then counted on the friendship of the Omaha, Osage, Iowa, Oto, and Pawnee, and were instrumental in bringing about peace between these tribes and the Padouca at a council called by M. de Bourgmont, commandant of Fort Orleans, which was held on one of the western tributaries of the Kansas river.

The following tradition may refer to an occurrence not long prior to this council:

"The Omaha were camped in the timber, and one day a man heard pounding in the woods. He went to see what caused the strange noise and returned to the camp in great fright. He said he

^a Carver's *Three Years' Travel Through the Interior Parts of North-America*, etc., 69, Philadelphia, 1796.

^b The Appendix to this volume deals with the more recent history of the Omaha in their relations with the whites.

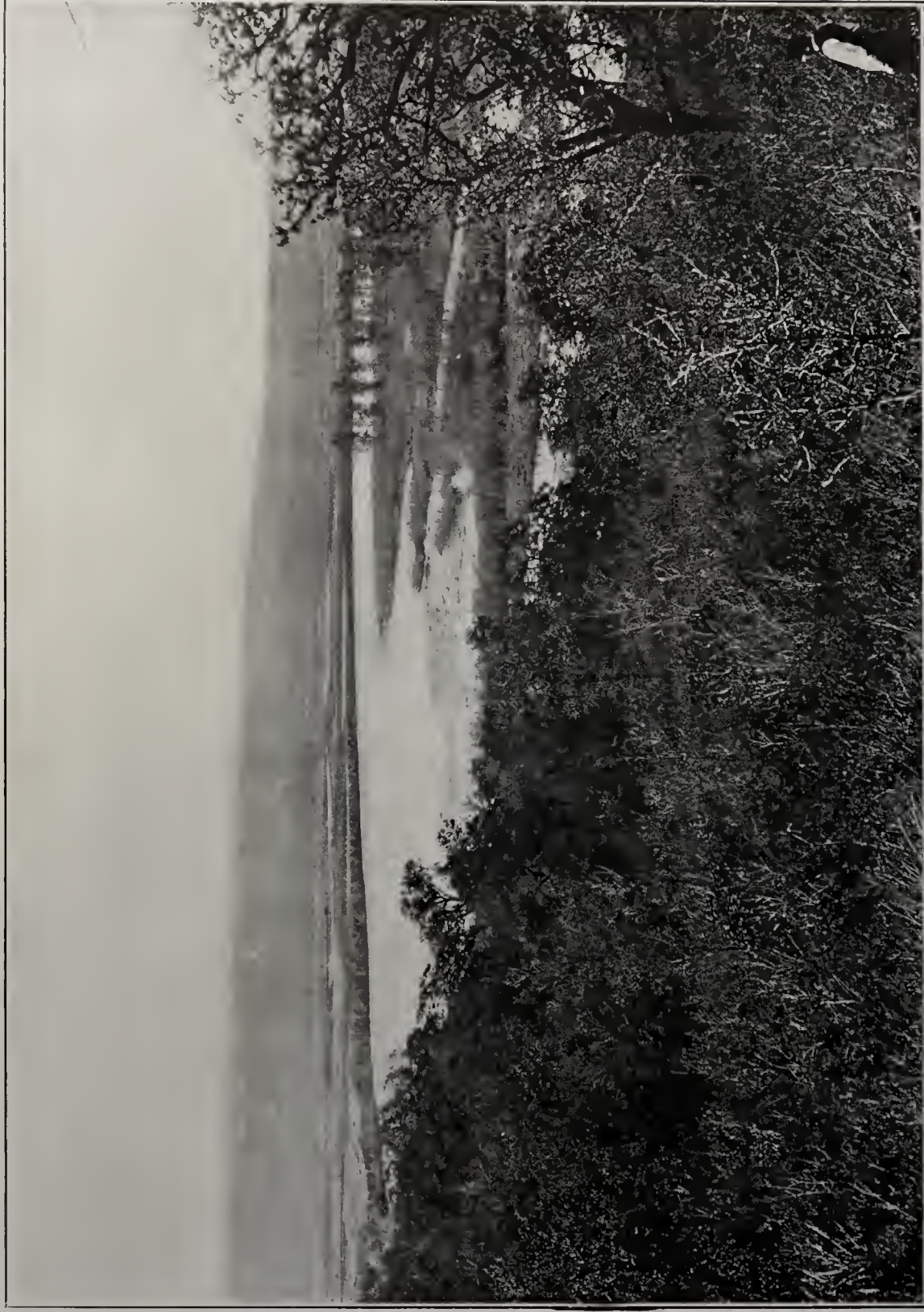
had seen some sort of a beast, his face covered with hair and his skin the color of the inner layer of the corn husk." This inner husk is called *wa'xo^{na}ha*, and the Omaha name for white man, *wa'xe*, is probably a corruption of this term.

The tradition continues as follows: "This was not the first meeting of the Omaha with the white race, but the earlier encounter had been forgotten by the people." This statement probably refers to the meeting described in the Sacred Legend, as already quoted. The "*wa'xe* built houses out of logs, and traded with the people." The old men of the tribe used to declare that these early traders were French.

INFLUENCE OF TRADERS

Contact with the traders had a disturbing influence on the politics of the tribe. The traders lent aid to those chiefs and leading men who favored schemes for barter, and these Indians used the favors shown them to enhance their own importance in the tribe. The following narrative, compiled from stories told by old men of the tribe, illustrates this state of affairs:

The great-grandfather of a chief who was living twenty-five years ago visited the trading post at St. Louis, and on his return assumed an air of importance, saying that he had been made a great chief by the white men. He began to appoint "soldiers" and ambitious men sought his favor. He made Blackbird a "soldier" and took him to St. Louis. [This was the Blackbird the apocryphal story of whose burial on horseback on the bluffs of the Missouri is told by Lewis and Clark.] Blackbird was a handsome man and the white people made much of him, showing him more attention than they did his companion. When Blackbird returned to the tribe he declared he had been made a chief by the white people. Blackbird was an ambitious man, who loved power and was unscrupulous as to how he obtained it. The traders found him a pliant tool. They fostered his ambitions, supplied him with goods and reaped a harvest in trade. From them he learned the use of poisons, particularly arsenic. If an Indian opposed him or stood in the way of his designs, sickness and death overtook the man and Blackbird would claim that he had lost his life through supernatural agencies as a punishment for attempting to thwart his chief. Because of these occurrences Blackbird was feared. He exercised considerable power and adopted the airs of a despot. Before he died, however, the secret of his poisonings became known and the fact led to the loss of much of his power. The romantic picture of his interment on horseback must be credited to grateful traders, as must also be the bestowal of his name on the hills and creek where later the Omaha built a village when they



BLACKBIRD HILLS, NEBRASKA

moved to their present reservation. It is a fact that horses were frequently strangled at funerals and their bodies left near the burial mound, which was always on a hill or at some elevation, but they were never buried alive or interred with the body. It is one of the humors of Indian history that a relic hunter should have picked up

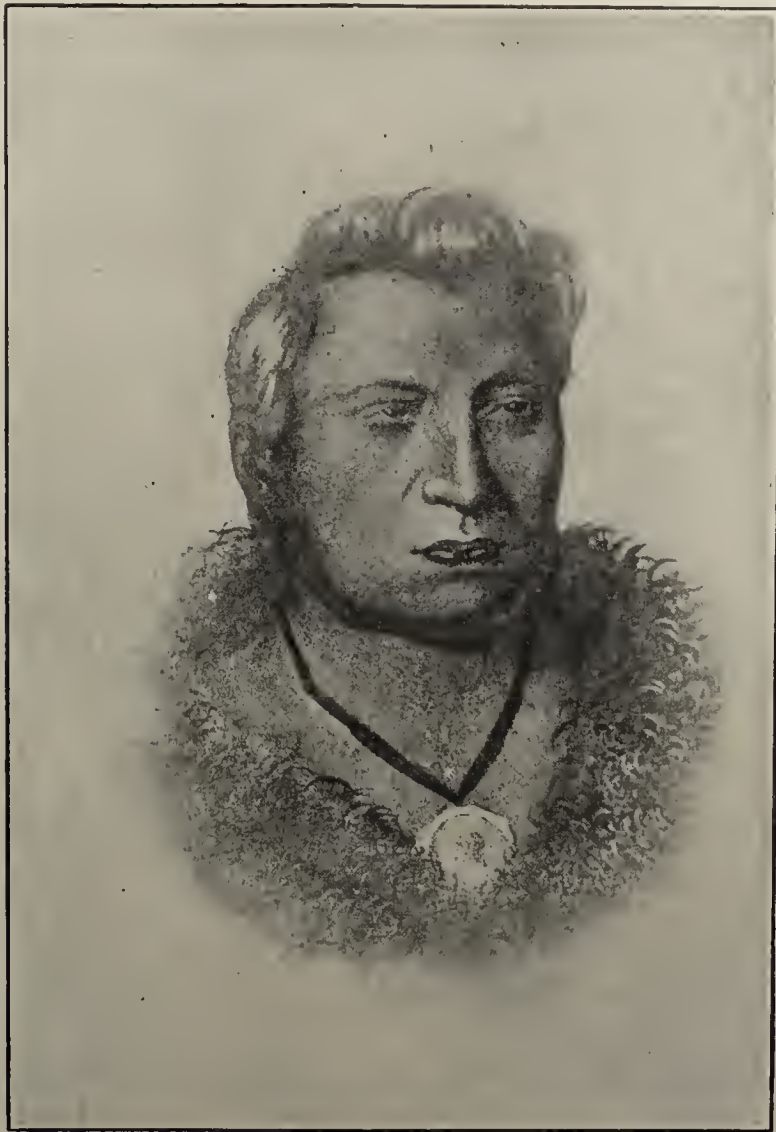


FIG. 15. Big Elk.

a horse's skull on one of the Blackbird hills and preserved it in a museum in memory of this fanciful entombment.

The "Blackbird hills" (pl. 20) are not known to the Omaha by that name, but as *Oⁿ'poⁿtoⁿga xaithoⁿ* ("where Big Elk is buried"). Big Elk (fig. 15) died in 1853. He was the third of his name, a member of the *We'zhiⁿshte gens*, and a leading chief of the tribe. According to tradition, all three, named Big Elk, were men of ability, brave and

prudent chiefs. The last of the name was a man of considerable foresight and what may be termed an advanced thinker. He took part in some of the early treaties of his tribe and visited Washington before his death. On his return from this visit he called the tribe together and made the following address, which is here given as it was told more than twenty-five years ago:

My chiefs, braves, and young men, I have just returned from a visit to a far-off country toward the rising sun, and have seen many strange things. I bring to you news which it saddens my heart to think of. There is a coming flood which will soon reach us, and I advise you to prepare for it. Soon the animals which Wakoⁿ'da has given us for sustenance will disappear beneath this flood to return no more, and it will be very hard for you. Look at me; you see I am advanced in age; I am near the grave. I can no longer think for you and lead you as in my younger days. You must think for yourselves what will be best for your welfare. I tell you this that you may be prepared for the coming change. You may not know my meaning. Many of you are old, as I am, and by the time the change comes we may be lying peacefully in our graves; but these young men will remain to suffer. Speak kindly to one another; do what you can to help each other, even in the troubles with the coming tide. Now, my people, this is all I have to say. Bear these words in mind, and when the time comes think of what I have said.

One day, in 1883, during the allotment of the land in severalty to the Omaha tribe, as a large group of the Indians were gathered about the allotting agent watching the surveyor and talking of the location of allotments, there stood on a hill near by an old Indian. In a loud voice he recited this speech of Big Elk. At its close he paused, then shouted: "Friends, the flood has come!" and disappeared.

To the best of his understanding Big Elk tried to face his people toward civilization. At the same time he was politic and kept the tribe well in hand. Instances of his eloquent and courtly speech have been preserved in official proceedings with the Government and these betray a dignity and heartiness that accord with the following incident: The son who Big Elk hoped would succeed him died in the prime of young manhood and the father grieved sadly for his child. The death occurred while the tribe was on the Elkhorn river. The body was wrapped in skins, and, accompanied by near relatives, was carried across the prairies more than a hundred miles, to be laid on the hills near the village of his ancestors. A year afterward, when the tribe was on its annual hunt, Big Elk was riding with the people when his eyes rested on a spirited horse—the best one he owned. Suddenly the memory of his son came to him; he seemed to see the youth, and murmured: "He would have had that horse and all of the best I had—but he needs no gift of mine!" Just then he saw an old man whose fortune had always been hard and who had never owned a horse. Big Elk beckoned him to come near, and said: "Friend, the horse my son would have ridden shall

be yours; take him and mount." As the old man raised his arms in thanks the chief turned and rode off alone.

The interference of the traders, and later of Government officials, in tribal affairs, caused two classes of chiefs to be recognized—those whose office was due to white influence and those who were chiefs according to tribal right and custom. The first were designated "paper chiefs," because they usually had some written document setting forth their claim to the office; the second class were known simply as "chiefs." This conflict in authority as to the making of chiefs was a potent factor in the disintegration of the ancient tribal life.

THE OMAHA COUNTRY

VILLAGES ON THE MISSOURI

Traditions are somewhat vague as to Omaha villages on the Missouri river. While in this region the people seem to have suffered from wars and also from lack of food. Near the mouth of the White river, South Dakota, the tribe once found a flock of snowbirds, which brought so much relief to the hungry people that the village they erected at that place was known as "Where the snowbirds came." They seem to have stayed in this village for a considerable time, but were finally driven away by wars. There is no mention of any village being built on their southward movements until after they had passed the Niobrara river. On Bow creek, Nebraska, near where the present town of St. James stands, a village of earth lodges was erected, and here the people remained until a tragedy occurred which caused a separation in the tribe and an abandonment of this village by all the people. The site was known and pointed out in the last century as the place where stood the Ton'woⁿpezhi, "Bad Village."

The following is the story of how this village came to be abandoned and received the name of "Bad Village." It is a story that used frequently to be told and is probably historical and suggests how separations may have come about in the more remote past.

In the Teçiⁿde gens lived a man and his wife with their three sons and one daughter. Although the man was not a chief, he was respected and honored by the people because of his bravery and hospitality. His daughter was sought in marriage by many men in the tribe. There was one whom she preferred, and to whom she gave her word to be his wife. This fact was not known to her parents, who promised her to a warrior long past his youth. Against her will she was taken to the warrior's dwelling with the usual ceremonies in such marriages. The girl determined in her own mind never to be his wife. She did not cry or struggle when they took her, but acted well her part at the wedding feast, and none knew her purpose. When the feast was over and the sun had set, she slipped away in the dark and was gone. At once a search was started, which was kept up by the disappointed old warrior and his relatives for several days, but without success. The girl's mother grieved over the loss of her

daughter, but the father was silent. It was noticed that a certain young man was also missing, and it was thought that the two were probably together. After the girl had been gone some time, a boy rushed to the father's house one morning, as the family were eating their meal, and said: "Your daughter is found! The old man has stripped her of her clothing and is flogging her to death. Hurry, if you would see her alive!" The father turned to his sons and said: "Go, see if there is truth in this." The eldest refused, the second son bowed his head and sat still. The youngest arose, seized his bow, put on his quiver, and went out. The village had gathered to the scene. As the brother approached, he heard his sister's cries of anguish. Pushing his way through the crowd he shouted words of indignation to those who had not tried to rescue the girl, and, drawing his bow, shot the angry old man. The relatives of the dead man and those who sympathized with his exercise of marital rights ran for their bows and fought those who sided with the young rescuer. A battle ensued; fathers fought sons and brothers contended with brothers. All day the two sides contested and many were slain before night put an end to the conflict. The next day those who had fought with the brother left the village with him and traveled eastward, while their opponents picked up their belongings, turned their back on their homes and moved toward the south. There was no wailing nor any outward sign of mourning. Silently the living separated, and the village was left with the unburied dead. * * *

"A new generation had grown up," this strange story continues, "when a war party traveling east beyond the Missouri river encountered a village where the people spoke the Omaha language. Abandoning their warlike intents, the Omaha warriors entered the village peaceably, persuaded their new-found relatives to return with them, and so the Omaha people were once more united." The village where the reunion took place was near one then occupied by the Iowa, not far from the site of the present town of Ponca City.

The attacks of the Dakota tribes forced the Iowa to leave that part of the country and they moved southward as far as the river Platte and never again built a town near the Omaha tribe. The Omaha were driven by the Dakota from their village at the same time as the Iowa and finally settled on a stream that flows in a northerly direction into the Missouri, which they named To^{n'}wo^{n'}ni, or Village creek, from the village they built on its wooded banks. This village was erected near a rock containing a hole or depression in which the fork-tailed kites used to nest, and the site was known as In[']be zhu^{n'}ka mo^{n'}sho^{n'}de te, "the fork-tailed kites' hole." The village itself, built in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, was called To^{n'}wo^{n'}to^{n'}ga, "large village." The stream on which it was situated is now called Omaha creek. It was here that the smallpox and cholera reached the people and nearly destroyed them.

The traditions concerning the effects of the scourge of smallpox vividly portray the terror and desperation of the people. It is said that when the enfeebled survivors saw the disfigured appearance of their children and companions they resolved to put an end to their existence, since both comeliness and vigor were gone. They did not

know that new-born children would not inherit their parents' disfiguration, and that in time the tribe would again be as they were of old, strong and well-looking. Being determined to die, they proposed to die fighting their enemies, therefore the tribe—men, women, and children—moved out as a great tribal war party to find their foes and meet a valiant death. The Cheyenne had been harrying the people, so the strange war party started for the Cheyenne country.

The story of this war party runs as follows:

On their way they encountered the Ponca tribe returning from a successful buffalo hunt, well supplied with meat and pelts. The Omaha chiefs sent messengers to the Ponca, explaining that their people were going against the Cheyenne, but they were in need and asked for food. The Ponca drove the Omaha messengers away and shot at them. This angered the Omaha and they prepared to fight the Ponca. In the battle that followed it was observed that one of the fiercest warriors on the Ponca side was an Omaha, who was known to have married a Ponca woman. This warrior was the nephew of a prominent man of the Omaha tribe, and therefore his capture, rather than his death, was sought. At last he was taken and word was sent to his uncle, who was fighting in another part of the field, that his nephew was captured, and he was asked, "What shall be done?" "Hold him until I come," was the reply. When the uncle arrived at the place of capture he saw his nephew standing with an Omaha warrior on each side holding his arms. The uncle raised his spear and plunged it through the body of the man who had fought against his kindred.

The Ponca were driven from their camp and lost possession of their meat and camp-equipage. Then the Ponca sought to make peace, and dispatched a man to the Omaha with the tribal pipe. As he approached, the Omaha chief called out, "Who is he?" When he was told, he replied: "The man is a man of blood." So the pipe was refused and the man driven back, but not killed. A second man was sent. He came toward the Omaha with the pipe extended in his left hand and his right hand raised in supplication. Again the chief asked: "Who is he?" When told, he replied: "He is a man of peace." The pipe was received and the fighting ceased. The food of the Ponca was divided between the two tribes, and the Omaha moved on.

The story goes on to recount the desperate fighting with the Cheyenne, the Pawnee, and the Oto. At last those that remained of the Omaha returned to their village on Omaha creek. Here Lewis and Clark met the people at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it was from the bluffs near this site in 1836 that the tribe saw the little steamboat *Antelope* puff its way up the Missouri. As the boat seemed to move of itself, they called it *moⁿde'waxube*, "mystery boat"—a term that has lost its early significance, and has become the common Omaha name for all steamboats.

Forays of the Dakota grew to be more and more frequent, and later the Ponca joined them in these attacks. The Omaha lost many of their horses, and life became so unsafe that the people abandoned this village and moved southwest in the first quarter of the last century. At this period the Omaha were harassed on the north by the Dakota and Ponca and on the south and west by the Oto and Pawnee. Peace was made from time to time, and as frequently broken; consequently the village on Omaha creek was never again steadily

occupied, although the people frequently brought their dead from their camps to the southward and westward to be buried where their fathers had dwelt.

The country through which the tribe was accustomed to hunt covered a range of several hundred miles north and south and east and west. Its topography was well known to the Omaha, not only the general direction of the rivers and their numerous branches, but the turns and twists of the streams and the valleys, also the number of days or camps required to go from one point to another; short cuts were known by which time could be saved, an important consideration in a journey for which food and shelter had to be transported. It was not unusual for directions as to a certain route to be supplemented by a rude map of the country to be traversed, traced on the ground with a finger or a stick, on which were indicated the trails, streams, and fords, and perhaps other details, as the locations of trees, springs, or creeks, affording suitable places to make camps, and of stretches where water or wood would have to be carried. These maps were always oriented, so that one could follow the course laid down, by the sun during the day or at night by the north star. All the large rivers known to the Omaha flow in a southerly direction; their tributaries running northward were said to "flow backward."

The accompanying map (pl. 21) shows the country known to the Omaha tribe; the Omaha and Ponca names of the streams which flow through territory once claimed by the Omaha as their hunting grounds are given below. Much of this region was disputed by other tribes, who coveted the "sand hills" to the westward, where game was plentiful. The Omaha villages lay near the Missouri, not farther west than the Elkhorn; but the hunting grounds claimed by the tribe extended on the east from the Missouri to the Raccoon or Des Moines river, and on the west to the country of the Padouca, whose most easterly village, in the forks of the Dismal river, was known to the Omaha. The Pawnee in their northeastern migration encroached on the country watered by the Loup. They moved down the Platte to that river and built their villages there. In the battles which ensued the Pawnee villages were destroyed, but only to be rebuilt. Peace was made between the two tribes, and soon broken. Wars were followed by alliances against other enemies.^a Meanwhile the Pawnee continued to encroach and finally obtained a foothold, but the ancient hunting right of the Omaha on the land was recognized by the Pawnee, for when the two tribes hunted together north of the Platte, as they frequently did in the first half of the last century, the Omaha led, and Omaha officers controlled all persons taking part

^a The map indicates the places where well-known battles took place during contentions for control of this territory. Minor battle fields are not marked; only those are indicated in which the number slain on both sides left a deep impression on the memory of the people.

in the hunt. When, however, the two tribes hunted together south of the Platte, the Pawnee led, and the Omaha hunters accepted the control of the Pawnee directors of the hunt.

The territory lying west of Shell creek and northward to the mouth of the Niobrara continued to be a disputed hunting ground among the Cheyenne, Dakota, Pawnee, Omaha, and Ponca until nearly 1857, when the region was finally ceded to the United States. In the treaty of cession the Pawnee claim was recognized and payments for the land were made to that tribe.

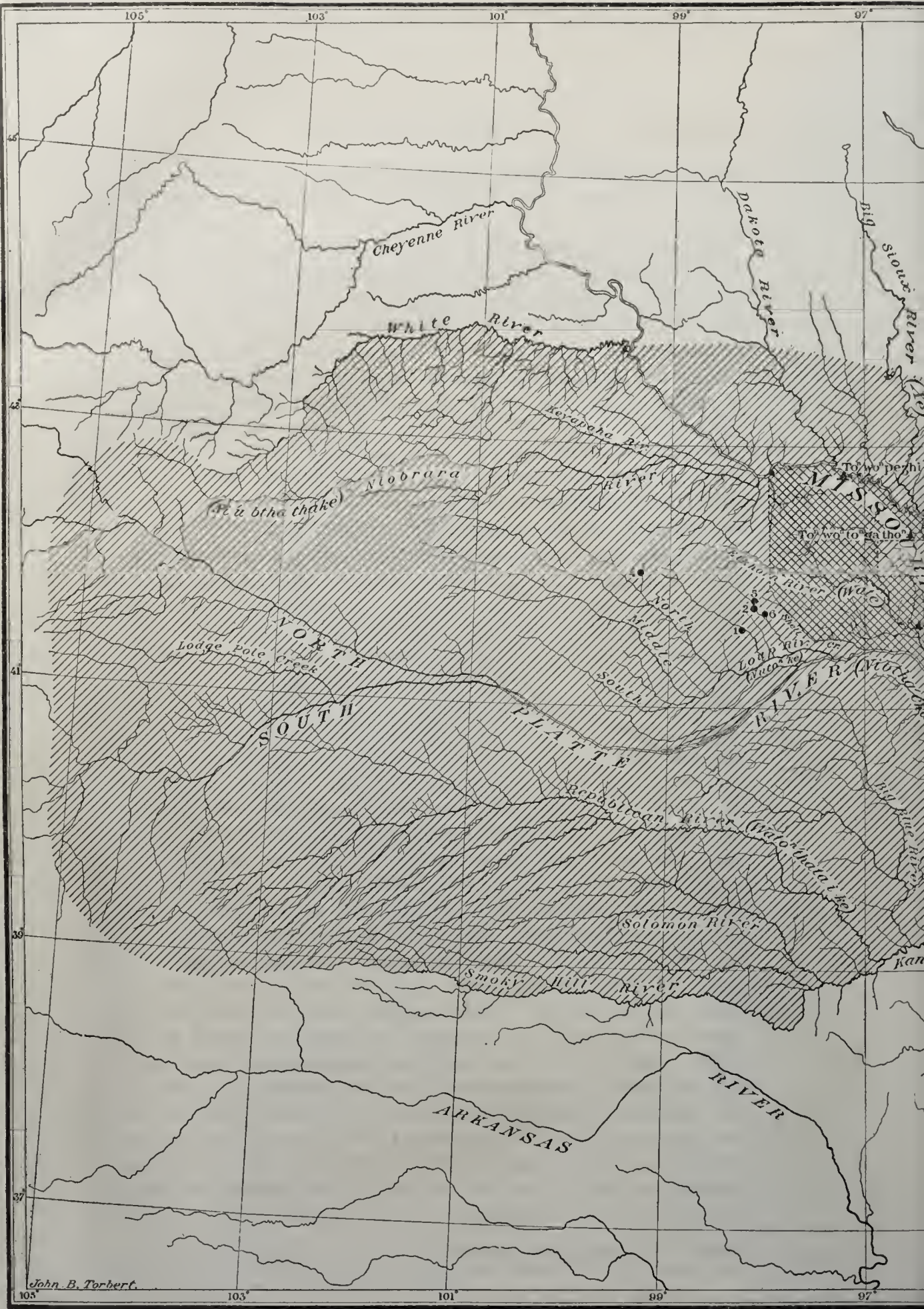
The country east of the Missouri was practically abandoned by the Omaha in the eighteenth century; their villages were then west of that river and the tribal hunts were conducted to the westward, but small parties sought elk and deer east of the Missouri up to the middle of the last century. The Omaha rights to the land east of that river were recognized in the treaties made in 1830, 1836, and 1854, when that territory was ceded to the United States.

STREAMS KNOWN TO THE OMAHA^a

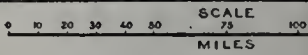
The Elkhorn and its tributaries

Wate'	Meaning unknown	Elkhorn river.
Umo ⁿ 'ho ⁿ waa i te	Where the Omaha planted	Bell creek.
Logan hi te	Where Logan came (to trade).	Hyde creek.
Ti'ha xa i ke	Where the tent skins were cached (at a time when the Omaha went to fight the Pawnee).	Maple creek.
To ⁿ 'wo ⁿ zh ⁿ iga	The little village	Clark creek.
Ta ⁿ po ⁿ 'hi bate ke	Thorn-apple creek	Lower Logan, including Middle creek.
Uki'pato ⁿ tenuga t'ethe te	Where Uki'pato ⁿ killed a buffalo bull.	Pebble creek.
or		
Pa'tithihu izhi ⁿ ge xa i te	Where the son of Pa'tithihu is buried.	
Niu'thite te	The ford (buffalo hunting trail crossed here).	Camings creek.
Zha'uzhi ke	Weed creek	Plum creek.
Mo ⁿ ko ⁿ 'ninida ke	Sweet-flag creek	Rock creek.
Mo ⁿ thi ⁿ 'xudetibe te	Prairie-dog creek	Humbug creek.
Mo ⁿ xu' de anatushi kitha i te.	Where there was an explo- sion of gunpowder.	No name on maps; prob- ably dry run.
Ni'shkube te	Deep water	Taylor creek.
Uhe'caa i te	Noisy-ford creek (so called because the dangerous con- dition of the ford caused excitement in crossing).	Union creek, branch of Taylor.

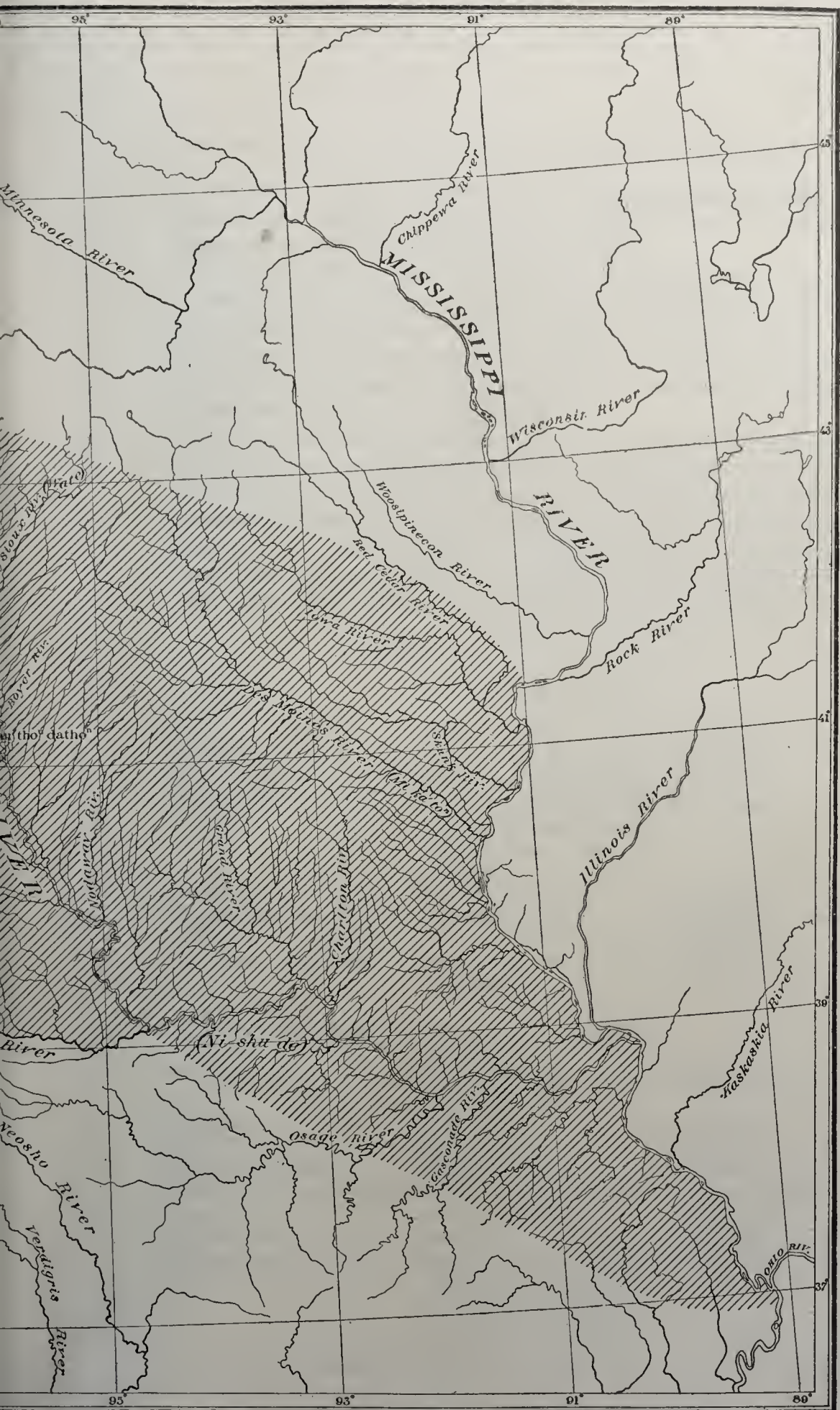
^a To the Omaha ear euphony demands that in composite terms but one accent be used, that given in the first word.



- ▲ Omaha villages
- Principal Indian battlefields



COUNTRY KNOWN TO



EXPLANATION.—The extensive shaded area represents the country known to the Omaha; the included area of darker shading (cross hatched), the country occupied by the Omaha; and the small rectangle bounded on the east by the Missouri River, the Omaha reservation

THE OMAHA

On'po ⁿ mo ⁿ thi ⁿ ka thata i te.	Elk lick.....	Dry run, first branch of Taylor.
Mi'xa u ^ç aa i te.....	The lake that resounds with the cackling of geese.	Lake west of Taylor creek, south of Elkhorn.
E'zho ⁿ wi ⁿ ax'çhi te	One elm tree.....	Dry run near town of Stanton, north of Elkhorn.
Umo ⁿ 'eçabe wae te	Where Umo ⁿ 'eçabe planted.	Dry run near Bursting Powder creek.
Utha'dawo ⁿ te	Old name, Echo creek.....	North fork of Elkhorn.
Mo ⁿ ho ⁿ 'ho ⁿ te.....	Miry creek.....	Willow creek, branch of north fork of Elkhorn.
Hubthu'ga waçi i te	Where they fished for trout..	Battle creek.
Mo ⁿ ko ⁿ 'ninida ke.....	Sweet-flag lake.	Lake near town of Warren, above Battle creek.
Hide'thi ⁿ ge te.....	No-outlet creek.....	Creek east of town of Oakdale, north of Elkhorn.
Ni'shkube te	Deep water.....	Creek near Oakdale, south of Elkhorn.
Te'thishka i te.....	Where the pack of the Sacred Buffalo Hide was untied or opened.	Upper Logan creek, branch of Logan.

The Platte and its tributaries

Ni btha'çka ke	Flat river.....	Platte river.
Tashno ⁿ 'ge uzhi ke.....	Ash creek.....	Shell creek.
Keto ⁿ 'ke.....	Turtle creek.....	Silver creek.
Po ⁿ 'xe to ⁿ ke.....	Artichoke creek.....	Wood river.
Niçki'the ke.....	Salt creek.....	Salt creek.
Mo ⁿ 'shewakude uzho ⁿ ke.	Where Mo ⁿ 'shewakude lies (was buried).	Wahoo creek.
Mo ⁿ 'çeguhe uzho ⁿ ke.....	Where Mo ⁿ 'çeguhe lies (was buried).	Rock creek.
Pa'thi ⁿ tiuthixthige tho ⁿ ..	The Old Pawnee village (Pitahawirat). This was the village attacked by Wa'baçka. (See story, p. 406.)	

The Loup and its tributaries

Nuto ⁿ ' ke.....	Plenty potato river.....	Loup river.
Uki'thaço ⁿ de ke.....	Hugging closely (to the Loup).	Looking-glass creek.
Zha'beton ⁿ ke.....	Plenty beaver creek.....	Beaver creek.
Mo ⁿ ga'shude te	Dust creek.....	Council creek.
Nibtha'çkazhi ⁿ ga ke.....	Little Nibtha'çka.....	Cedar creek.
Mo ⁿ ga'nade ke.....	Miry creek.....	Timber creek.
Pa'thi ⁿ to ⁿ wo ⁿ zhi ⁿ ga	Little Pawnee village.....	Horse creek.
Pa'thi ⁿ mo ⁿ ho ⁿ to ⁿ wo ⁿ	Skidi village.....	Cottonwood creek.
Ni'shkube te	Deep water.....	Spring creek.
Ma'çi uthuthaha te.....	Cedar river.....	North Loup.
Nigni'te	Cold water.....	Calamus river.
Pehi ⁿ 'xewathe wathigtho ⁿ te.	Where Pehi ⁿ 'xewathe prophesied.	Oak creek.

Zha'beti ^{he} te.....	The beaver village.....	No name on maps.
Shko ^{n'} shko ^{n'} tithe uzho ^{n'} ke..	In which Shko ^{n'} shko ^{n'} tithe lies (is buried).	Middle Loup.
No ^{n'} ebubatigtha i te.....	Where a hand was hung up..	Mud creek.
Te ni u'baa ^{çai} ke.....	Where a herd of buffalo were driven into the wa- ter.	Clear creek.
Pa'do ^{n'} ka no ^{n'} ça gaxa i ke..	Where the Padouca built breastworks.	Dismal river.
Ka ^{n'} çezhi ^{n'} ga ano ^{n'} zhi ^{n'} te..	Where Kan'çezhi ^{n'} ga stood on a hill.	North Loup, west of Cala- mus river.

Omaha Creek and its tributaries

To ^{n'} wo ^{n'} ni ke	Village creek (a village was built on this creek by the Omaha).	Omaha creek.
Waçe'ço ^{n'} te	White-clay creek.....	First branch of Omaha creek, near town of Ho- mer (no name on maps).
Ki'bano ^{n'} githa i te.....	Where they raced.....	Second branch of Omaha creek (no name on maps).
Nithato ^{n'} i te.....	Where they drink water (there is a spring at the head where the people stop to drink).	Third branch of Omaha creek (no name on maps).

Blackbird Creeks

Xa'tha thethe te.....	Running backward.....	South Blackbird (flows into the Missouri).
Wako ^{n'} dagi pezhi te.....	The bad Wako ^{n'} dagi.....	North Blackbird (flows into the Missouri).

The Missouri and its tributaries

Nishu'de ke	Turbid water	Missouri.
Umo ^{n'} ho ^{n'} waa i ke.....	Where the Omaha farmed...	Big Papilion.
Shao ^{n'} petho ^{n'} ba waxthi i te.	Where they (Omaha and Oto) killed 7 Sioux.	Branch of the Papilion.
Uhe'ato ^{n'} te.....	The bridge creek.....	Creek between Homer and Jackson, Nebraska (no name on maps).
Ta'ge ^{hi} te	The walnut creek.....	Elk creek.
Waçe'ço ^{n'} te.....	White-clay creek.....	Branch of Elk (no name on maps).
Ma'xude waa i te.....	Where the Iowa farmed.....	Ayoway creek.
Sho ^{n'} to ^{n'} ga waba ^{çai} i te...	Where the people were frightened by gray wolves.	Branch of Ayoway creek.
Thi'xeshpo ^{n'} ugthe te.....	Soft-willow creek.....	Nameless creek having no outlet south of Floyds river; flows into small lake, Iowa.
Wako ^{n'} daxuti te	Meaning uncertain.....	Floyds river.
Xe.....	Buried.....	Big Sioux, Iowa.

To ⁿ 'wo ⁿ ni ke.....	Village creek.....	Bow creek, Nebraska.
Ni'ugashude te.....	Turbid river.....	White river.
Wate'.....	Meaning unknown.....	Little Sioux, Iowa.
Ni'xebe te.....	Shallow water.....	Bayer creek, Iowa.
Di'xe ut'a i te.....	Where many died of the smallpox.	Creek running by Council Bluffs, Iowa (no name on maps).
Waçe'ço ⁿ thiça i te.....	Where they take white clay.	Vermilion creek, South Dakota.

The Ponca and its tributaries

Ni'uthit'e te.....	Death river [called so because many Ponca died there.]	Ponca river.
Ho ⁿ 'ga waxthi i ke	Where the Ho ⁿ 'ga people were massacred.	First creek to the north (no name on maps).
Piça'bahehe ugthe te.....	(Creek) running through the sand hills.	Second creek to the north (no name on maps).
Pahe'zho ⁿ weç'a thaxta i te.	Where Pahe'zho ⁿ was bitten by a snake.	First creek to the south (no name on maps).
Mo ⁿ thi ⁿ 'ka shno ⁿ te.....	Bare earth (so called because of the bare hill near the creek.)	Second creek to the south (no name on maps).
Po ⁿ 'ka sheno ⁿ watha i thu-to ⁿ thethe te.	Creek running straight on, where Ponca were massacred.	North fork of Ponca (no name on maps).
E'zho ⁿ to ⁿ ga niuthutha-ç'i ⁿ te.	Large elm trees with stream running among them.	South fork of Ponca (no name on maps).

Keyabaha and its tributaries

Xe'i ⁿ azhi ke.....	Cedar Ridge creek (so called from a ridge covered with cedar.)	Keyabaha.
Mo ⁿ 'gauti te.....	Skunk creek.....	Spring creek.
Ko ⁿ 'de uzhiha te.....	The plum-bag creek.....	Burton creek.
I ⁿ 'e uzhi wachishka te.....	Rock creek.....	Creek next to Burton, west (no name on maps).
Tax'ti wachishka te.....	Deer creek.....	Creek next to Rock creek, west (no name on maps).

The Verdigris and its tributaries

Waçe'tupezhi te.....	The bad green-clay creek...	Verdigris.
Waçe'tupezhi hide uzhi ⁿ -ga te.	The little Waçe tupezhi, branch of Big Verdigris near its mouth.	First branch of Verdigris from the mouth on east (no name on maps).
Ma'çi uzhi te.....	Cedar creek.....	Creek down which railroad runs (no name on maps); second branch of Verdigris on the east.
Mo ⁿ chu'to ⁿ ga t'etha i te...	Where Big Grizzly Bear was killed. (A man by this name tried to take a horse from some men and was killed by them on this creek.)	First branch of Verdigris on west side (no name on maps).

Pa'thi ⁿ nadathi ⁿ te	Where a Pawnee was crazed by heat. (A Ponca invited a Pawnee to a sweat lodge when the Ponca were camped on this creek. The Pawnee, not being able to endure the heat, fled without his clothes and was not heard of again.)	Third branch of Verdigris on east (no name on maps).
Hethi'shizhe gahi uho ⁿ te.	Where Hethi'shizhe made a feast to the chiefs.	Second branch of Verdigris on west side (no name on maps).
Zha'be uti i te.....	Where there is a beaver village, or dam.	Third branch of Verdigris on west side (no name on maps).
Wani'tawaxa hi te.....	Where Wani'tawaxa came. (An Omaha by this name visited the Ponca at this place.)	Fourth branch of Verdigris on east side (no name on maps).

The Niobrara and branches from the Verdigris on south side

Ni'ubthatha ke	Wide river	Niobrara river.
Wa'bakihe t'e te.....	Where Wa'bakihe died.	First creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Tcnu'gaçabe wae te.....	Where Black Buffalo Bull planted.	Second creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Mi'zhi ⁿ ga shi ⁿ nuda ikinai te.	Where a girl was bitten to death by a dog.	Third creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Ubi'çka izhu ⁿ ge t'e te.....	Where Ubi'çka's daughter died.	Fourth creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
She'hi to ⁿ te.....	Thorn-apple creek.....	Fifth creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Wau'waxthi i te.....	Where some women were killed by a war party.	Sixth creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Shao ^m 'pa awachi i te.....	Where a dance was held over the head of a Sioux.	Seventh creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Ma'ah wi ⁿ tho ⁿ tho ⁿ te	Creek of the scattering cottonwood trees.	Eighth creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
U ⁿ 'zhi ⁿ ga hi te.....	Hazelnut creek.....	Ninth creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Mo ⁿ a' ithiti ⁿ tho ⁿ	The crooked-cliff creek.....	Tenth creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Piça' çka tc.....	White-sand creek.....	Eleventh creek from Verdigris (no name on maps).
Gube'hi te.....	Hackberry creek.....	Twelfth creek from Verdigris, first w. of Keyabaha.
Uhe'ato ⁿ te.....	The bridge creek. (At this creek a bridge would be built of tent poles and skins, the creek not being fordable.)	Ash creek. (?)
Tenu'ga t'e tha i te	Where Buffalo Bull was killed.	Long Pine. (?)

Wachi'shka gnede te.....	The long creek. (So called because of its length. At the head is a small lake and an old Padouca (Comanche) village site. Here also was found a meteorite (?) which gave the name In'e thiho i tho ⁿ , "place where they lifted a stone." The young men lifted the stone to test their strength.)	Plum Creek. (?)
Mu ⁿ chu' uti te.....	Bear creek. (There used to be many grizzlies at this place. There were cedar trees along this creek.)	Fairfield creek. (?)
Çi ⁿ 'de kino ⁿ çni ⁿ da i te.....	Horse-tail creek. (The approaches to the ford were so steep that in going down the horses trod on one another's tails.)	Small creek (no name on maps).
Ni'xue te.....	The roaring waters.....	Schlegels creek. (?) (There was a fort here.)
Ni' biçe te.....	The dry creek. (The people had to dig wells when they camped here.)	Gordons creek.
Çiçi'ka wabahi i te.....	Where they gathered turkeys. (Many turkeys were found here, starved to death, and men gathered them to pluck the feathers to feather their arrows.)	Snake river.
I ⁿ 'e ikiti ⁿ i te.....	Where they fought with pebbles. (When camped at this creek the boys fought one another, using pebbles as missiles.)	Small creek on north side of Niobrara, a short distance above Fairfield.
Pahe'nude te	Where there is a ridge with a hole through it.	Creek on north side of Niobrara, nearly opposite Horse-tail creek.

The Republican river

Wato ⁿ 'thata i ke.....	Where they ate squash.....	Republican river.
Niwa'xube ke.....	Holy river.....	Solomon river, Kansas.
Paheshu'de ke	Smoky hill	Smoky Hill river.
Uha'i ke	The river down which they came.	Ohio river.
Mika'to ⁿ	Plenty of raccoons.....	Des Moines river.

THE VILLAGE

SITE

The site for a village was always chosen near a running stream convenient to timber and generally not far from hills, from which an outlook over the country could be obtained. A watch was commonly stationed on these hills to detect the stealthy approach of enemies and to keep an eye on the horses pastured near by, although these were usually herded by boys during the day and brought into the village at night, where each family had a corral built near its lodge for safety. The bottom lands were the planting places; each family selected its plot, and as long as the land was cultivated its occupancy was respected. Corn, beans, squash, and melons were raised in considerable quantities, and while these products were sometimes traded, they were usually stored for winter use.

Occasionally a man would take a fancy to some locality and determine to live there. He would be joined by his kindred, who would erect their lodges near his and cultivate gardens. Such outlying little settlements were a temptation to marauding war parties, and if an attack was made by a large party of enemies, capture and death were sure to follow; any degree of safety was secured only through untiring vigilance.

DWELLINGS

The earth lodge and the tipi (tent) were the only types of dwelling used by the Omaha during the last few centuries.

The tipi (pl. 17 and fig. 16) was a conical tent. Formerly the cover was made of 9 to 12 buffalo skins tanned on both sides. To cut and sew this cover so that it would fit well and be shapely when stretched over the circular framework of poles required skilful workmanship, the result of training and of accurate measurements. The cover was cut semicircular. To the straight edges, which were to form the front of the tent, were added at the top triangular flaps. These were to be adjusted by poles according to the direction from which the wind blew, so as to guide the smoke from the central fire out of the tent. These smoke-flaps were called *ti'hugabthiⁿtha* (from *ti*, "tent or house;" *hugabthiⁿtha*, "to twist"). At intervals from about 3 feet above the bottom up to the smoke-flaps holes were made and worked in the straight edges. Through these holes pins (sticks) about 8 inches long, well shaped and often ornamented, were thrust to fasten the tent together, when the two edges lapped in front or were laced together with a thong. This front lap of the tent was called *ti'moⁿthu^he* (from *ti*, "tent"; *moⁿthu^he*, "breast"). The term refers to the part of the hide forming the lap. The tent poles were 14 to 16 feet long. Straight young cedar poles were preferred. The bark was

removed and the poles were rubbed smooth. The setting up of a tent was always a woman's task. She first took four poles, laid them together on the ground, and then tied them firmly with a thong about 3 feet from one end. She then raised the poles and spread their free ends apart and thrust them firmly into the ground. These four tied poles formed the true framework of the tent. Other poles—10 to 20 in number, according to the size of the tent—were arranged in a circle, one end pressed well into the ground, the other end laid in the forks made by the tied ends of the four poles. There was a definite order in setting up the poles so that they would lock one another, and when they were all in place they constituted an elastic but firm



FIG. 16. Tipi.

frame, which could resist a fairly heavy wind. There was no name for the fundamental four poles, nor for any other pole except the one at the back, to which the tent cover was tied. This pole was called *teçin'deugashke*, "the one to which the buffalo tail was tied." The name tells that the back part of the tent cover was a whole hide, the tail indicating the center line. When the poles were all set, this back pole was laid on the ground and the tent cover brought. This had been folded so as to be ready to be tied and opened. The front edges had been rolled or folded over and over back to the line indicating the middle of the cover; on this line thongs had been sewed at the top and bottom of the cover; the cover was laid on the ground



EARTH LODGE—FRAMEWORK AND STRUCTURE

in such manner that this back line was parallel to the pole, which was then securely tied to the cover by the thongs. When this was done, the pole and the folded tent cover were grasped firmly together, lifted, and set in place. Then, if there were two women doing the work, one took one fold of the cover and the other the other fold, and each walked with her side around the framework of poles. The two straight edges were then lapped over each other and the wooden pins were put in or the thong was threaded. Each of the lower ends of the straight edges had a loop sewed to it, and through both loops a stake was thrust into the ground. The oval opening formed the door, which was called *tizhe'be*. Over this opening a skin was hung. A stick fastened across from one foreleg to the other, and another stick running from one hindleg to the other, held this covering taut, so that it could be easily tipped to one side when a person stooped to enter the oval door opening. It was always an interesting sight to watch the rapid and precise movements of the women and their deftness in setting up a tent. On a journey, no matter how dark the evening might be when the tent was pitched the opening was generally so arranged as to face the east. In the village, or in a camping place likely to be used for some time, a band of willow withes was bound around the frame of poles about midway their height to give additional stability.

The earth lodge (pls. 19, 22) was a circular dwelling, having walls about 8 feet high and a dome-shaped roof, with a central opening for the escape of smoke and the admission of light. The task of building an earth lodge was shared by men and women. The marking out of the site and the cutting of the heavy logs were done by the men. When the location was chosen, a stick was thrust in the spot where the fireplace was to be, one end of a rawhide rope was fastened to the stick and a circle 20 to 60 feet in diameter was drawn on the earth to mark where the wall was to be erected. The sod within the circle was removed, the ground excavated about a foot in depth, and the earth thrown around the circle like an embankment. Small crotched posts about 10 feet high were set 8 or 10 feet apart and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet within the circle, and on these were laid beams. Outside this frame split posts were set close together, having one end braced against the bottom of the bank and the other end leaning against the beams, thus forming a wall of timber. The opening generally, though not always, faced the east. Midway between the central fireplace and the wall were planted 4 to 8 large crotched posts about 10 feet in height, on which heavy beams rested, these serving to support the roof. This was made of long, slender, tapering trees stripped of their bark. These were tied at their large ends with cords (made from the inner bark of the linden) to the beams at the top of the stockade and at the middle to those resting in the crotches of the large posts forming the

inner circle about the fireplace. The slender ends were cut so as to form the circular opening for the smoke, the edges being woven together with elm twine, so as to be firm. Outside the woodwork of the walls and roof, branches of willow were laid crosswise and bound tight to each slab and pole. Over the willows a heavy thatch of coarse grass was arranged so as to shed water. On the grass was placed a thick coating of sod. The sods were cut to lap and be laid like shingles. Finally they were tamped with earth and made impervious to rain. The entrance way, 6 to 10 feet long, projected from the door and was built in the same manner as the lodge and formed a part of it. A curtain of skin hung at the inner and one at the outer door of this entrance way. Much labor was expended on the floor of the lodge. The loose earth was carefully removed and the ground then tamped. It was next flooded with water, after which dried grass was spread over it and set on fire. Then the ground was tamped once again. This wetting and heating was repeated two or three times, until the floor became hard and level and could be easily swept and kept clean. Brooms were made of brush or twigs tied together. Couches were arranged around the wall in the spaces between the posts of the framework. These were provided with skins and pillows and served as seats by day and as beds by night. In the building of an earth lodge the cutting and putting on of the

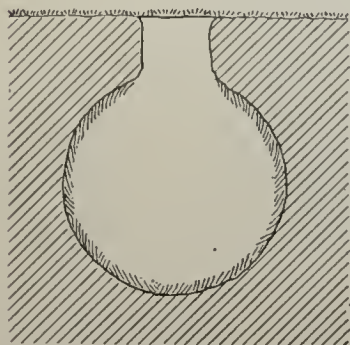


FIG. 17. Common form of cache.

sods was always done by women, and as this part of the task had to be accomplished rapidly to prevent the drying out of the sods, which must hold well together, kindred helped one another. The erection of this class of dwelling required considerable labor, hence only the industrious and thrifty possessed these lodges.

Near each dwelling, generally to the left of the entrance, the cache (fig. 17) was built. This consisted of a hole in the ground about 8 feet deep, rounded at the bottom and sides, provided with a neck just large enough to admit the body of a person. The whole was lined with split posts, to which was tied an inner lining of bunches of dried grass. The opening was protected by grass, over which sod was placed. In these caches the winter supply of food was stored; the shelled corn was put into skin bags, long strings of corn on the cob were made by braiding the outer husks, while the jerked meat was packed in parfleche cases. Pelts, regalia, and extra clothing were generally kept in the cache; but these were laid in ornamented parfleche cases, never used but for this purpose.



PART OF OMAHA VILLAGE (ABOUT 1860)

When the people left the village for the summer buffalo hunt, all cumbersome household articles—as the mortars and pestles, extra hides, etc.—were placed in the caches and the openings carefully concealed. The cases containing gala clothing and regalia were taken along, as these garments were needed at the great tribal ceremonies which took place during that period.

In a village in which the entire tribe lived the lodges and tents were not arranged about a central open space nor were they set so the people could live in the order of their gentes, an order observed when they were on the hunt and during their tribal ceremonies. Yet each family knew to what gens it belonged, observed its rites, and obeyed strictly the rule of exogamy. To the outward appearance a village presented a motley group of tribesmen. The dwellings and their adjacent corrals were huddled together; the passageways between the lodges were narrow and tortuous. There was little of the picturesque. The grass and weeds that grew over the earth lodges while the people were off on their summer buffalo hunt were all cut away when the tribe returned. So, except for the decorations on the skin tents, there was nothing to relieve the dun-colored aspect. (Pl. 23.)

The village was never wholly deserted, even when most of the tribe left for the annual buffalo hunt; for the sick, the infirm, and the very poor were forced to remain behind. This class of stay-at-homes were called *he'begthiⁿ*, "those who sit half-way." Usually a sprinkling of able-bodied men remained with their old or sick relatives, and these served as a guard, to defend the village in case of an attack. Occasionally a young man or two would remain in the village in order to be near a sweetheart who had to stay at home and help care for the sick in her family.

HISTORIC VILLAGES AND PLACES

To'woⁿpezhi, Bad Village. This name, bestowed on an old village built by the Omaha in their migration down the Missouri river, owes its origin to a tragedy which for a number of years caused a division in the tribe. (See p. 85.) This village was located on East Bow creek, in the northeast part of township 32, range 2 east of the sixth principal meridian, Cedar county, Nebraska.

To'woⁿtoⁿgathoⁿ, Large Village. This town was on Omaha creek in Dakota county, Nebraska, about half a mile north of the present town of Homer; it was built in the eighteenth century, and the people were found here by Lewis and Clark in 1805.

Tenu'ganoⁿpewathe shkoⁿthaiⁿthoⁿ, "The place where the camp of Tenu'ganoⁿpewathe (father of Kaxe'noⁿba) was attacked" in 1840 by an unknown tribe and a number were killed on both sides. The fight took place on Cedar creek, Albion county, Nebraska, in township 19, range 8 west of the sixth principal meridian.

Ezhnoⁿ'zhuwagthe shkoⁿthaithoⁿ, "The place where Ezhnoⁿ'zhuwagthe was attacked." This battle between a part of the Omaha and one of the Sioux tribes was fought in the same year (1840) on Beaver creek, in the southeastern part of township 21, range 7 west of the sixth principal meridian, Boone county, Nebraska.

Toⁿ'woⁿzhinga, The Little Village. This was the name of the village built by the Omaha on Elkhorn river, near Clark creek, in Dodge county, Nebraska, in the spring of 1841, the tribe having moved there from the Missouri river on account of attacks by the Sioux. There were few earth lodges, as the village was occupied for only two years, after which the people went back to their old village on Omaha creek, Dakota county, Nebraska.

Pahuⁿ'thoⁿdathoⁿ, "The hill rising in the center of a plain." This village on Papilion creek, about 8 miles west of the present town of Bellevue, was built in 1847. The tribe lived there until they sold their lands to the United States Government in 1854; two years later they moved to their present reservation some 80 miles northward.

Toⁿ'woⁿgaxe shkoⁿthaithoⁿ, "The place where Toⁿ'woⁿgaxe was attacked." The assault on the Omaha camp here referred to was made by the Yankton and Santee on December 12, 1846. At the time of the attack the camp, composed mostly of old men, women, and children, was on the Missouri river near the northeast corner of township 21, range 11 east of the sixth principal meridian, Burt county, Nebraska. Toⁿ'woⁿgaxe, or Village Maker, was the only chief present at the time of the attack. From this fact the place took its name. All the other chiefs were on a buffalo hunt, with most of the men of the tribe, who knew nothing of the attack until they returned. More than 80 persons were slain.

Uⁿ'hoⁿtoⁿga t'ethaithoⁿ, "Where Uⁿ'hoⁿtoⁿga was killed," in township 24, range 17 west of the sixth principal meridian, Loup county, Nebraska. Uⁿ'hoⁿtoⁿga, or Big Cook, a prominent Omaha, was one of the warriors killed in a battle fought at this place with the Oglala and other Sioux tribes in 1852.

Thugina gaxthiithoⁿ, "The place where Thugina (Logan Fontenelle) was slain." Logan Fontenelle (fig. 18), a prominent half breed of the Omaha tribe, while hunting alone was killed by the Oglala Sioux in the summer of 1855. The Sioux made a charge on the Omaha camp when the Omaha were moving. Some of the Sioux warriors came on Logan in a ravine where he had dismounted to pick gooseberries. When he discovered the Sioux he sprang on his horse and made for the ford to rejoin his tribe, who were on the opposite side of the stream, but he was overtaken and killed before he reached the ford. This account of his death was given by Kaxeⁿ'noⁿba, or Two Crows, who went in search of Logan immediately after the fight, and

traced the course of his flight from the gooseberry bush to the spot where the body was found. This fight took place on Beaver creek, in the northern part of township 21, range 7 west of the sixth principal meridian, Boone county, Nebraska.

Wanoⁿ'kuge shkoⁿtha i thoⁿ (for portrait of Wanoⁿ'kuge, see fig. 44), "Where Wanoⁿ'kuge was attacked." This battle, between a part of the Omaha and the Oglala Sioux, took place in August, 1859. A number of lives were lost in the battle, the attacking party of Sioux suffering greater loss than the Omaha. Two Omaha, a woman and a child, were taken captive. The child was returned, and the woman, after many adventures, found her way back to her people. This fight was on Beaver creek, in township 20, range 6 west of the sixth principal meridian, Boone county, Nebraska.



FIG. 18. Logan Fontenelle.

The following names were given by the Omaha to the cities and towns named below:

Pahi' zhide toⁿwoⁿ, St. Louis.

Hair red town (Referring to the color of Governor Clark's hair.)

We'ç'a çabe thitha i thoⁿ, Leavenworth.

Snake black they take the (place)

Umoⁿ'hon toⁿwoⁿ, Omaha City.

Omaha town

Shaoⁿ' toⁿwoⁿ, Sioux City.

Sioux town

Zhoⁿ muça i thoⁿ, Fremont.

Pole they planted the place

Uzha'ta thoⁿ, Columbus.

Forks the (of the Platte and the Loup)

Ni çkithe, Lincoln (Salt town, because situated near the stream to which the people went to gather salt).

TRIBES KNOWN TO THE OMAHA

The following are the Omaha names for the tribes that are known to them.

Of their own linguistic stock they know the following:

Ponca, Poⁿ'ca.

Quapaw, Uga'xpa. The name means "downstream."

Osage, Wazha'zhe.

Kaw or Kansa, Koⁿ'çe.

Iowa, Ma'xude. Ma'xude is a corruption of Pa'xude, meaning "gray head," the name by which the Iowa call themselves.

Oto, Wathu'tada. This is not the name by which the Oto speak of themselves.

Missouri, Niu'tachi. The name means "those who came floating down dead."

Winnebago, Hu'tu^{nga}.

Mandan, Mawa'danr.

Crows, Ka'xe niashiga (from *ka'xe*, "crow;" *ni'ashiga*, "people").

Yankton, Ihoⁿtoⁿwiⁿ.^a An Omaha version of the Yanktons' own name.

Santee, Iⁿcoⁿ'ati.^a The name means "those who dwell on the white rocks."

Oglala, Ubtha'tha.^a

Of tribes belonging to other linguistic stocks the Omaha have names for the following:

Pawnee, Pa'thiⁿ.

Arikara, Pa'thiⁿpiça. The name means "sand Pawnee."

Caddo, Pa'thiⁿwaçabe. This name means "black Pawnee."

Wichita are known as Wichita.

Cheyenne, Shahi'etha.

Blackfeet, Çi'çabe. The Omaha name means "blackfeet."

Sauk, Ça'ge.

Arapaho }
Kiowa } Maxpi'ato ("blue clouds").

Comanche, Pa'duⁿka (Padouca).

Kickapoo, Hi'gabü.

Potawatomie, Wahi'uthaxa. This name is a corruption of the Oto name for this tribe, Woraxa.

Bannock, Ba'niki. The Omaha name is probably a modification of Bannock.

Nez Perces, Pegaçuⁿde. This tribe was known through the Ponca. The name given them means "braids on the forehead."

That the Omaha have a name for the Arikara and one which indicates a knowledge of their relationship to the Pawnee, and yet have none for the northern Sioux tribes who belong to their own linguistic stock, is an interesting point, particularly when taken in connection with the influence exercised on the tribe by the Arikara, mentioned on p. 75. There is no name for the Chippewa group, yet it is not improbable that the tribes long ago came more or less into contact. The similarity between the "Shell society" of the Omaha and the "Grand Medicine" of the Chippewa suggests some communication, direct or indirect, though all knowledge of how the Shell society was introduced has been lost. Nor do the Omaha seem to know anything of the tribes of the Muskogean or Iroquoian stock to the south and east; nor of those belonging to the Shoshonean and Athapaskan stocks to the west and southwest. They knew of the Rocky Mountains, which they called Pahe'moⁿshi, meaning "high hills" or "mountains." Yet they seem never to have come into contact with the tribes living so far to the west. The Black Hills of South Dakota were familiar to them, and were known as Pahe'çabe, the word meaning literally "black hills."

^a This is one of the three distinctive names by which the bands of the Dakota are known. There is a general name for all persons speaking that language, Shaunⁿ—possibly a corruption of Sioux.

The Ponca names for the above tribes were similar to the Omaha names, with few exceptions. The Crows were called by two names, Hu'patitha and Koⁿxe' wichashaⁿ. The names given by Ponca to the Yankton and the Santee were identical with those used by the Omaha, but they had distinct names for the following bands of Sioux:

Lower Brulé, Ku'dawichasha. Lower people.
Rosebud Brulé, Sha'uⁿixti. Real or Pure Sioux.
Oglala, Pine Ridge Sioux, Sichoⁿ'xu. Burnt leg.

The Ponca have names for the following tribes for which the Omaha have none:

Cherokee, Che'thuki. Probably a corruption of Cherokee.
Ni'kathate, Tonkawa.

It is probable that the Ponca gained knowledge of these two tribes while in the Indian Territory, and that their possession of distinctive names for the bands of the Sioux is to be accounted for by their living near the people and fighting both for and against them during the last century.

FAUNA AND FLORA KNOWN TO THE OMAHA

ANIMALS

Animals (general term), Wani'ta

[The asterisk (*) indicates those used for food]

- * Antelope, Tachu'ge.
- * Badger, Xu'ga.
- Bat, Dide'shi.
- * Bear, black, Waça'be.
- * Bear, grizzly, Moⁿchu'.
- * Beaver, Zha'be.
- * Buffalo, Te.
- Cat, domestic, Iⁿgthuⁿ'ga.
- * Cat, wild, Iⁿgthuⁿ'ga.
- * Cattle, domestic, Te'çka.
- * Chipmunk, Tashni'ga.
- Cougar, Iⁿgthuⁿçiⁿ'çnede (long-tailed cat).
- Coyote, Mi'kaçi.
- * Deer, Ta'xti.
- * Dog, Shiⁿ'nuda.
- Donkey (*see* Mule), Nita'toⁿga nushiaha (big ears low).
- Elephant, Tiba'xia tha (push over a house—refers to its strength).
- * Elk, Oⁿ'poⁿ.
- Ermine, Iⁿchuⁿ'gaçka (white mouse).
- Fox, a small variety, Moⁿthiⁿ'kasheha.
- Fox, gray, Ma'zhoⁿha.
- Fox, red, Ti'koⁿxude.
- Frog, Te'bia.
- Goat, He'çakiba.
- Gopher, Moⁿthiⁿ'ga.
- * Hog, Ku'kuçi.

- Horse, Shoⁿ'ge.
 Lion, Wani'ta waxa (greater animal).
 Lizard, Wagthishka heduba (four-legged bug).
 Lynx, Iⁿgthuⁿ'ga hiⁿ shkube (furry wild cat).
 Mice, Iⁿchuⁿ'ga.
 Mice that live in dry bones, Tepauti (*tepa*, buffalo skull; *utē*, to live in).
 Mice that store food, Iⁿchuⁿ'ga waxema (mice that cache).
 Mink, Tushiⁿ'ge.
 Mole, Noⁿbe'xawinⁿ (hands turned backward).
 Monkey, Ishtiⁿ'thiⁿke (a mythical, mischievous, capricious being, representing the wind. Because of its acts in the myths its name was transferred to the monkey when the Omaha first saw that animal.)
 Mule (*see* Donkey), Nita toⁿ'ga (big ears).
 * Musk rat, Ćiⁿ'nedewagithe.
 * Opossum, Iⁿshtiⁿ'pa.
 Otter, Nuzhnoⁿ'.
 Porcupine, Ba'hiⁿ.
 Prairie dog, Monthiⁿ'xude.
 * Rabbit, Moⁿshtiⁿ'ge.
 * Rabbit, jack, Moⁿshtiⁿ'ĉka (white rabbit).
 * Raccoon, Mika',
 * Rat, Iⁿchoⁿ'toⁿga (big mouse).
 * Sheep, domestic, Tax'tiĉka.
 * Sheep, Rocky Mountain, Pashtoⁿ'ga.
 * Skunk, Moⁿ'ga.
 Snail, Niha'.
 Snake, We'ĉ'a.
 Snake, black, We'ĉ'a ĉabe (black snake).
 Snake, bull, Nitha'xupa (water sucker).
 Snake, garter, We'ĉ'anideka.
 Snake, moccasin, She'ki.
 Snake, rattle, Ćathu'.
 * Squirrel, ground, He'xthiⁿ.
 * Squirrel, tree, Ćiⁿ'ga.
 Toad, Ikoⁿ'git'e (his grandmother is dead).
 Tortoise, Ke'gtheĉe (striped turtle).
 * Turtle, Ke.
 * Turtle, diamond-back (terrapin), Keba'moⁿzhide (red-breast turtle).
 * Turtle, snapping, Ke' toⁿga (big turtle).
 * Turtle, soft-shell, Ke ha'be bedoⁿ (flexible-shell turtle).
 Weasel, Iⁿ'chuⁿgaĉi (yellow mouse).
 Wolf, gray, Shoⁿ'toⁿga.

BIRDS

Bird (general term), Wazhiⁿ'ga

[The asterisk (*) indicates those used for food]

- American bittern, Moⁿ'xata wadoⁿbe (looks up at the sky).
 * Bee martin, or king bird, Wati'duka.
 Belted kingfisher, Noⁿxi'de shkuniⁿ.
 * Blackbird, Moⁿgthi'xta.
 Blue-bird, Wazhiⁿ'tu (blue bird).
 Blue jay, Iⁿchoⁿg'agiuduⁿ (fond of mice).
 * Crane, Pe'toⁿ.

Crow, Ka'xe.

* Curlew, Ki'koⁿçi.

* Curlew, long-billed (*Numenius longirostris*), Ki'katoⁿga (big curlew).

* Dove, Thi'ta.

* Dove, Carolina or common, Thitatoⁿga (big dove).

* Duck, Mi'xazhiⁿga (little goose).

Duck, blue-winged teal (*Querquedula discors*), A'hiⁿ hide tu, (blue wing); also Mi'xa wagthoⁿxe, "betrayed duck," so called because it betrayed the water monster in the myth of Ha'xegi.

* Duck, mallard, green head (*Anas boschas*), Pa'hitu (green neck).

* Duck, wood, summer duck, bridal duck (*Aix sponsa*), Mi'xa zhiⁿga xage eguⁿ (the crying duck).

Eagle, Xitha'.

Eagle, bald, Paçu^{n'} (whitish head).

Eagle, golden (*Aquila chrysaetus*), Xitha' çka (white eagle).

Eagle, gray sea, Xitha' gthezhe (spotted eagle).

Flicker, Tho^{n'}çiga.

* Goose, Mi'xa.

* Goose, American white-footed, Canadian goose, Mi'xa toⁿga (big goose).

* Goose, lesser snow (*Chen hyperborea*), Kiçnu^{n'}.

Gull, Ne'tha.

Hawk, American sparrow, Gthedo^{n'}.

Hawk, night, Te'ubixoⁿ (the buffalo inflator).

Hawk, red shoulder, Gthoⁿshka'.

Hawk, red tail, I^{n'}beçiga (yellow tail).

Hawk, swallow-tailed or fork-tailed kite, I^{n'}be zhoⁿka (forked tail).

Hawk, white tail, Gthoⁿshka' xithaegoⁿ (hawk like an eagle).

Humming bird, Wati'ninika wazhiⁿga (butterfly bird).

* Lark, pallid horned, Ma'çi çka.

Magpie, American, Wazhi^{n'}be çnede (long-tail bird).

* Meadow lark, Ta'tithiⁿge.

Owl, Pa'nuhu.

Owl, barred, Wapu'gahahada.

Owl, horned, Pa'nuhu hetoⁿ egoⁿ (owl having horns).

Owl, screech, Ne' thazhibe.

Owl, snowy, I^{n'}chuⁿçuⁿ (now white).

Pelican, American white, Bthe'xe.

* Prairie hen or chicken lesser, Shu.

* Quail (bobwhite), U'shiwathe (one who fools (people)).

* Robin, Pa'thiⁿ wazhiⁿga (Pawnee bird).

* Snipe, To^{n'}iⁿ.

Swallow, Nishku'shku.

* Swan, American white, Mi'xaçoⁿ (white goose).

Thrush, Taçka'çka.

* Turkey, Çiçi'ka.

Turkey vulture, He'ga.

Whippoorwill, Ha'kugthi.

* Woodcock, American (*Philohela minor*), Pa'xthega (freckled head).

Woodpecker, hairy, Zho^{n'}panini.

Woodpecker, pileated, ivory bill, Wazhi^{n'}gapa (bird head).^a

Woodpecker, red-headed, Tu'cka or Mu'xpa.

Wren, Kixaxaja (laughing bird).

^a The head of this bird is used on the tribal and the Wa'waⁿ pipes.

INSECTS

Insects, bugs, etc. (general term), Wagthi'shka

Ants, Zhoⁿ'gthishka (wood bugs—no varieties distinguished).

Bee, Kigthoⁿ'xe.

Beetle, Wagthi'shka (the general name for bugs).

Butterfly, Wati'nini ka.

Caterpillar, Wagthi'shka (general term for bugs).

Fly, Hoⁿ't'ega.

Grasshopper, Xthoⁿxthoⁿ'shka.

Lightning-bug, Wana'xoⁿxoⁿ.

Locust, Watha'cae (noisy bug).

Mosquito, Nahoⁿga.

Spider, Uki'gthi^{ke} (weaving itself—no name for varieties).

Worm, angle, Moⁿthiⁿ'ka shibe (ground intestine). No general term for worms; all are called Wagthi'shka, the name applied also to beetles and bugs.

FISH

Fish (general term), Huhu

[The asterisk (*) indicates those used for food]

* Buffalo fish, Hui'buta (round mouth).

Catfish, Tu'ce.

Crawfish and lobster, Moⁿ'shka.

Eels, no name; they are not eaten.

* Garfish, Hupa'ciⁿede (long-nose fish).

Leech, Kicna'.

Mussels, clams, oysters, Ti'haba.

* Pickerel, Hugthe'zhe (spotted fish).

* Trout, Hubthu'ga (round fish).

TREES

Tree, or bush (general term), Xtha'be; wood, felled trees (general term), Zhoⁿ. The names below are given according to their customary use. The terminal syllable *hi* means "stalk," as the stalk of the corn, the trunk of the tree, the vine of the potato.

Apple tree, She' hi.

Ash, Tazhnoⁿ'ge.

Box elder, Zha'beta zhoⁿ (beaver wood).

Buffalo berry tree, Wazhi'de hi.

Cedar, red, Ma'ci.

Cherry tree, Noⁿ'pa hi.

Coffee-bean tree, Noⁿ'tita hi.

Cottonwood, Mah'ah.

Elm, E'zhoⁿ.

Hackberry tree, Gube' hi.

Hazel, Oⁿ'zhiⁿga hi.

Hickory, Noⁿ'ci.

Ironwood, He'tazhoⁿta.

Linden, Hiⁿ'de hi.

Maple, We'nashabethe hi (black dye tree).

Mulberry, Zhoⁿ'ci, (yellow wood).

Oak, red, Bu'de hi, and Noⁿ boⁿ naxthiⁿ, "flame" (favorite firewood).

Oak, white, Tosh'ka hi.
 Osage orange, Zhoⁿçi (yellow wood).
 Plum tree, Koⁿ'de hi.
 Red haw, thorn apple tree, Taçpoⁿ' hi.
 Spruce, Ma'çi.
 Walnut, black, Ta'ge hi.
 Willow, Thi'xe.
 Willow, diamond, Thi'xe kibthoⁿbthoⁿxe (gnarled willow).
 Willow, hard, Thi'xe çagi (hard willow).
 Willow, soft, Thi'xe ushpoⁿ (soft willow).

THE HUMAN BODY AS KNOWN TO THE OMAHA

Head (not including face), Noⁿshki'.
 Head (including face), Pa.
 Brain, We'thixthi.
 Side of head from ear up, Noⁿtha'de.
 Ear, Nita'.
 Helix, Nitabaxu'ke (*baxu'ke*, ridge).
 Lobe, Nitaushtoⁿ'ga (*ushtoⁿ'ga*, soft).
 Ear (inner part or organ of hearing), Noⁿxi'de.
 Top of head, Taxpi'.
 Back of head, Tai'.
 Face, Iⁿde'.
 Forehead, Pe.
 Temples, Noⁿtha'dehoⁿhoⁿ (*hoⁿhoⁿ*, to throb).
 Center of forehead, Peuta'noⁿ (*utanon*, between).
 Eyebrow, Iⁿshta'noⁿxixe.
 Depression between eyebrows, Pau'çkida.
 Eye, Iⁿshta.
 White of the eye, Inshta'uçka thoⁿ.
 Pupil, Iⁿshta' usha bethoⁿ.
 Socket, Iⁿshta'ugthoⁿ (*ugthoⁿ*, to put into a hollow place).
 Eyelid, Iⁿshta'ha (*ha*, skin).
 Upper lid, Iⁿshta'ha igabizhe (*igabizhe*, to wink with).
 Eyelashes, Iⁿshta'thehiⁿ.
 Hair of head (human), Noⁿzhi'ha or Pahi'.
 Hair on forehead, Pehiⁿ'.
 Hair on body (human or animal), Hiⁿ.
 Nose, Pa.
 Bridge of nose, Paxi'xe.
 Tip of nose, Pashi'zhe.
 Nostrils, Pa'xthuge (*xthuge*, hole).
 Wing of nose, Pauga'dazhe (*uga'dazhe*, base).
 Septum, Paushtoⁿ'ga (*shtoⁿ'ga*, soft).
 Cheek, The'xoⁿde.
 Cheekbone, Iⁿde'noⁿhiⁿ.
 Mouth, I.
 Lips, I'ha.
 Corners of mouth, I'thede.
 Jaw, The'ba.
 Joint of jaw, The'baugthe.

- Teeth, Hi.
 Molars, Hiu'toⁿga.
 Gums, Hizhu'.
 Tongue, The'çe.
 Tip of tongue, Theçe'paçi (*paçi'*, tip).
 Base of tongue, Theçe'hide (*hide*, base).
 Ridge above teeth and roof of mouth, Koⁿbtha'de.
 Chin, I'ki.
 Double chin, The'bazhu.
 Neck, Pa'hi.
 Chords at side of neck, Nu'dekoⁿ.
 Hollow at base of neck in front, The'shkaxthuah.
 Two chords at the back of neck, Tai'koⁿ.
 Hollow at nape of neck, Taiu'gthe.
 Throat, Nu'de.
 Adam's apple, Nu'de tashe (*tashe*, lump).
 Windpipe, Nu'dexixibe.
 Pharynx, We'noⁿbthe.
 Body, Zhu'ga.
 Breast, Moⁿ'ge.
 Mamma, Mo'çe'.
 Nipples, Mo'çe'pa.
 Collar bone, Moⁿ'ge wahi (*mon'ge*, breast; *wahi*, bone).
 Sternum, Temoⁿ'hin.
 Ribs, Thi'ti.
 Short ribs, Thi'tiusha'gthe.
 Epigastric region, Moⁿhiⁿ'be.
 Lumbar region, Thie.
 Hypogastric region, Tapu' or Washna'.
 Umbilical region, Ni'xa.
 Navel, The'tashoⁿ.
 Waist, Te'çe.
 Spine, Noⁿ'xahi.
 Coccyx, Çiⁿ'de ita (*çin'de*, tail; *ita*, end).
 Back, Noⁿ'ka.
 Muscles on side of spine, lower end, Takiⁿ'de.
 Sinew beneath these muscles, Tenoⁿ'kakoⁿ.
 Fleshy bunch on back below neck, A' baku.
 Shoulder, I'ke'de.
 Shoulder blade, Waba'çoⁿ.
 Arm, A.
 Upper arm, Autoⁿ'ga (*uton'ga*, large part).
 Lower arm, Au'çni.
 Muscles on front of upper arm, A'koⁿta.
 Muscles on back upper arm, A'zhuhi.
 Armpit, Nuçi'.
 Elbow, Açu'hi.
 Wrist, Noⁿbe'ushoⁿshoⁿ (*ushoⁿshoⁿ*, pliable).
 Hand, Noⁿbe'.
 Palm of hand, Noⁿbe'uthoⁿda (*uthoⁿda*, center).
 Fingers, Noⁿbe'hi or Uça'be.
 Thumb, Noⁿbe'hi utoⁿga (*utonga*, big).
 Index finger, Noⁿbe'hi weabaçu (*weabaçu*, to point with).

- Middle finger, Noⁿbe'hiuthiçonⁿ (*utheçonⁿ*, middle).
 Finger next to little one, Noⁿbe'hi uzhiⁿga uthuatoⁿ (*uthuatonⁿ*, next to one).
 Little finger, Noⁿbe'hi uzhiⁿga (*uzhiⁿga*, little).
 Tip of finger, Noⁿbe'hi itaxe.
 Nails, Sha'ge. The same word is applied to claws and hoofs.
 Knuckles, Noⁿbe'ushoⁿshoⁿ.
 Contents of body, the internal organs, U'gaxectha.
 Heart, Noⁿde.
 Lungs, Tha'xi.
 Liver, Pi.
 Gall, Pizi'.
 Kidney, Tea'çoⁿtaçi.
 Bladder, Ne'xe.
 Intestines, Shi'be.
 Small intestine, Shi'be uzhiⁿga.
 Large intestine, Shi'be utoⁿga.
 Layer of fat covering stomach and internal organs, Hu'xthabe.
 Groin, Iti'washkoⁿ.
 Hips, Çiⁿde'hi.
 Hip joint, Zhega'ugthe; also U'gahoⁿ, where the cut is made in butchering.
 Body between hip joint and ribs, "ticklish place," Shtashta'de.
 Legs, Zhi'be or Hi.
 Upper leg, thigh, Zhega'utoⁿga.
 Inner, flat part of thigh, Ke'goⁿ.
 Upper part of thigh, Çiçu'.
 Flat part of thigh near buttock, Zhega' ubthaçka.
 Buttock, Ni'de.
 Knee, whole of knee, Shinoⁿ'de.
 Kneejoint, Hiu'kite.
 Kneecap, Shinoⁿ'dewashkoⁿ.
 End of fibula, Hia'xte.
 Shin, Noⁿ'xpehi.
 Calf of leg, Hiuça'gi.
 Ankles, Çikoⁿ'.
 Ankle bones, Çita'xe.
 Feet, Çi.
 Soles, Çiha'toⁿ.
 Instep, top, Çiu'noⁿxixe.
 Instep, hollow below, Çiu'noⁿçkida.
 Tendon achilles, Hi'koⁿ.
 Heel, Çithe'de.
 Toes, Çipa'hi.
 Great toe, Çipa'hi utoⁿga.
 Next (second) toe, Çipa'hi utoⁿga uthuatoⁿ (*uthuatonⁿ*, next to).
 Middle toe, Çipa'hi uthiçoⁿ (*uthiçonⁿ*, middle).
 Next toe, Çipa'hi uazhiⁿga uthuatoⁿ.
 Little toe, Çipa'hi uzhiⁿga (*uzhiⁿga*, little).
 Bones, Wahi'.
 Skin, Ha or Xiⁿha'.
 Marrow, Wazhi'be.
 Veins, Koⁿ.
 Skull devoid of flesh, Ni'kapa.

MISCELLANEOUS TERMS USED BY THE OMAHA

NATURAL OBJECTS AND PHENOMENA

- Sky, Moⁿ'xe.
 Sun, Mi.
 Moon, Nioⁿ'ba.
 Stars, Mika'e.
 North Star, Mika'emoⁿthiⁿazhi (*mikae*, star; *monthin*, walk or move; *azhi*, not).
 Pleiades. This constellation bore the ancient name of Tapa' (deer's head), but this term, which had a religious significance, was not commonly used, the popular name being Mixaci'zhiⁿga (little duck's foot).
 Great Bear, Wa'baha, the litter.
 The Morning or Evening Star, Mika'etoⁿga (big star).
 Meteor, Mika'e uxpathe (stars fall).
 Clouds, Moⁿxpi'.
 Rain, Noⁿzhiⁿ'.
 Mist, Shu'de moⁿhoⁿ (smoke on the earth).
 Hail, Ma'çi.
 Snow, Ma.
 Thunder, Ingthuⁿ/hutoⁿ (*hutoⁿ*, to cry; *ingthuⁿ* implies the idea of a creature similar to a bird).
 Lightning, Thioⁿ'ba.
 Rainbow, Tushni'ge.
 Light, Ugoⁿ'ba.
 Darkness, Uga'hoⁿnoⁿpaçe.
 Night, Hoⁿ.
 Day, Oⁿ'ba.
 Dawn, Oⁿ'ba çoⁿtihe (day lies pale).
 Morning, Hoⁿe'goⁿche.
 Noon, Mi'thumoⁿshi (sun high).
 Dusk, Iⁿde'hoⁿnoⁿpaçe (face hidden in darkness).
 Evening, Pa'çe.
 Water, Ni.
 Ice, Nu'xe.
 Wind, Tade'.
 Fire, Pe'de.
 Smoke, Shu'de.
 Charcoal, Noⁿxthe'.
 Ashes, Moⁿxu'de (gray earth).
 Heat, Na'kade.
 Cold, U'çni.
 Earth, Toⁿ'de.
 Land, Moⁿzhoⁿ.
 Lake, Ne'utheshoⁿ.
 River, Ni.
 Creek, Wachi'shka.

TASTE

- Sweet, Çki'the.
 Salt, }
 Sour, } Ç'a'the.
 Acid, }
 Stringent, T'u'xe.

Bitter, Pa.
 Taste of nuts, }
 Taste of fat, } Noⁿbe.
 Salt, the article, Niçki'the (sweet water).

COLORS

White, Çka.
 Pale, Çoⁿ.
 Black, Ça'be.
 Green, Tu.
 Blue, Tu ça'be.
 Yellow, Çi.
 Red, Zhi'de.
 Gray or Brown, Xu'de.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS

North, Uçni'atathishoⁿ (*uçni*, cold; *ata*, there; *thishoⁿ*, toward)—toward the cold.
 East, Miua'tathishoⁿ (*mi*, sun; *ui*, it comes; *ata*, there; *thishoⁿ*, toward)—toward the coming of the sun.
 South, Moⁿshteatathishoⁿ (*monshⁿte*, heat; *ata*, there; *thishoⁿ*, toward)—toward the heat.
 West, Mi'itheatathishoⁿ (*mi*, sun; *ithe*, gone; *ata*, there; *thishoⁿ*, toward)—toward where the sun has gone.
 Up (as when the pipes are pointed upward), Moⁿxata (*monxa*, sky; *ta*, *ata*, there).
 Down (as when the pipes are pointed downward), Toⁿdeata (*tonde*, earth; *ata*, there).

DIVISIONS OF TIME

January, Hoⁿga umubthi ike: When the snow drifts into the tents of the Hoⁿga.
 February, Mi'xa agthi ike: The moon when geese come home (come back).
 March, Pe'nishka mieta ike: The little frog moon.
 April, Mi'oⁿthiⁿge ke: The moon in which nothing happens.
 May, Mi waa' ike: The moon in which they (the tribe) plant.
 June, Tenu'gamigauna ike: The buffalo bulls hunt the cows.
 July, Tehu'taⁿ ike: When the buffalo bellow.
 August, Uⁿpoⁿhutaⁿ ike: When the elk bellow.
 September, Ta'xte maⁿnoⁿxa ike: When the deer paw the earth.
 October, Ta'xti kithixa ike: When the deer rut.
 November, Ta'xte hebaxoⁿ ike: When the deer shed the antlers.
 December, Waça'be zhiⁿga i'da ike: When the little black bears are born.
 The Oto and Iowa tribes use the same names for the months except for January, which is called "the raccoon month."

The general name for month was "a moon."

The night, or sleeping time, marked the division of days, so a journey might be spoken of as having taken so many "sleeps." In like manner the year was spoken of as "a winter." The sun indicated the time of day: Sunrise, mi'ethoⁿbe (*mi*, sun; *ethonbe*, to come out); sunset, mi'ethe (*mi*, sun; *ithe*, gone). A motion toward the zenith meant noon (mi'thoⁿ moⁿshi—*mi*, sun; *thon*, round; *monshi*, on high); midway between the zenith and the west, afternoon; and midway toward the east, forenoon. There were no smaller divisions of time among the Omaha.

WEATHER SIGNS

The storm which usually precedes the coming of the new moon was called *Mia'noⁿxthe*, "the hiding of the moon" (the act of the storm).

Early in the month of February there is usually a severe storm, often a blizzard. This storm was called *Mi'xa ikinoⁿxthe agthi ike*, "the geese come home hidden by the storm." It is said that soon after this storm a few geese are seen, which are shortly followed by the flocks.

A ring around the moon is a sign of rain.

When the horns of the moon are turned upward, it is a sign that cold weather is coming.

When the fireflies swarm it will rain during the night.

When birds sing in the early morning the day will be clear.

A mist in the morning portends a hot day.

After a long rain, when the horses prick up their ears and play, it is known that the rain is over.

White spots on the nails betoken the approach of spring. If they come in summer it is because summer is here; if in winter, they indicate that spring will surely come, no matter how long or cold the season.

To break a moccasin string is a sign that summer is coming.

SUMMARY

From the evidence afforded by the native names of animals and trees it would seem that the physical environment of the Omaha has not greatly varied in the course of the last few centuries; during that period the tribe does not appear to have experienced conditions that prevail in the extreme north or far to the southward, or that are peculiar to the region west of the Rocky Mountains. This seemingly persistent character of the Omaha surroundings made possible the development of the tribe along lines that led to substantial rather than to striking results.

During this period both the peaceful and the warlike relations of the Omaha were for the most part with tribes to which they were more or less closely related linguistically, tribes which presumably had many ideas and customs in common. There was, therefore, little in this contact likely to deflect the Omaha from their natural course of development. To this, however, their relations with the Arikara constituted an exception. This tribe belongs to the Caddoan, a southwestern stock, different from the Omaha in mental characteristics and in culture. From the Arikara the Omaha adopted the use of the earth lodge; it may be that contact with this tribe stimulated a general revival of the cultivation of the maize; and the knowledge of the *Wawaⁿ* ceremony was probably derived from the same source. While the Arikara exercised on the Omaha a somewhat stimulating influence, the contact does not seem to have had any vital effect on the development of the latter's tribal organization and government.

The character of the environmental conditions noted above seems reflected in the Sacred Legend, which preserves in fragmentary form the story of the people. The value of this Legend is psychic rather than historic, for little is told in it that is definite as to movements or localities; it is singularly free from the mythic element; it contains no marvels, but reveals the mental atmosphere through which the people beheld their past achievements, and constitutes a narrative remarkably true to what seems to be the Omaha character, religious, thoughtful, and practical rather than imaginative and emotional.

The Omaha depended on their powers of observation and thought as the means by which they could better the conditions of their daily life and, as will be seen later, they utilized their observation of nature in forming their ethical code. The character of the people is indicated in their names for living forms and for natural phenomena; these show how the Omaha looked on their environment and differentiated what they saw and experienced. The influence of hunting is detected in the familiarity displayed with the anatomy of the larger animals, a knowledge which, as has been seen, the Omaha applied to the human form. Some of the terms, as those designating parts of the human face, the corners of the mouth, the depression on the forehead, indicate close observation. In color perception the Omaha seem to be of somewhat limited capacity, as is true also of the sensation of taste, but there is a noteworthy appreciation of the gradation of light in the coming and the going of the day. The names of the months and of the points of the compass are not fanciful or symbolic but express the results of practical observations or experiences. All the names bear out the sober-minded, self-contained character indicated in the Sacred Legend and add to its value in helping toward an understanding of the tribe.

The map of the Omaha country (pl. 21) presents the region with which the people have been familiar from the sixteenth century to the present, and such historic data have been given as may throw light on the movements of the tribe during that period. The steady westward advance of the white settlements from their beginnings on the Atlantic coast, together with the consequent contentions with the tribes native to that region, pressed the eastern tribes back on their western neighbors, creating disturbances whose effects traveled westward and were felt by all the people dwelling on and beyond the Lakes and the Mississippi, forcing many tribes through influences they did not understand or recognize to move westward. The Omaha could not escape the effect of this general disturbance, although they did not become embroiled in wars between the Indians and the white people dwelling to the eastward of them.

The Omaha did not come into contact with the white people as early as did some of their cognates. They do not seem to have felt the influence of the Spanish from the southwest, although late indirect effects were transmitted through the Comanche and the Pawnee. French influence did not reach the Omaha from the south, but came from the north through Canadian traders. The French were the first white men to become personally known to the Omaha, but they did not reach the tribe until well into the eighteenth century. The English followed the French and exerted a more powerful and disturbing influence on the social life of the people. Finally the American came and remained.

A general view of the Omaha environment during recent centuries makes apparent certain limitations, and it can hardly be questioned that these limitations must have exercised an influence not only on the direction but also on the manner in which the people evolved their social and religious life. Indeed the Omaha seem to have been exempt to a remarkable degree from strong foreign control and to have developed their tribal organization in comparative isolation. Consequently they were able to preserve their type, a circumstance which adds to the value and interest of the tribe as a study.

III

rites pertaining to the individual

introduction of the omaha child to the cosmos

When a child was born it was not regarded as a member of its gens or of the tribe but simply as a living being coming forth into the universe, whose advent must be ceremonially announced in order to assure it an accepted place among the already existing forms. This ceremonial announcement took the form of an expression of the Omaha belief in the oneness of the universe through the bond of a common life-power that pervaded all things in nature animate and inanimate.

Although in the *Teciⁿ'de* and *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda* gentes the custom survived of placing on the child, the fourth day after birth, certain symbols pertaining to the peculiar rites of those gentes, these acts did not serve the purpose of introducing the child into the teeming life of the universe. This ceremony of introduction took place on the eighth day after birth. Unfortunately the full details of the ceremony have been lost through the death of the priests who had charge of it. The hereditary right to perform the ceremony belonged in the *Washe'toⁿ* subgens of the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda* gens. (See meaning of the term *Washe'toⁿ*, p. 186.)

On the appointed day the priest was sent for. When he arrived he took his place at the door of the tent in which the child lay and raising his right hand to the sky, palm outward, he intoned the following in a loud, ringing voice:

Ho! Ye Sun, Moon, Stars, all ye that move in the heavens,
I bid you hear me!
Into your midst has come a new life.
Consent ye, I implore!
Make its path smooth, that it may reach the brow of the first hill!

Ho! Ye Winds, Clouds, Rain, Mist, all ye that move in the air,
I bid you hear me!
Into your midst has come a new life.
Consent ye, I implore!
Make its path smooth, that it may reach the brow of the second hill!

Ho! Ye Hills, Valleys, Rivers, Lakes, Trees, Grasses, all ye of the earth,
I bid you hear me!

Into your midst has come a new life.

Consent ye, I implore!

Make its path smooth, that it may reach the brow of the third hill!

Ho! Ye Birds, great and small, that fly in the air,

Ho! Ye Animals, great and small, that dwell in the forest,

Ho! Ye insects that creep among the grasses and burrow in the ground—

I bid you hear me!

Into your midst has come a new life.

Consent ye, I implore!

Make its path smooth, that it may reach the brow of the fourth hill!

Ho! All ye of the heavens, all ye of the air, all ye of the earth:

I bid you all to hear me!

Into your midst has come a new life.

Consent ye, consent ye all, I implore!

Make its path smooth—then shall it travel beyond the four hills!

This ritual was a supplication to the powers of the heavens, the air, and the earth for the safety of the child from birth to old age. In it the life of the infant is pictured as about to travel a rugged road stretching over four hills, marking the stages of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age.

The ceremony which finds oral expression in this ritual voices in no uncertain manner the Omaha belief in man's relation to the visible powers of the heavens and in the interdependence of all forms of life. The appeal bears evidence of its antiquity, breathing of a time antedating established rites and ceremonies. It expresses the emotions of the human soul, touched with the love of offspring, alone with the might of nature, and companioned only by the living creatures whose friendliness must be sought if life is to be secure on its journey.

The cognate tribes^a had ceremonies similar in purport although differing in details. Among the Omaha no further ceremony took place in reference to the child in its relation to the cosmos, to its gens, or to the tribe, until it was able to walk. When the period arrived at which the child could walk steadily by itself, the time was at hand when it must be introduced into the tribe. This was done ceremonially.

^aAmong the Osage, on the birth of a child "a man who had talked with the gods" was sent for. On his arrival he recited to the infant the story of the Creation and of the animals that move on the earth. Then, after placing the tip of his finger on the mother's nipple, he pressed that finger on the lips of the child, after which he passed his hands over the body of the child. Then the infant was allowed to take nourishment. Later, when the child desired to drink water the same or a like man was sent for. Again the ritual of the Creation was recited, and the beginning of water was told. The man then dipped the tip of his finger into water and laid it on the lips of the child and passed his hands over its body from head to foot. After this ceremony the child could be given water to drink. When the child reached the age when it needed or desired solid food, the same man or one of his class was again sent for. Once more the Creation story was recited and the gift of corn and other food was recounted. At the close the man placed the tip of his finger upon the food prepared for the child and then laid this finger on the lips of the child, after which he passed his hands over its body. This ceremony prepared the child to receive solid food. Fees were given to the man who performed these rites.

INTRODUCTION OF THE CHILD INTO THE TRIBE

CEREMONY OF TURNING THE CHILD

The name of this ceremony was 'Thiku'wi^axé (*thi*, a prefix indicating action by the hand; *ku'wiⁿxé*, "to turn"). Although the child is not mentioned, it is understood as being referred to. The translation of the term, therefore, would be "turning the child."

All children, both boys and girls, passed through this ceremony, which is a survival of that class of ceremonies belonging to the lowest, or oldest, stratum of tribal rites; it is directly related to the cosmic forces—the wind, the earth, and the fire. Through this ceremony all the children who had reached the period when they could move about unaided, could direct their own steps, were symbolically "sent into the midst of the winds"—that element essential to life and health; their feet were set upon the stone—emblem of long life upon the earth and of the wisdom derived from age; while the "flames," typical of the life-giving power, were invoked to give their aid toward insuring the capacity for a long, fruitful, and successful life within the tribe. Through this ceremony the child passed out of that stage in its life wherein it was hardly distinguished from all other living forms into its place as distinctively a human being, a member of its birth gens, and through this to a recognized place in the tribe. As it went forth its baby name was thrown away, its feet were clad in new moccasins made after the manner of the tribe, and its *ni'kie* name (see p. 136) was proclaimed to all nature and to the assembled people.

The significance of the new moccasins put on the child will appear more clearly by the light of the following custom, still observed in families in which all the old traditions of the tribe are conserved: When moccasins are made for a little baby, a small hole is cut in the sole of one. This is done in order that "if a messenger from the spirit world should come and say to the child, 'I have come for you,' the child could answer, 'I can not go on a journey—my moccasins are worn out!'" A similar custom obtains in the Oto tribe. A little hole is cut in the first pair of moccasins made for a child. When the relatives come to see the little one they examine the moccasins, and, seeing the hole, they say: "Why, he (or she) has worn out his moccasins; he has traveled over the earth!" This is an indirect prayer that the child may live long. The new (whole) moccasins put on the child at the close of the ceremony of introducing it into the tribe constitute an assurance that it is prepared for the journey of life and that the journey will be a long one.

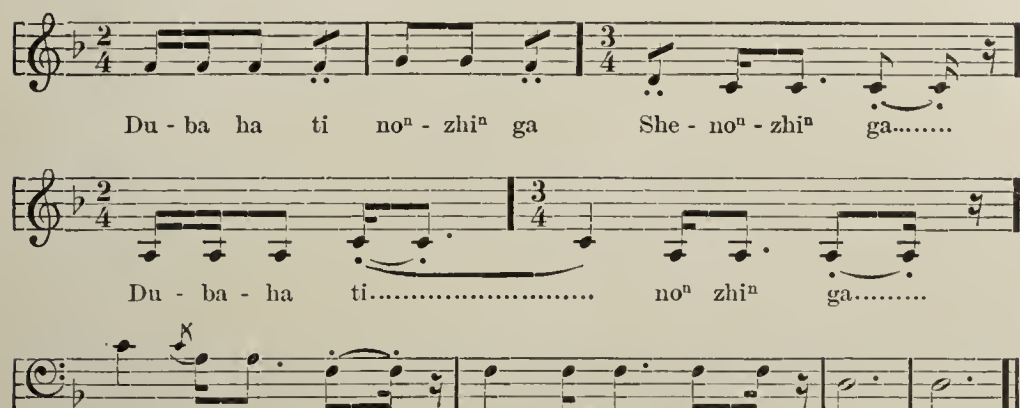
The ceremony of Turning the Child took place in the spring-time, after the first thunders had been heard. When the grass was

well up and the birds were singing, "particularly the meadow lark," the tribal herald proclaimed that the time for these ceremonies had come. A tent was set up for the purpose, made *xube*, or sacred, and the keeper of these rites, who belonged to the Washe'toⁿ subgens of the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens, made himself ready and entered the tent. Meanwhile the parents whose children had arrived at the proper age, that is, could walk steadily unassisted, took their little ones and proceeded to the Sacred Tent. The only requisite for the child was a pair of new moccasins, but large fees were given to the priest for his services.

Only parts of the ritual belonging to this ceremony have been obtained. Those whose prerogative it was to conduct the rites are all dead, and with them knowledge of much of the ceremony passed away. The preservation of the fragments here given came about thus: An old and trusted friend of Joseph La Flesche, a former principal chief of the tribe, was greatly interested when a boy, in the tribal rites. One of his near kinsmen was a priest of this rite. When the Sacred Tent was set up this boy more than once succeeded in secreting himself behind packs within and from his hiding place was able to observe what took place. Having a retentive memory and a quick ear for song, he was able to learn and remember the six songs here given. Subsequent inquiries have added somewhat to the knowledge secured from this informant, although, so far as the writers have been able to ascertain, no one seems ever to have obtained quite so close an inside view of the entire ceremony as this inquisitive boy. Of course no one who had passed through the ceremony could accurately remember it, as the child was generally only 3 or 4 years of age at the time it had a part in the rite.

The tent was always a large one, set facing the east, and open at the entrance, so that the bystanders, who kept at a respectful distance, could see something of what was going on within. As the ceremony was one of tribal interest, many flocked to the Sacred Tent to watch the proceedings. In the center was a fire. On the east of the fire was placed a stone. There was also a ball of grass, placed at the west of the fire-place near its edge. It was the mother who led the child to the tent. At the door she paused, and addressed the priest within, saying: "Venerable man! I desire my child to wear moccasins." Then she dropped the hand of the child, and the little one, carrying his new moccasins, entered the tent alone. He was met by the priest, who advanced to the door to receive the gifts brought by the mother as fees. Here she again addressed him, saying: "I desire my child to walk long upon the earth; I desire him to be content with the light of many days. We seek your protection; we hold to you for strength." The priest replied, addressing the child: "You shall reach the fourth hill sighing; you shall be bowed over; you shall have wrinkles; your staff shall

bend under your weight. I speak to you that you may be strong." Laying his hand on the shoulder of the child, he added: "What you have brought me shall not be lost to you; you shall live long and enjoy many possessions; your eyes shall be satisfied with many good things." Then, moving with the child toward the fireplace in the center of the lodge, and speaking in the capacity of the Thunder, whose priest he was, he uttered these words: "I am a powerful being; I breathe from my lips over you." Then he began to sing the Invocation addressed to the Winds:



Du - ba ha ti noⁿ - zhiⁿ ga She - noⁿ - zhiⁿ ga.....

Du - ba - ha ti..... noⁿ zhiⁿ ga.....

She noⁿ - zhiⁿ ga..... She noⁿ - zhiⁿ ga..... Iⁿ Iⁿ

Duba ha ti noⁿzhiⁿ ga she noⁿzhiⁿ ga
 Duba ha ti noⁿzhiⁿ ga
 She noⁿzhiⁿ ga! She noⁿzhiⁿ ga
 Iⁿ Iⁿ

Literal translation: *Duba*, four; *ha* signifies that the number four refers to groups; *ti*, from *ati*, come ye; *noⁿzhiⁿ*, stand; *a*, from *iga*, word of command given to a number; *she*, from *shethu*, a definite place near by; *ga*, a command, and end of the sentence; *Iⁿ*, the rolling thunder. The "four" refers to the four winds, to which the invocation is addressed by the Thunder priest.

Free translation

Ye four, come hither and stand, near shall ye stand
 In four groups shall ye stand
 Here shall ye stand, in this place stand
 (The Thunder rolls)

The music of this invocation is in the five-toned scale. The voice dwells on the words *ti*, "come," and *she*, "near in this place." The roll of the Thunder is given in the relative minor.

At the close of this ritual song the priest faces the child to the east, lifting it by the shoulders; its feet are allowed to rest upon the stone. He then turns the child completely around, from left to right. If by any chance the child should struggle or move so as to

turn from right to left the onlookers set up a cry of alarm. It was considered very disastrous to turn ever so little in the wrong way, so the priest was most careful to prevent any accident. When the child had been turned, its feet rested on the stone as it faced the south. The priest then lifted it by the arms, turned it, and set its feet on the stone as it faced the west; then he again lifted the child, turned it, and set its feet on the stone as it faced the north. Lastly the child was lifted to its feet and placed on the stone as it again faced the east. During this action the following ritual song was sung:

She ga ku - wiⁿ xe a - ki-the tha She ga-ku - wiⁿ

xe a - ki-the tha Ba-xu du - ba ha te ta-de du...

..... ba ha te Ta-de ba-çoⁿ the..... a - ki-the tha

Ta - de du..... ba ha te Iⁿ Iⁿ

She gakuwiⁿxe akithe tha
 She gakuwiⁿxe akithe tha
 Baxu duba ha te tade duba ha te
 Tade baçoⁿ the akithe tha
 Tade duba ha te
 Iⁿ Iⁿ

Literal translation: *She*, from *shethiⁿ*, going yonder, implies a person speaking; *ga*, to strike by the wind; *kuwiⁿxe*, to whirl; *tha*, oratorical end of the sentence; *baxu*, ridge or hill; *duba*, four; *ha*, groups; *te*, descriptive suffix indicating standing; *baçoⁿ*, in the midst; *the*, goes (third person); *akithe*, I cause him; *tha*, end of sentence; *tade*, winds; *duba*, four; *ha*, groups; *te*, standing; *Iⁿ*, rolling of the Thunder.

Free translation

Turned by the winds goes the one I send yonder;
 Yonder he goes who is whirled by the winds;
 Goes, where the four hills of life and the four winds are standing;
 There, in the midst of the winds do I send him,
 Into the midst of the winds, standing there.
 (The Thunder rolls)

The winds invoked by the priest stand in four groups, and receive the child, which is whirled by them, and by them enabled "to

face in every direction." This action symbolizes that the winds will come and strengthen him as hereafter he shall traverse the earth and meet the vicissitudes he must encounter as he passes over the four hills and completes the circuit of a long life. It was believed that this ceremony exercised a marked influence on the child, and enabled it to grow in strength and in the ability to practise self-control.

The priest now put the new moccasins on the feet of the child, as the following ritual song was sung. Toward its close the child was lifted, set on its feet, and made to take four steps typical of its entrance into a long life.

(Sung in octaves)

She-thu te thoⁿ i e wiⁿ-tha ke She-thu te thoⁿ i - e wiⁿ-tha ke

He de wiⁿ-tha ke noⁿ-zhiⁿ-ga I - e te wiⁿ-tha-ke

She-thu te thoⁿ i - e wiⁿ-tha-ke He-de wiⁿ-tha ke noⁿ-zhiⁿ-ga Iⁿ Iⁿ

Shethu te thoⁿ ie wiⁿthake
 Shethu te thoⁿ ie wiⁿthake
 Hede wiⁿthake noⁿzhiⁿ ga
 Ie te wiⁿthake
 Shethu te thoⁿ ie wiⁿthake
 Hede wiⁿthake noⁿzhiⁿga
 Iⁿ Iⁿ

Literal translation: *Shethu*, a place near, also a time; *te* refers to action or occurrence, in this instance to the ceremony; *thoⁿ*, round place, refers both to the lodge and to the *hu'thuga*; *ie*, words, declaration; *wiⁿthake*, truth (to you) (*wiⁿke*, truth; *tha*, to you); *hede*, in consequence of, therefore, because (old term); *noⁿzhiⁿ*, arise, stand; *ga*, the sign of command; *iⁿ*, the rolling of thunder.

Free translation

Here unto you has been spoken the truth;
 Because of this truth you shall stand.
 Here, declared is the truth.
 Here in this place has been shown you the truth.
 Therefore, arise! go forth in its strength!
 (The thunder rolls)

The *ni'kie* name of the child was now announced, after which the priest cried aloud: "Ye hills, ye grass, ye trees, ye creeping things both great and small, I bid you hear! This child has thrown away its baby name. Ho!" (a call to take notice).

The priest next instructed the child as to the tabu it must observe, and what would be the penalty for disobedience. If the child was a girl, she now passed out of the tent and rejoined her mother.

Up to this point the ceremony of introducing the child into the tribe was the same for male and female; but in the case of boys there was a supplemental rite which pertained to them as future warriors.

CONSECRATION OF THE BOY TO THUNDER

This ceremony was called We'bashna, meaning "to cut the hair." According to traditions, this specialized ceremony belonged to the period in the growth of the political development of the tribe when efforts were being made to hold the tribe more firmly together by checking the independence of the warriors and placing them under control—efforts that finally resulted in the placing of the rites of war in charge of the We'zhiⁿshte gens.

In the ceremony of cutting the hair the priest in charge gathered a tuft from the crown of the boy's head, tied it, then cut it off and laid it away in a parfleche case, which was kept as a sacred repository, singing as he cut the lock a ritual song explanatory of the action. The severing of the lock was an act that implied the consecration of the life of the boy to Thunder, the symbol of the power that controlled the life and death of the warrior—for every man had to be a warrior in order to defend the home and the tribe. The ritual song which followed the cutting of the lock indicated the acceptance of the offering made; that is, the life of the warrior henceforth was under the control of the Thunder to prolong or to cut short at will.

The Washe'toⁿ subgens, which had charge of this rite of the consecration of the boy to the Thunder as the god of war, camped at the end of the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda division, and formed the northern side of the entrance into the *hu'thuga* when the opening faced the east; while the We'zhiⁿshte gens, which had charge of the rites pertaining to war, including the bestowal of honors, formed the southern side of the entrance. Thus the "door," through which all must pass who would enter the *hu'thuga* (see p. 138), was guarded on each side by gentes having charge of rites pertaining to Thunder, as the god of war, the power that could not only hold in check enemies from without, but which met each man child at his entrance into the tribe and controlled him even to the hour of his death.

In a community beginning to crystallize into organized social relations the sphere of the warrior would naturally rise above that of the mere fighter; and when the belief of the people concerning nature is taken into consideration it is not surprising that the movement toward social organization should tend to place the warriors—the

men of power—in close relation to those natural manifestations of power seen in the fury of the storm and heard in the rolling of the thunder. Moreover, in the efforts toward political unification such rites as those which were connected with the Thunder would conduce to the welding of the people by the inculcation of a common dependence upon a powerful god and the sign of consecration to him would be put upon the head of every male member of the tribe.

The priest took the boy to the space west of the fire; there, facing the east, he cut a lock of hair from the crown of the boy's head, as he sang the following ritual song:



Ti - go^a - ha mo^a - shi - a ta ha! Sha-be ti - the
no^a - zhi - a ha! Ti-go^a - ha mo^a - shi - a ta ha!
Sha - be ti - the no^a - zhi - a She - thu a - ha.
Ti-go^a - ha mo^a - shi a ta ha! Sha-be ti-the no^a - zhi - a
Ti - go^a - ha mo^a - shi - a ta ha! Sha - be ti - the
no^a - zhi - a ha she-thu a ha Ti- go^a - ha mo^a - shi -
a ta ha! Sha - be ti - the no^a - zhi - a ha!

Tigo^aha mo^ashia ta ha
Shabe tithe no^azhia ha
Tigo^aha mo^ashia ta ha
Shabe tithe no^azhia shethu aha
Tigo^aha mo^ashia ta ha
Shabe tithe no^azhia
Tigo^aha mo^ashia ta ha
Shabe tithe no^azhia ha shethu aha
Tigo^aha mo^ashia ta ha
Shabe tithe no^azhia ha

Literal translation: *Tigoⁿha*, grandfather—a form of respect used when addressing the person of power; *moⁿshia*, far above, on high; *ta*, from *shiata*, there, used to express an indefinite place; *ha*, end of sentence; *shabe*, dark, like a shadow; *tithe*, passing before one; *noⁿzhia*, human hair; *shethu*, there in your direction, as toward the one addressed; *aha*, in the midst of.

Free translation

Grandfather! far above on high,
The hair like a shadow passes before you.
Grandfather! far above on high,
Dark like a shadow the hair sweeps before you into the midst of your realm.
Grandfather! there above, on high,
Dark like a shadow the hair passes before you.
Grandfather! dwelling afar on high,
Like a dark shadow the hair sweeps before you into the midst of your realm.
Grandfather! far above on high,
The hair like a shadow passes before you.

From this ritual song we learn that the lock laid away in the sacred case in care of the Thunder priest symbolically was sent to the Thunder god dwelling "far above on high," who was ceremonially addressed as "Grandfather"—the term of highest respect in the language. The hair of a person was popularly believed to have a vital connection with the life of the body, so that anyone becoming possessed of a lock of hair might work his will on the individual from whom it came. In ceremonial expressions of grief the throwing of locks of hair upon the dead was indicative of the vital loss sustained. In the light of customs that obtained among the people the hair, under certain conditions, might be said to typify life. Because of the belief in the continuity of life a part could stand for the whole, so in this rite by the cutting off of a lock of the boy's hair and giving it to the Thunder the life of the child was given into the keeping of the god. It is to be noted that later, when the hair was suffered to grow on the boy's head, a lock on the crown of the head was parted in a circle from the rest of the hair and kept constantly distinct and neatly braided. Upon this lock the war honors of the warrior were worn, and it was this lock that was cut from the head of a slain enemy and formed the central object in the triumph ceremonies, for the reason that it preeminently represented the life of the man who had been slain in battle.

In the next ritual song the Thunder god speaks and proclaims his acceptance of the consecration of the life through the lock of hair and also declares his control over the life of the warrior.

(Sung in octaves)

She-thu pi-thoⁿ - di he Ni-ka wiⁿ goⁿ - ke a - the

She-thu pi-thoⁿ - di Ni-ka - wiⁿ goⁿ ke a-the

She-thu pi-thoⁿ - di he Ni-ka-wiⁿ sha-be ke a - the he

She-thu pi-thoⁿ di Ni-ka - wiⁿ goⁿ - ke a - the

She-thu pi-thoⁿ - di he Ni-ka-wiⁿ zhi-de ke a - the he

She-thu pi-thoⁿ - di Ni-ka - wiⁿ goⁿ . ke a-the

Shethu pi thoⁿdi he
 Nika wiⁿ goⁿke athe
 Shethu pi thoⁿdi
 Nika wiⁿ goⁿke athe
 Shethu pi thoⁿdi he
 Nika wiⁿ shabe ke athe he
 Shethu pi thoⁿdi
 Nika wiⁿ goⁿke athe
 Shethu pi thoⁿdi he
 Nika wiⁿ zhide ke athe he
 Shethu pi thoⁿdi
 Nika wiⁿ goⁿke athe

Literal translation: *Shethu*, there; *pi*, I have been; *thoⁿdi*, when; *he*, end of the sentence and vowel prolongation; *nika*, man; *wiⁿ*, a or one; *goⁿke*, a peculiar exclamatory expression indicating the action of coming suddenly on a fearful or startling object; *athe*, I cause, used only in reference to inanimate things and intended here to convey the idea that man has no power to act independently of the

gods; *shabe*, dark, like a shadow; *ke* indicates that the object is long and is lying down; *zhide*, red.

Free translation

What time I will, then only then,
A man lies dead, a gruesome thing.
What time I will, then suddenly
A man lies dead, a gruesome thing.
What time I will, then, only then,
Like a shadow dark the man shall lie.
What time I will, then suddenly
A man lies dead, a gruesome thing.
What time I will, then, only then,
Reddened and stark a man lies dead.
What time I will, then suddenly
A man lies dead, a gruesome thing.

The word *shabe*, dark like a shadow, is used in the preceding song to describe the lock of hair that was cut from the child's head as a symbol that his life was offered to the god; in this song the same word, *shabe*, is applied to the man who, "like a shadow dark," "shall lie" when his life has been taken by the god. The use of this word bears out the meaning of the rite that accompanied the preceding song, that by the giving of the lock of hair the life of the person was given to the god. This song shows that the god intends to do as he wills with that life. There are other songs used in the tribe which iterate this belief that a man dies only when the gods decree.

The music is in the five-tone scale, and the phrase which carries the assertion of the god rises and dwells on the tonic, a movement rare in Omaha songs, the general trend being from higher to lower tones.

The imperfect account of this ritual makes it impossible to state whether or not the six songs here given were all that belonged to this ceremony. It is also uncertain whether or not the invocation to the winds was sung before the turning of every child; it may have been sung only once, at the opening of the general ceremony, there being indications that such was the case. It is probable that the song given below was also sung but once, at the close of the general ceremony, but it has been impossible to obtain accurate information on this point. Only one point is certain—that the following was the final song of the ceremony:

(Sung in octaves)

Ku-the goⁿ di iⁿ-gi-be he nax thiⁿ ba nax thiⁿ ba ha

Pe-de zhi-de na-ka - de..... nax thiⁿ ba nax thiⁿ ba ha!

Ku - the goⁿ - di iⁿ - gi be he nax thiⁿ ba

nax thiⁿ ba ha! Pe - de zhi - de na - ka de.....

nax thiⁿ ha nax thiⁿ ba ha! Ku-the goⁿ-di iⁿ - gi be.....he

Kuthe goⁿ di iⁿgi be he
 Naxthiⁿ ba naxthiⁿ ba ha
 Pedezhide nakade
 Naxthiⁿ ba naxthiⁿ ba ha
 Kuthe goⁿ di iⁿgi be he
 Naxthiⁿ ba naxthiⁿ ba ha
 Pedezhide nakade
 Naxthiⁿ ba naxthiⁿ ba ha
 Kuthe goⁿ di iⁿgi be he

Literal translation: *Kuthe*, hasten; *goⁿ*, suddenly; *di*, here, hither; *iⁿgi*, to ask help, assistance; *be*, sign of the plural; *naxthiⁿ*, flame; *ba*, sign of the plural; *ha*, the end of the sentence; *pede*, fire; *zhide*, red; *nakade*, hot.

Free translation

Come hither, haste to help me,
 Ye flames, ye flames, O come!
 O red-hot fire, hasten!
 O haste, ye flames, to come.
 Come speedily to help me,
 Ye flames, ye flames, O come!
 O red-hot fire, hasten!
 O haste, ye flames, to come!
 Come hither, haste, to help me!

As this song was sung the ball of grass to which reference has already been made was held aloft and then hurled to the ground, where it mysteriously burst into flames, which were regarded as symbolizing the lightning.

In this closing song there is a return to the cosmic forces which were appealed to and represented in the ceremony of Turning the Child. In early times before this ceremony had been arranged so as to include the rite of consecrating the boy to the Thunder god, the song which appears on the preceding page was sung probably soon after, if not immediately at the conclusion of, the third song given in this account.

At the conclusion of this tribal ceremony, when the child reached its home the father cut the hair of his son after the symbolic manner of his gens;^a the hair was thus worn until the second dentition. Then the hair was allowed to grow, and the scalp lock, the sign of the warrior to which reference has already been made was parted off and kept carefully braided, no matter how frowzy and tangled the rest of the hair might be.

CEREMONIAL INTRODUCTION TO INDIVIDUAL LIFE AND TO THE SUPERNATURAL

The next stage in the life of the Omaha youth was marked by the rite known by the name of Noⁿ'zhiⁿzhoⁿ. The literal meaning of the word is "to stand sleeping;" it here implies that during the rite the person stands as if oblivious of the outward world and conscious only of what transpires within himself, his own mind. This rite took place at puberty, when the mind of the child had "become white." This characterization was drawn from the passing of night into day. It should be remembered that in native symbolism night is the mother of day; so the mind of the new-born child is dark, like the night of its birth; gradually it begins to discern and remember things as objects seen in the early dawn; finally it is able to remember and observe discriminatingly; then its mind is said to be "white," as with the clear light of day. At the period when the youth is at the verge of his conscious individual life, is "old enough to know sorrow," it was considered time that through the rite Noⁿ'zhiⁿzhoⁿ he should enter into personal relations with the mysterious power that permeates and controls all nature as well as his own existence.

In the Sacred Legend, which recounts briefly the history of the people and from which quotations have been made, the origin of this rite is thus given:

The people felt themselves weak and poor. Then the old men gathered together and said: "Let us make our children cry to Wakoⁿ'da that he may give us strength." So all the parents took their children who were old enough to pray in earnest, put soft clay on their faces, and sent them forth to lonely places. The old men said to the youths: "You shall go forth to cry to Wakoⁿ'da. When on the hills you shall not ask for any particular thing. The answer may not come to you as you expect;

^a The various styles of cutting the child's hair to symbolize the tabu of his gens are shown with the account given of the gentes (pp. 144-188).

whatever is good, that may Wakoⁿ'da give." Four days upon the hills shall the youths pray, crying. When they stop, they shall wipe their tears with the palms of their hands and lift their wet hands to the sky, then lay them to the earth. This was the people's first appeal to Wakoⁿ'da.

The closing statement as to "the first appeal" should not be taken literally, for the rite thus said to have been introduced is too complex, and embodies beliefs that must have required a long time for formulation into the dramatic forms observed in this rite.

The old men, when explaining the rite, said "It must be observed by all youths. After the first time, the youth could repeat the rite until he was old enough to marry and had children; by that time his life was fixed, and he prayed no more unless he was a priest, then he would continue to fast and pray." "In the Noⁿ'zhiⁿzhoⁿ," it was further explained, "the appeal was to Wakoⁿ'da, the great power. There were other powers—the sun, the stars, the moon, the earth—but these were lesser; the prayer was not to them." The old men added: "The appeal was for help throughout life. As the youth goes forth to fast he thinks of a happy life, good health, success in hunting; in war he desires to secure spoils and escape the enemy; if he should be attacked that the weapons of his adversaries might fail to injure him. Such were the thoughts and hopes of the youth when he entered upon this fast, although he was forbidden to ask for any special favor." The rite Noⁿ'zhiⁿzhoⁿ was observed in the spring; never in the summer or winter. The meaning of putting clay on the head has been explained in different ways. Some have said it symbolized humility; others that it referred to the soft clay or mud brought up by the diving animals, out of which the earth was created. In the opinion of the writers the latter seems the more probable explanation.

In preparation the youth was taught the following prayer, which was to be sung during the ordeal of the fast. It was known to every youth in the tribe, no matter what his gens.^a This prayer must be accepted, therefore, as voicing a fundamental belief of the entire Omaha tribe. The music is in keeping with the words, being unmistakably an earnest invocation.

^a Every male was obliged to pass through the rite of Noⁿ'zhiⁿzhoⁿ when he reached the proper age; whether he should continue to practise the rite was left to his personal choice. The Noⁿ'zhiⁿzhoⁿ was not obligatory on girls or women but they sometimes went through the fast, for the rite was open to them

OMAHA PRAYER^a

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Wa - koⁿ - da the - thu wah - pa - thiⁿ a - toⁿ - he

Wa - koⁿ - da the - thu wah - pa - thiⁿ a - toⁿ - he

Wakoⁿda thethu wahpathiⁿ atoⁿhe
 Wakoⁿda thethu wahpathiⁿ atoⁿhe

Literal translation: *Wakoⁿda*, the permeating life of nature and of man, the great mysterious power; *thethu*, here; *wahpathiⁿ*, poor, needy; *atoⁿhe*, he stands, and I am he—a form of expression used to indicate humility. *Wakoⁿda!* here, needy, he stands, and I am he.

This prayer was called *Wakoⁿda gikoⁿ* (*gigikoⁿ*, “to weep from loss,” as that of kindred, the prefix *gi* indicating possession; *gikoⁿ*, therefore, is to weep from the want of something not possessed, from conscious insufficiency and the desire for something that could bring happiness or prosperity). This prayer and the aspect of the suppliant, standing alone in the solitary place, with clay on his head, tears falling from his eyes, and his hands lifted in supplication, were based on anthropomorphic ideas concerning *Wakoⁿda*. The Omaha conceived that the appeal from one so young and untried, who showed poverty and the need of help, could not fail to move the power thus appealed to, even as a man so importuned would render the aid that was asked. The words of the prayer set forth the belief that *Wakoⁿda* was able to understand and to respond to the one who thus voiced his consciousness of dependence and his craving for help from a power higher than himself.

^a The upper line gives the aria as sung; the two lines below translate the aria; so that when played on an instrument like the piano the meaning and feeling of the song become intelligible to us. This translation has the approval of the Indians.

Four days and nights the youth was to fast and pray provided he was physically able to bear so long a strain. No matter how hungry he became, he was forbidden to use the bow and arrows put into his hands by his father when he left his home for this solitary test of endurance. When he fell into a sleep or a trance, if he saw or heard anything, that thing was to become a special medium through which the youth could receive supernatural aid. Generally with the sight of the thing came an accompanying cadence. This cadence was the song or call by which the man might summon aid in his time of need. The form, animate or inanimate, which appeared to the man was drawn toward him, it was believed, by the feeling of pity. The term used to express this impelling of the form to the man was *i'thaethe*, meaning "to have compassion on." If the youth at this time saw a buffalo, it would be said: *Te i'thaethe*, "the buffalo had compassion on him;" if he heard the thunder: *Ingthu' i'thaethe*, "the thunder had compassion." The vision, with its sacred call or song, was the one thing that the Omaha held as his own, incapable of loss so long as life and memory lasted. It was his personal connection with the vast universe, by which he could strengthen his spirit and his physical powers. He never gave the details of his vision to anyone, nor was it even casually spoken of; it was too sacred for ordinary speech.

When going forth to fast, the youth went silently and unobserved. No one accosted him or gave him counsel or direction. He passed through his experience alone, and alone he returned to his father's lodge. No one asked him of his absence, or even mentioned the fact that he had been away. For four days he must rest, eat little, and speak little. After that period he might go to an old and worthy man who was known to have had a similar vision. After eating and smoking with the old man, when they were quite alone it was permitted the youth to mention that he had had a vision like that of his host, of beast, or bird, or whatever it might have been. Should he speak of his vision before the expiration of the four days, it would be the same as lost to him. After the youth had spoken to the old man it became his duty to travel until he should meet the animal or bird seen in his vision, when he had to slay it, and preserve either the whole or a part of its body. This trophy became the visible sign of his vision and the most sacred of his possessions. He might wear it on his scalp lock or elsewhere on his person during sacred festivals, when going to war, or on some other important occasions. This article has been spoken of by some writers as the man's "personal totem." When the vision came in the form of a cloud or the sound of the thunder, these were symbolized by certain objects or were typified in designs painted on the man or on his belongings.

Some visions were regarded as "lucky," as giving special and helpful advantages to the man. Hawks were "lucky"—they helped to success and prowess in war. Bears, being slow and clumsy, were

"not so good," although possessing great recuperative power. The elk was fleet. Snakes were "not good," etc. To dream of the moon might bring a great calamity. It is said that the moon would appear to a man having in one hand a burden strap, in the other a bow and arrows, and the man would be bidden to make a choice. When he reached for the bow, the moon would cross its hands and try to force the strap on the man. If he awaked before he took the strap, or if he succeeded in capturing the bow, he escaped the penalty of the dream. If, on the other hand, he failed and the strap came into his hand, he was doomed to forfeit his manhood and become like a woman. He must speak as a woman, pursue her avocations, adopt her dress, and sometimes become subject to gross actions. It is said that there have been those who, having dreamed of the moon and having had the burden strap forced on them, have tried to conceal their ill luck for a time, but that few have succeeded. Instances are known in which the unfortunate dreamer, even with the help of his parents, could not ward off the evil influence of the dream, and resorted to suicide as the only means of escape.

The following stories of Osage men who through dreams became as women were given by Black Dog in 1898:

Men who become as women are called *Mixu'ga* (*mi*, "moon"; *xu'ga*, "to instruct"—"instructed by the moon"). The young men who go to fast sometimes remain out many days. This is done to secure dreams or visions which will support them in manly enterprises, in war or in hunting—that is, give them strength. But sometimes it happens that a young man has dreams or sees visions which make him imagine that he is a woman. From that time he takes upon himself the dress and occupations of a woman. He lets his hair grow, parts it in the middle, and wears braids. From days beyond the memory of man the Osage men shaved the head, leaving a roach on the top. Only the women wore the hair long and parted it in the middle. Now many of the Osage men wear the hair long and parted in the middle, in imitation of the Ponca, who, I think, took the fashion from the Sioux.

Once a young man went to fast, and was gone many days. He started home, not having had any dreams or visions, and on his way home he met a matronly woman who addressed him as "daughter." She said to the young man: "You are my daughter, and you shall be as I am. I give to you this hoe. With it you shall cultivate the ground, raise corn, beans, and squash, and you shall be skillful in braiding buffalo hair and in embroidering moccasins, leggings, and robes." In speaking to the woman the young man discovered that he had been unconsciously using the feminine terminals of speech. He tried to recover himself and use the speech of man, but he failed. On his return to his people he dressed himself as a woman, and took upon himself the avocations of a woman.

A young man went to fast, and was gone many days. On his way home he came to an earth lodge and entered. There were four men in the lodge, who greeted him very cordially and assigned to him the usual place of a guest. The young man looked about the lodge and saw hung upon the posts bows and arrows, shields and spears. Food was prepared for him, and he ate with the strangers. When he had finished his visit he thanked these people and started to go out. As he was about to pass the doorway he was halted and his attention was directed to two objects which hung one on each side of the door. One was a spear and the other a battle-ax. The young man was told to take his choice. He was long in choosing. The battle-ax is considered the manliest of weapons. This the young man remembered, and he finally

chose that weapon, took it down, and departed. On his way to his village he planned in his mind war excursions, and thought how he would conduct himself in battles. When he was nearing the village he desired to look once more at his battle-ax. He did so, and, behold, it had turned into a hoe! When he arrived home he became as a woman.

There was a young man who had been out to fast many times. He had dreams which he thought were the kind that would make of him a man of valor. He went on the warpath and took with him a number of followers. They found the enemy, defeated them, and returned with many trophies. On the way home he got up a dance one night in honor of his victory. As he was dancing, brandishing his weapons and praising himself, an owl hooted near-by in the woods, and after each hooting the owl would say: "The leader is a *mixu'ga*!" The people listened in amazement, and at last the leader cried: "I have done that which a *mixu'ga* could never do!" However, on reaching his home the young leader dressed as a woman and spoke as a woman. He married and had children. He was successful as a warrior, but when about to go to war he discarded his woman's clothing and dressed himself as a man.

Among the Omaha, as well as their cognates, there were societies whose membership was made up of men who had had visions of the same object. It has already been mentioned that the object seen in the vision was said to have had compassion on the man when it appeared to him. It was also thought that because the same form could come to certain men and be seen by them there was something in common in the nature of these men—that a sort of brotherhood existed among them. Out of this belief societies grew up based on the members having had similar visions, and the ceremonies of these societies, quasi religious in character, dealt with the special gifts vouchsafed by Wakoⁿ'da through the particular form or the animal. The article which was the symbol of a man's dream, as a feather from a bird, a tuft of hair from an animal, or a black stone or translucent pebble representing the thunder or the water, was never an object of worship. It was a memento of the vision, a sort of credential that served to connect its possessor with the potentiality of the species or class represented by the form seen in the vision, through which the man's strength or faculties could be reenforced by virtue of the continuity of life throughout the universe because of the ever-present power of Wakoⁿ'da.

In the sequence of rites just detailed, which began at birth with the announcement to all created things that a new life had come into their midst, and later, when the child had acquired ability to move about of its own volition, its feet were set in the path of life, and it entered into membership in the tribe, are represented progressive steps in the life of the individual from a mere living form to a being with a recognized place. The entrance into manhood required a voluntary effort by which, through the rite of fasting and prayer, the man came into direct and personal relations with the supernatural and realized within himself the forceful power of the union of the seen with the unseen.

IV

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

BASIC PRINCIPLES

The tribal organization of the Omaha was based on certain fundamental religious ideas, cosmic in significance; these had reference to conceptions as to how the visible universe came into being and how it is maintained.

An invisible and continuous life was believed to permeate all things, seen and unseen. This life manifests itself in two ways: First, by causing to move—all motion, all actions of mind or body are because of this invisible life; second, by causing permanency of structure and form, as in the rock, the physical features of the landscape, mountains, plains, streams, rivers, lakes, the animals and man. This invisible life was also conceived of as being similar to the will power of which man is conscious within himself—a power by which things are brought to pass. Through this mysterious life and power all things are related to one another and to man, the seen to the unseen, the dead to the living, a fragment of anything to its entirety. This invisible life and power was called Wakoⁿ'da (see p. 597). While it was a vague entity, yet there was an anthropomorphic coloring to the conception, as is shown in the prayers offered and the manner in which appeals for compassion and help were made, also in the ethical quality attributed to certain natural phenomena—the regularity of night following day, of summer winter (these were recognized as emphasizing truthfulness as a dependable quality and set forth for man's guidance)—and in the approval by Wakoⁿ'da of certain ethical actions on the part of mankind.

Human conditions were projected upon nature, and male and female forces recognized. The Above was regarded as masculine, the Below feminine; so the sky was father, the earth, mother. The heavenly bodies were conceived of as having sex; the sun was masculine, the moon feminine, consequently day was male and night female. The union of these two forces was regarded as necessary to the perpetuation of all living forms, and to man's life by maintaining his food supply. This order or method for the continuation of life was believed to have been arranged by Wakoⁿ'da and had to be obeyed if the race was to continue to exist. In order to keep this belief alive in the minds of the people, it was symbolized in religious rites and in social usages and

organization. Consonant with this manner of enforcing these cosmic and religious ideas, the tribe was composed of two grand divisions, one representing the Sky people, or the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda; the other, the Earth people, or the Hoⁿ'gashenu. Within each of these divisions there were five gentes. While each gens had its designation, its rites, its place, its tabu and its personal names, all these distinctive marks were subordinate to the two grand divisions and membership in the gens became merged in membership in one of these divisions, the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda or the Hoⁿ'gashenu.

These divisions were not phratries, as they were not based on ties of blood but on mythic ideas as to how creation came about and how life must be continued on the earth. Myths relate that human beings were born of a union between the Sky people and the Earth people; and, in accordance with this belief, the union of the Sky people and the Earth people was conceived to be necessary to the existence of the tribe. There was a teaching preserved among the old men that the division of the tribe into Iⁿshta'çuⁿda and Hoⁿ'gashenu was for marital purposes—a teaching which bears out the mythic symbolism of these two divisions. It is possible that this symbolic arrangement throws light on the force which made possible the artificial practice of exogamy. In this connection it is interesting to note that of the marriages in existence among the Omaha twenty-five years ago, a good majority represented the union between members of gentes belonging to the two rather than to one of these grand divisions. And it is also important that, amid the wreckage of the ancient tribal organization at the present time, the practice of exogamy is still observed. In short, all the conditions seem to show that the custom is based on fundamental religious ideas.

The duality in the tribal organization was further represented by two principal chiefs, one standing for the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda and the other for the Hoⁿ'gashenu. There were also two tribal pipes, which were always kept together and were never separated in any ceremonial use. Both had flat stems; one was ornamented with porcupine-quill work, and had fastened on it the head of a pileated woodpecker, with the upper mandible turned back over the crest of the bird. The stem of the other pipe was plain, but had bound in a row along its length seven woodpeckers' heads, the mandibles turned back as just described. It is not improbable that these pipes pertained to the fundamental ideas on which the two grand divisions of the tribe were based; but which pipe belonged to the Sky people and was masculine, and which to the Earth people and was feminine, the writers have been unable to learn.

The gens ^a was called in the Omaha tongue, *toⁿ'woⁿgthoⁿ*, "village." The same term was applied to the village in which all the tribe dwelt.

^a This term is used to indicate that the kinship group traced descent in the paternal rather than the maternal line.

When the Omaha visited the towns and cities of the white people, they applied to these settlements the same designation. St. Louis and Washington were spoken of as *toⁿ'woⁿgthoⁿ*. To distinguish the village signifying the gens, from the village in which the tribe dwelt the name of the stream on which the latter was situated was mentioned. When the gens was spoken of, to the term *toⁿ'woⁿgthoⁿ* was added *uba'noⁿ*, which means a group of a kind in a given place. While the idea of relationship is not directly stated, the word *uba'noⁿ* added to the term for "village" is understood to indicate a village of people who are kindred, of one kind, between whom marriage is prohibited.

The question "To what gens do you belong?" put into Omaha and literally translated, would be, "In which of the various (many) villages (of the tribe) are you there (have you a place)?" If the questioner belonged to the Omaha or the Ponca tribe, he would know the names of the gentes, so the reply would be: "Tapa', there I am;" that is, "I belong to the Tapa' gens." But if the question were asked by a stranger, a member of a different tribe, to whom the names of the Omaha gentes were unknown, then the reply would indicate the symbol of the religious rite (the tabu) of the gens of the person questioned, and he might say: "I am a buffalo person" or an "elk person." The reply would not be understood to mean that the man thought of himself as a buffalo or an elk, or as descended from one, but as belonging to a group which had charge of rites in which that animal was used as a symbol. The rites thus spoken of were designated as Ni'kie,^a and in them all the people had a claim, although those who officiated at a rite were confined to the particular gens which had charge of the rite.

It was the duty of a gens having charge of a Ni'kie rite to take care of the symbols and paraphernalia of the rite, and act as its priests, so to speak; but the claim to take part in the ceremony was not confined to the gens having charge of the rite, for the people of the tribe had a voice in it and a share in its benefits.

Each gens had its distinctive name. Some of the names, as has been already pointed out, occur in more than one of the tribes that are close cognates of the Omaha. These duplicated names may have been names of gentes in the parent organization, and when the Omaha and their cognates organized as distinct tribes the remnants of the former gens may have clung together and kept their old rites and name. An Omaha gens, however, was not a simple but a com-

^a Ni'kie is compounded from *ni'k* (from *ni'kashiga*, "people"; ie, "words or speech"). From *ni'kashiga* is also derived *ni'kagahi*, "chief" (*ga'he*, "thrown upon")—literally, "those upon whom the people are thrown" or "who carry the people." Ni'kie signifies a declaration by the people or their chiefs of consent to a certain proposition.

posite group, made up of subgentes or subdivisions which were sometimes called *toⁿ'woⁿgthoⁿ zhiⁿga*, "little villages," or *toⁿ'woⁿgthoⁿ uga'çne*, *uga'çne* meaning "that which is split," and implying that the subdivision had been split off, although it still kept with the main body. Each of the subgentes had its name, its rite, which was of the Ni'kie class, its set of personal names, its tabu, and its place when the gens camped with the tribe in ceremonial order. A subdivision differed from a subgens in not having a distinctive rite, although it had a particular office in the rite belonging to the gens. A subdivision might have its tabu, which would refer to its duties in the rite, and its set of personal names, but it was bound to the gens by a common rite and observed the tabu of the gens. The number of subgentes or subdivisions in a gens does not seem to have been uniform. The common bond between the subgentes of a gens was that of kinship, traced solely through the father. Marriage between the members of the subgentes or subdivisions of a gens was forbidden. When a person was asked where he belonged, he did not give the name of the subgens into which he was born, but the name of the gens of which his birth group was a part. If more definite information was desired, then he would give the name of his subgens or subdivision. The gens was regarded as paramount to the subgentes or to the subdivisions, as it contained them all, even as the tribe embraced all the gentes and stood as one body.

There were ten gentes in the tribe. The meaning of the Omaha word for tribe, *uki'te*, has already been discussed (p. 35). This word is distinct in meaning from *hu'thuga*, the term used to designate the form or order in which the tribal organization ceremonially camped, in which each one of the villages, or gens, had its definite place. *Hu'thuga* is an old term and carries the idea of a dwelling. The order of camping expressed by *hu'thuga* was used when the tribe was away from its village on the annual buffalo hunt. This hunt was a serious occasion, when all the people united in a common effort to secure a supply of meat and pelts, food and clothing, for themselves and for their children; therefore it was initiated and conducted with religious ceremonies. The people were placed under the control of men who through elaborate and sacred rites were appointed for the direction of the hunt, and to these appointed men all persons, including the chiefs, had to render obedience. It was while on this hunt that the great tribal ceremonies took place, at which time the people camped according to their gentes in the form known as *hu'thuga*.

This form was circular, with an opening to the east, which represented the door of a dwelling. "Through it," the old men said, "the people went forth in quest of the game, and through it

they returned with their supply of food, as one enters the door of one's home. The warriors passed hence to defend the tribe from its foes, and here they were welcomed when they came back." The entrance was therefore the door through which one entered into the dwelling place of the tribe, in which each gens had its place as had each member of the family within the lodge. There are indications that the *hu'thuga* embodies the idea of the union of the forces represented in the fundamental concept upon which the two grand divisions of the tribe were based. The opening or door of the *hu'thuga* was always symbolically to the east, and the five gentes which composed the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda* division (Sky people) always, theoretically, formed the northern half, while the five gentes that formed the *Hoⁿ'gashenu* division (Earth people) in theory made the southern half. The literal fact is that the opening was actually toward the east only when the tribal ceremonies took place; at all other times it faced the direction toward which the tribe happened to be traveling, but the order of the gentes was always as it would have been had opening faced the east. This was effected by turning the tribal circle as on a hinge placed opposite the eastern opening, so that no matter in which direction the opening actually was, the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda* and *Hoⁿ'gashenu* divisions were always as they would have been had opening faced the east. This interesting fact, of the carrying out of a symbolism in the manner of pitching the tents of the tribe on the wide unbroken prairie, indicates how deeply rooted in the minds of the people was the importance of the fundamental ideas represented in the *hu'thuga*—the two grand divisions and the orientation of the dwelling. In view of these and kindred ideas connected with the *hu'thuga*, it seems probable that in this form we are dealing with a symbol rather than with an arrangement for convenience and safety, as has been stated by some writers. That the idea of safety was involved in the form of the *hu'thuga* is probably true, but the dependence for safety was placed in the help to be derived through the recognition of cosmic forces and religious observances rather than in an advantageous arrangement of tents made in order to protect ponies and camp equipage.

When an orator addressed the people of the tribe he did not say: *Ho! Omaha!* but *Ho! Iⁿshta'çuⁿda, Hoⁿ'gashenu ti agthoⁿ'kahoⁿ! Ti agthoⁿ'kahoⁿ* means "both sides of the house." This was the only form of speech by which the people of the tribe could be addressed collectively. It bears out the meaning of the *hu'thuga* as given by the old men.

The *hu'thuga* regarded as the dwelling of the entire tribe presented the type that was to be reproduced in the dwelling of each member of the tribe, wherein were to be united the masculine and feminine forces drawn from two distinct groups or regions, a union symbolized

in the *hu'thuga* by the union of the Earth people and the Sky people. The rending of the natural family by exogamy seems to have been demanded in order to typify what was believed to be a cosmic regulation. In this way it became possible to interweave the split parts so



FIG. 19. Family group. The parents represent both sides of the *hu'thuga*.

as to bind together by the natural tie of kinship the different gentes composing the tribe. This tie came through the mothers in the tribe. Descent in the gens was traced solely through the father. The fathers held the gens together and distinct from every other gens.

Through the father the child inherited his name, his place, and his share in the rites of his gens; but it was through his mother that his kinship relations were extended beyond his birth gens and that he thus became conscious of being a part of a great kinship community. (Fig. 19.)

The Ponca tribe does not present a clear picture of those ideas which seem to have been fundamental to the tribal organization of their kindred, the Omaha; and yet these ideas appear to have been present in the mind of the people when they organized as a distinct tribe. This imperfect form may have given rise to the custom of the Omaha of designating the Ponca as "orphans."

The Ponca camped in a circle with the opening to the east when the gentes were in ceremonial order, and gave to this form the same name as that used by the Omaha, *hu'thuga* (see p. 42). Each gens of the Ponca had its *ni'kie* rites and its *ni'kie* names; the latter were bestowed during ceremonies similar to those observed among the Omaha.

In the Ponca tribal circle the gentes seem to be grouped according to their duties: Those to the south, or left, of the eastern opening, were charged with the care of rites connected with the Thunder and with warfare. The next group to the left administered the rites and ceremonies which pertained to the government of the people and to the securing of food and clothing by means of the annual hunt. The group to the north, or right of the entrance, controlled the rites relating to ice or hail (both of which are symbolically connected with the upper world) and to the serpent, generally symbolic of the lightning. In this order, as in a shattered mirror, one can discern the outlines of the symbolic picture which the Omaha organization also so distinctly presents. From the Ponca tribe taken by itself it would be difficult to discern the presence of those ideas which we have seen definitely expressed in the Omaha tribe; but turning from the contemplation of the Omaha to that of the Ponca, one is able to recognize these ideas in the fragmentary order which obtained among the latter.

The Ponca as well as the Omaha regarded all life and the preservation of all forms as the result of the union of the sky and the earth forces, and believed the combining of these two opposite and differentiated cosmic powers symbolically set forth to man a law he must obey, a course he must follow, if he would secure the continuation of his own life and the perpetuation of his tribe—a law which made exogamy a practical expression of this belief.

In the Osage tribe, which seems to be an agglomeration, we find the same ideas fundamental to the tribal organization, but certain conditions have tended to modify their expression.

The Osage were divided into two great divisions. One of these was composed of three kinship groups which shifted their relative positions in accordance with the rite or duties to be performed. The

other division was made up of two kinship groups which never changed their positions with respect to each other or to the other division of the tribal circle (see p. 58). These two unchangeable groups camped on the north, or to the right of the eastern entrance. They represented the ideas which were symbolized in the Omaha *I^shta'çuⁿda* half, the Sky people; while the other three, which camped to the left of the eastern entrance, in both position and duties resembled the *Hoⁿ'gashenu* division of the Omaha tribe, and were the Earth people, on whom devolved the care of the material welfare of the tribe. Here, again, we find the tribal order standing for the union of sky and earth, the masculine and feminine forces from whose union all living things arise.

The Kansa and Quapaw tribes also were divided into two parts each, and from the fragmentary information obtainable they seem to have embodied the same ideas as those found among their kindred tribes; so that it would appear to be fairly well established that the ideas and beliefs which a study of the Omaha tribe shows were fundamental to the organization of that tribe were basic also in their close cognates, the Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw; and further research may show that these ideas were a common and formative power in other tribes of the Siouan linguistic stock.

THE HU'THUGA—THE OMAHA TRIBAL FORM

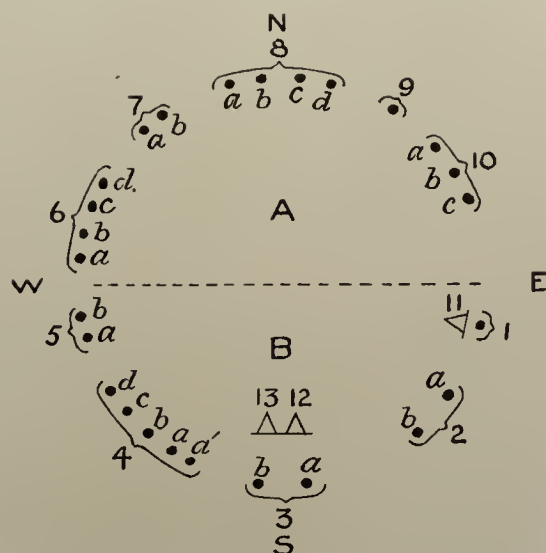


FIG. 20. Diagram of Omaha *hu'thuga* (tribal circle).

- A. *I^sHTA'ÇUⁿDA* DIVISION. B. *HOⁿ'GASHENU* DIVISION. 1. *WE'ZHIⁿSHITE*. Subgens: None. 2. *IⁿKE'ÇABE*. Subgentes: (a) *Nini'baton*; (b) *Wathi'gizhe*. 3. *HOⁿ'GA*. Subgentes: (a) *Wax-the'xeton*; (b) *Washa'beton*. 4. *THA'TADA*. Subdivisions: (a') *Xu'ka*; (a) *Waça'be itazhi*; (b) *Wazhi'ga itazhi*; (c) *Ke'ia*; (d) *Te'pa itazhi*. 5. *KOⁿ'ÇE*. Subgentes: (a) *Tade'tada*; (b) *Nini'baton*. 6. *MOⁿ'THIⁿKAGAXE*. Subdivisions: (a) *Xu'be*; (b) *Mi'kaçi*; (c) *Mi'xaçon*; (d) *Nini'baton*. 7. *TEÇIⁿ'DE*. Subdivisions: (a) *Teçi'a'de*; (b) *Nini'baton*. 8. *TAPA'*. Subdivisions: (a) *Tapa'xte*; (b) *Thunder rites*; (c) *Star rites*; (d) *Nini'baton*. 9. *IⁿGTHE'ZHIDE*. No subdivisions. 10. *I^sHTA'ÇUⁿDA*. Subgens: (a) *Lost gens*; (b) *Nini'baton*; (c) *Washe'ton*. 11. *Sacred Tent of War*. 12. *Tent of Sacred Pole*. 13. *Tent of Sacred White Buffalo Hide*.

GENTES OF THE OMAHA TRIBE

HON'GASHIENU DIVISION (A)^aWE'ZHIⁿSHTÉ GENS (1)^a

The We'zhiⁿshte gens camped on the left of the entrance into the *hu'thuga*. The name is descriptive, being composed of *we*, "by whom," and *zhiⁿshte*, an abbreviation of *wazhiⁿ'shte*, "to become angry." The meaning of the term We'zhiⁿshte may be defined as those through whom the tribe made known its displeasure or anger, because of some injurious act by another tribe. The Sacred Tent of War(11) was set in front of the line of tents belonging to the We'zhiⁿshte gens and was in the keeping of this gens, together with the paraphernalia of the rites pertaining to war and to Thunder. When any question arose as to the policy to be pursued in dealing with another tribe the members of which had committed acts of hostility, such as killing Omaha or stealing their horses or carrying away by force women of the tribe, it was the duty of the keeper of the Tent of War to call the Seven Chiefs and the leading men of the gens to a council. At this council the We'zhiⁿshte presided. The Sacred Pipe of the Tent of War was filled by the keeper of the Tent and when, after due deliberation on the action to be taken, a decision was reached, the Seven Chiefs smoked this Pipe. This was a religious act and through it the decision became sanctified. Then the herald of the We'zhiⁿshte proclaimed to the tribe the decision of the chiefs. If war was determined upon, the organization of volunteer war parties generally followed this authorization.

The keeper of the Tent of War and the leaders of this gens officiated at the ceremony of Wate'giçtu, when certain prescribed honors were publicly bestowed on successful warriors for acts performed in authorized offensive warfare or in battles fought in defense of the camp or permanent village. It was also the duty of this gens when the tribe was on its annual buffalo hunt, to organize in response to an order from the Seven Chiefs a corps of scouts to spy the country on the discovery of signs of danger.

Rites pertaining to Thunder were also in charge of this gens. These were observed when the first thunder was heard in the spring. This thunder-peal was regarded as a signal of the awakening of certain life-giving forces after the sleep of the winter. In former days a ceremony took place at this time with song and ritual in which the Waça'be itazhi (black bear) subgens of the Tha'tada gens joined with the We'zhiⁿshte gens. It has been impossible to obtain a trustworthy account of this ancient ceremony, owing to the death of the

^a This and similar references throughout this section are to be read in connection with figure 20.

men who knew the rites. During severe thunder storms, when life and property were in danger from lightning, sometimes a song said to have been connected with this lost ceremony was sung by one who had a right to do so.

The following act of the keeper of the Tent of War (see fig. 22) may have been a part of this lost ceremony: When the first thunder sounded, he at once took a small pipe and ascended a hill near by, where he offered smoke to Wako^{n'}da. He then planted a small wand (fig. 21) on the hill so as to point toward the east. To this wand were bound with human hair four small bunches of tobacco inclosed in bits of bladder. The combination of tobacco, bladder, and human



FIG. 21. Wand used in ceremony when first thunder was heard in the spring. (Native drawing.)

hair on the wand seems to indicate that this act and lost ceremony probably related to Thunder as the arbiter of life and death, as is shown in the ceremony of cutting the lock of hair from the head of the boy. (See p. 122.)

The tabu of the We'zhiⁿshte was the male elk, and the gens was sometimes spoken of as the Elk gens; this form of speech with reference to the tabu of a gens has already been explained (see p. 136). Concerning the connection of the male elk with the rites of the gens the following story is handed down:

When the pipes and the other articles belonging to the rites pertaining to war were made, the people sought for some skin to be used as a covering in which to keep and protect these things which were regarded as *waxube*, or sacred; but none could be found save that of the male elk. The fact that at that particular time only the skin of the male elk was obtainable was regarded as an indication that the male elk came to their aid by direction of Wako^{n'}da. Therefore, in memory of this act of the male elk, this animal became tabu to the gens.

No member of the We'zhiⁿshte gens would eat the flesh of the male elk or wear moccasins made of its skin, such acts being considered sacrilegious on account of the service believed to have been rendered the people by that animal. At death moccasins made of the skin of the male elk were put on the feet of the departed We'zhiⁿshte, that he might be recognized by his gentile relatives in the other world. The boy name Nuga'xti, "the real male," refers directly to the tabu of the gens.



FIG. 22. Mon'hiⁿthinge, last keeper of the Tent of War, and his daughter.

Any violation of the tabu of a gens was regarded by the people as a sacrilegious act, the punishment of which took the form of the appearance of sores or white spots on the body of the offender or of the hair turning white.

There were no subdivisions in this gens.

The following are the names belonging to the We'zhiⁿshte gens. They are classified as *ni'kie*, "dream," "fanciful," and "borrowed" names, and nicknames. The word *ni'kie* has been already translated and explained (see p. 136); as stated, a *ni'kie* name always referred to the rites and tabu of the gens. These names were bestowed on the child at the time the rite of initiation into the tribe was performed. (See p. 121.) The name then given generally clung more or less closely to a man, although later in his career he might take another name, either a *ni'kie* name or one commemorative of a dream, a deed, or an event, or he might have a nickname bestowed



NUGA'XTI

on him. All female names were of the *ni'kie* class and were never dropped or changed, nor did a woman ever have more than one name.



FIG. 23. Cut of hair, We'-zhi'shte gens.

After the performance of the initiatory rite and bestowal of the *ni'kie* name, the father cut his child's hair in the manner which symbolized the tabu of his gens. This cutting of the hair was repeated every year until the child was about 7 years old, when it was abandoned, never to be resumed.

In the We'zhi'shte gens, the symbolic cut of the child's hair was as follows: All the hair on the boy's head was cut close or shaved except a bunch or tuft at the forehead and a long, thick lock left at the nape of the neck (fig. 23). The tuft represented the head of the elk; the lock, its tail.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE WE'ZHI'SHTE GENS (1)

Ni'kie names

A ⁿ e'go ⁿ tha.....	A ⁿ e', success; go ⁿ 'tha, desire.
Bi ⁿ çe'tigthe.....	Bi ⁿ çe', sound of the elk's voice; tigthe, heard at a distance.
Btho ⁿ ti'.....	Btho ⁿ , smell, scent; ti, comes. Scent borne by wind, discovering game. (In Nu'xe, Ponca.)
Çe'ço ⁿ çnede.....	Çe'ço ⁿ , from çe'çaça, trot; çnede, long. Refers to elk.
Çi ⁿ 'dedo ⁿ pa.....	Çi ⁿ 'de, tail; do ⁿ pa, blunt, short. (In Monkon' subdivision, Pon'caxti, Ponca.) Refers to the elk.
He'çithi ⁿ ke.....	He'çi, yellow horn or antler; thi ⁿ ke, sitting. Refers to the yellowish color of the velvety skin of the new growth of the antlers of the elk. (In Ni'kapashna, Ponca.)
He'ço ⁿ to ⁿ	He, antler; ço ⁿ , white; to ⁿ , standing. Refers to the towering antlers of an elk.
He'shabe.....	He, antler; shabe, dark.
He'shto ⁿ ga.....	He, horn, or antlers; shto ⁿ ga, soft. Two of this name. Refers to the new growth of the antlers of the elk.
In'gthu ⁿ ho ⁿ gasha.....	In'gthu ⁿ , thunder; ho ⁿ , night; agasha, to travel. Refers to Sacred Pipe of War.
In'gthu ⁿ tha.....	In'gthu ⁿ , thunder; tha, from the, to go. Refers to Sacred Pipe of War.
Ki'baxthagthitho ⁿ	Ki'baxtha, to face; gthi, return; tho ⁿ , suddenly; to turn and face suddenly (elk). The elk suddenly brought to bay by the hunter.
Ku'kuwi ⁿ xe.....	Turning round and round. Refers to a bewildered elk when surprised.
Ku'wi ⁿ xaxa.....	Turning round in bewilderment (elk).
Mo ⁿ 'geshabe.....	Mo ⁿ 'ge, breast; shabe, dark. Refers to the dark coloring of the breast of the animal.
Mo ⁿ 'hi ⁿ thi ⁿ ge (fig. 22)...	Mo ⁿ 'hi ⁿ , stone knife; thi ⁿ ge, none.
No ⁿ mo ⁿ 'mo ⁿ tha.....	No ⁿ , action with the feet; mo ⁿ atha, walking with the head thrown back. The repetition of mo ⁿ signifies that the action is repeated. Refers to the peculiar manner in which the elk holds its head in walking.
Nuga'xti (pl. 24).....	Nuga', male; xti, real, virile. (In Pon'caxti, Ponca.)
On'po ⁿ	Elk.



INSHTA'THABI, THE LAST WATHON

and leadership vested in this gens were regarded not only as sacred but as absolutely necessary, so much so that it was said: "If the last I^{ke'}çabe was an infant in its mother's arms it would be carried to lead the people in the *wano'çe*" (the surround of the herd). This ancient and hereditary office came to an end at the last buffalo hunt in the winter of 1875-76, with I^{shta'}thabi, "He who is eyes" (for the people). At that time he served as director or leader of the surround, and was the last *watho'* of the *wano'çe*. (Pl. 25.)

The following legend is said to have given rise to a series of names in this gens:

The buffalo were underground. A young bull browsing about found his way to the surface of the earth. [This is a figurative expression referring to the birth of the species buffalo from mother earth.] The herd followed him. As they went they came to a river. The water looked shallow, but it was deep. As the buffalo jumped in, the water splashed and looked gray in the air. The herd swam on and over the stream, where on the other side they found good pasture and remained on the earth.

The name Niga'xude refers to this experience of the new-born buffalo; the word is compounded of *ni*, "water;" *ga*, "to strike;" *xude*, "gray." Niga'xude was the name given to the first born son. The second son could be called either Heba'zhu, "knob horns," referring to the protuberances on the head of the calf, or Gthadi^{n'}gthithoⁿ, "the hungry calf running crosswise in front of its mother and stopping her progress." The third son could be named Çiko^{n'}xega, "brown ankles," the color of the ankles of the buffalo calf. When these boys became adults, the eldest could take the name Pe'thoⁿba, "seven;" the second could have Mo^{n'}getoⁿga, "big chest;" the third, Noⁿzhi'hatoⁿga, "big hair." When these men became old, they could take the following names: The eldest, He'ubagthoⁿde, "worn horns of the old buffalo bull;" the next, Moⁿe'gahi, "arrow chief;" and the youngest, Moⁿzho^{n'}wakithe, "land of the buffalo."

The I^{ke'}çabe had two subgentes, Nini'batoⁿ and Wathi'gizhe.

(a) Nini'batoⁿ (*nini'ba*, "pipe;" *toⁿ*, "to possess or keep"). The following fragmentary legend is connected with this subgens and its tabu, the red ear of corn:

The I^{ke'}çabe were the first of the Omaha to exist. There were one man and one woman. They lived together and children were born to them. The woman went out one day and found little mounds on the ground. In a few days she went again, and saw that out of the mounds plants were growing not known to her. From time to time she went to look at these plants. They grew tall, and by and by ears grew on them. These she gathered and took to her husband and children. They roasted the ears by the fire and ate them. These were the people to whom the corn was sacred; so to this day they do not eat the red ear of corn.

It was the duty of this subgens to provide the ears of red corn, which were considered the sacred corn, and to give them to the Ho^{n'}gaxti division of the Washa'betoⁿ subgens of the Ho^{n'}ga. When the time for planting arrived, the ceremonial distribution of this sacred corn took place. The Ho^{n'}gaxti sang the ritual of the maize

and then gave the sacred kernels to this subgens, who acted as servers and distributed four of the kernels to each family in the tribe.

To a family within this subgens was given the hereditary charge of the Sacred Tribal Pipes. In this connection it is noteworthy that the custodianship of these Sacred Pipes was bestowed on those to whom belonged rites in connection with the cultivation of the maize, whose tabu was the sacred corn. This indicates that the group who controlled the rites of the maize were regarded as the proper persons to have the care of the symbol of tribal authority because of their connection with ancient sacred rites which secured food for the people.

The symbolic cut of the hair of the children of this subgens was peculiar. All hair was cut off the head except two small bunches, one on each side of the crown (fig. 24). This style was observed in all the Nini'batoⁿ subdivisions of the other gentes of the tribe. These two little tufts of hair may refer to the little mounds, spoken of in the legend, from which the corn grew.

There were two subdivisions of the Nini'batoⁿ subgens, the Noⁿxthe'bitube and the I'ekithe. To the first was given the hereditary right to prepare the paint for the decoration of the pole used in the He'dewachi ceremony. The name Noⁿxthe'bitube was descriptive of their duty (*noⁿxthe*, "charred box elder wood;" *bitu'be*, "to pulverize by rubbing"). This group not only observed the tabu of their subgens, the red ear of corn, but had an additional tabu, the charcoal, which referred to their office of painting the Pole and preparing the paint for the ceremony. As the painting on the Pole was symbolic, it was religious in character.



FIG. 24. Cut of hair, Nini'batoⁿ subgens.

I'ekithe signifies "he who speaks or proclaims." The hereditary office of tribal herald belonged to this subdivision. The herald had to have a strong, clear voice, as his duty was to proclaim the decisions of the chiefs and to give out orders to the people when the tribe was on its annual hunt. If by any chance the official herald was incapacitated, his substitute had to be chosen from the same subdivision. The I'ekithe observed the tabu of the subgens to which they belonged, the red ear of corn.

(b) Wathi'gizhe. The name of this subgens was also the name of the hoop used in a ceremonial game which, it is said, was formerly played by the chiefs alone, and was connected with the following story, which belongs to the class designated *hi'goⁿ*, a word meaning "the story is not literally true:"

The people were without food, and no game could be found to keep the people from starving. Outside the village lived an orphan boy with his grandmother, and these two consulted together as to how they could help the people to procure food. At last they agreed upon a plan, and the boy set to work and made a hoop. After it was made he gave it to his grandmother, and according to their plan she took it to the top

of a hill near by while the boy stationed himself halfway up the hill. When all was ready, the grandmother started the hoop down the hill. As it began to roll she called out: "There goes a young bull with straight horns!" The hoop rolled on and when it reached the place where the boy stood it suddenly turned into a buffalo, which the boy shot and killed. He butchered the animal and gave the flesh to the people to eat. A second time the grandmother took the hoop to the top of the hill and rolled it down and called out to her grandson what kind of buffalo was coming. He was at his station halfway down the hill, and there the hoop turned into a buffalo, which he shot and gave to the people for food. A third and a fourth time the grandmother and the orphan played this game, and after the fourth time great herds of buffalo came and the people had plenty of food. As a mark of their gratitude they made the orphan a Chief.

The office of *watho^{n'}*, director of the *wano^{n'}çe*, the surround of the herd, was hereditary in a family of this subgens. The custody of the songs belonging to the He'dewachi ceremony and the singers in this tribal ceremony were taken from this subgens. The bearers of the Sacred Tribal Pipes used on that occasion were of the Nini'batoⁿ subgens.

The tabu of the Wathi'gizhe was the tongue and head of the buffalo.

The Wathi'gizhe cut off all the hair from the child's head except a tuft over the forehead, one on each side of the crown, and a short lock at the nape of the neck, to represent respectively the head, horns, and tail of the buffalo (fig. 25).

In the *hu'thuga*, the Nini'batoⁿ subgens camped next to the We'zhiⁿshte. The left part of the line of the Nini'batoⁿ was occupied by the subdivision of the Noⁿxthe'bitube families. On their left camped the Wathi'gizhe subgens, and left of these and next the Hoⁿ'ga the subdivision of I'ekithe pitched their tents.

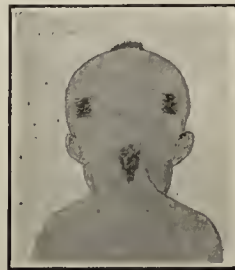


FIG. 25. Cut of hair, Wathi'gizhe subgens.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE I^NKE'ÇABE GENS (2)

Nini'batoⁿ subgens (a)

Ni'kie names

Athu'hagemo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Athu'hage</i> , last; <i>moⁿthin</i> , walking. Refers to buffalo.
Cho ⁿ 'niniba.....	<i>Choⁿ</i> , said to be <i>toⁿthinⁿnoⁿba</i> and to refer to the pipe-bearer at the He'dewachi ceremony; <i>niniba</i> , pipe.
Çihi'duba.....	<i>Çihi'</i> , feet; <i>duba</i> , four.
Edia'ino ⁿ zhi ⁿ	<i>Edi</i> , there; <i>ai</i> an act; the name given the last ceremonial pause when approaching a herd; <i>noⁿzhin</i> , standing.
Edi'to ⁿ	From that place; referring to the place of the pipes.
Gahi'ge.....	Chief. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Gahi'geçnede.....	Tall chief.
Gahi'gexti.....	Real chief.
Gahi'gezhi ⁿ ga.....	Young chief. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Gaxa'tano ⁿ zhi ⁿ	<i>Gaxa'ta</i> , apart from (the herd); <i>noⁿzhin</i> , stands.
Gino ⁿ 'xthe.....	<i>Gi</i> , again; <i>noⁿxthe</i> , black, like charcoal. Refers to the new hair of the buffalo after shedding.
Gio ⁿ 'çethi ⁿ ge.....	<i>Gion'çe</i> , to teach; <i>thin'ge</i> , none. None to teach him.

Gthadi ⁿ gthitho ⁿ	<i>Gthadin'</i> , cross; <i>gthi</i> , returns; <i>thon</i> , suddenly. The hungry calf runs in front of its mother and stops her progress.
He'akathi ⁿ ge.....	Meaning uncertain.
Heba'zhu.....	<i>He</i> , horns; <i>ba'zhu</i> , little knobs.
He'benika.....	<i>He'be</i> , a portion; <i>nika</i> , a person.
He'ubagtho ⁿ de.....	The worn horns of an old buffalo.
I ⁿ shta'pede.....	<i>Inshta'</i> , eyes; <i>pede</i> , fire. (Also in <i>I'ekithe</i> subdivision.)
I'uhe.....	<i>I</i> , from <i>ie</i> , speech; <i>'uhe</i> , obey. Refers to the performance by the people of the commands of the chiefs, or the submission to their authority.
Ki'ko ⁿ to ⁿ ga.....	Curlew. (<i>Numenius longirostris</i> . Hudsonian.)
Mo ⁿ e'gahi.....	<i>Moⁿe</i> , arrow; <i>gahi</i> , from <i>gahi'ge</i> , chief. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Mo ⁿ geto ⁿ ga.....	<i>Mon'ge</i> , breast; <i>tonga</i> , big.
Mo ⁿ zho ⁿ 'gabtho ⁿ	<i>Monzhon'</i> , land; <i>gabthon</i> , scent remains.
Mo ⁿ zho ⁿ 'wakithe.....	Land of the buffalo.
Na'gu.....	Meaning uncertain.
Ni'ashiga.....	A person. Refers to those who were chiefs in the organization of the tribal government.
Niga'xude.....	<i>Ni</i> , water; <i>ga</i> , to strike; <i>xude</i> , gray. Refers to animals stirring up the water.
Niu'bathide.....	<i>Ni</i> , water; <i>u'bathide</i> , overrun, swarm. Refers to masses of buffalo swimming.
No ⁿ ba't'ewathe.....	<i>Nonba'</i> , two; <i>t'e</i> , dead; <i>wathe</i> , to cause.
No ⁿ i'ça.....	Swaying motion, as made by buffalo walking.
No ⁿ 'kaetho ⁿ be.....	<i>Non'ca</i> , back; <i>ethonbe</i> , appears.
No ⁿ zhi'hato ⁿ ga.....	<i>Nonzhi'ha</i> , hair; <i>tonga</i> , great.
Paho ⁿ 'gamo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Pahon'ga</i> , first; <i>monthin</i> , walking. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.)
Pe'tho ⁿ ba.....	Seven. Refers to the seven original chiefs.
Sha'geno ⁿ ba.....	<i>Sha'ge</i> , hoofs; <i>nonba</i> , two: cloven hoofs.
She'thugthito ⁿ	<i>She'thu</i> , there; <i>gthi</i> , returns; <i>ton</i> , stands.
Ta'heshia.....	Meaning lost.
Teço ⁿ 'ho ⁿ ga.....	<i>Teçon'</i> , white buffalo; <i>hongga</i> , leader; used also in the Dakota.
Teço ⁿ 'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Teçon'</i> , white buffalo; <i>monthin</i> , walking.
Tenua'xano ⁿ zhi ⁿ	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>nu</i> , from <i>nuga</i> , bull; <i>axa</i> , from <i>gaxa'ta</i> , apart from; <i>nonzhin</i> , stand.
Ti'zhebegtho ⁿ	Door flap. In Omaha treaty of 1825.
To ⁿ 'thi ⁿ no ⁿ ba.....	The two who run.
Uga'e.....	Spread out. (The herd as it runs spreads out.)
Ugthi'to ⁿ	Refers to handling the pipes when making them ready for use.
U'nizhabi.....	Meaning uncertain.
Utha'xado ⁿ gthe.....	Meaning uncertain.
Uthi'sho ⁿ mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	Walking around.
Wada'thi ⁿ ga.....	Refers to the peaceful office of the chief. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Waki'de.....	<i>Wa</i> , action; <i>ki'de</i> , to shoot. One who shoots.
Wazhi ⁿ 'texi.....	<i>Wazhin'</i> , will, disposition; <i>texi</i> , difficult. Refers to office of the chiefs. Anger is made difficult because of the Seven Chiefs, who must enforce peace in the tribe.
Xitha'wahi.....	<i>Xitha'</i> , eagle; <i>wahi</i> , bone. Refers to pipe. Not liked, as children of this name are apt to die.

Borrowed names

Ish'kadabi.....	Borrowed from the Kansa gens in the eighteenth century.
Pude'tha.....	Meaning unknown. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)

Fanciful names

Taxie'wathenzi ^{ga}	<i>Taxi</i> , knocking sound; <i>wathe</i> , to cause; <i>zhin^{ga}</i> , little.
U'kiça.....	Empty lodge, or country.
Uko ^a 'digtho ⁿ	<i>Uko^a'di</i> , separate, alone; <i>gthoⁿ</i> , from <i>gthin</i> , sits.

Female names

Mi'to ⁿ i ⁿ	New moon.
Po ⁿ 'caço ⁿ	Pale Ponca.
Tewa'u.....	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>wa'u</i> , woman.
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ gi.....	New moon coming.

FIG. 26. Du'bamoⁿthiⁿ.*Nonxthe'bitube subdivision**Male names*

Çiçi'kazhi ^{ga}	Little turkey.
Gashka'wo ^{ga} the.....	Meaning uncertain.
Tahe'zhi ^{ga}	Little buffalo horns.

*Wathi'gizhe subgens (b)**Ni'kie names*

Baço ⁿ 'no ^{ge}	<i>Baçoⁿ'</i> , in the midst of bushes or people; <i>no^{ge}</i> , to run.
Çiko ⁿ 'xega.....	<i>Çikoⁿ</i> , ankles; <i>xega</i> , yellowish brown. Refers to the buffalo calf. (In <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca). Two of this name.
Du'bamo ⁿ thi ⁿ (fig. 26).	<i>Du'ba</i> , four; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca)
Gino ⁿ 'zhi ⁿ wathe.....	<i>Gi</i> , again; <i>noⁿzhiⁿ</i> , to rise, to stand; <i>wathe</i> , causes them. He causes them to rise or stand.
Gthedo ⁿ 'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Gthedoⁿ'</i> , hawk; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking.

Hi ⁿ çi'zhi ^{nga}	Hi ⁿ , hair; çi, yellow; zhi ^{nga} , little (child's name).
Hi ⁿ 'xega	Hi ⁿ , hair; xega, yellowish brown. Refers to the buffalo.
I ⁿ de'ubthi ⁿ	I ⁿ de', face; ubthi ⁿ , twisted.
I ⁿ shta'thabi.	I ⁿ shta', eye; tha, cause; bi, he is. Appointed eyes. Refers to the appointed leader of the chase. This name belonged to one who was hereditary leader of the chase.
Mo ⁿ no ⁿ 'kuge	Mo ⁿ , from monthin ^{ka} , ground; no ⁿ , action of the foot; kuge; hollow sound, like a drum. This name refers to the rumbling sound made by the herds of buffalo with their hoofs when fleeing from the hunters.
Mo ⁿ shti ⁿ 'o ⁿ ça	Mo ⁿ shti ⁿ ', from mo ⁿ shti ⁿ 'ge, rabbit; o ⁿ ça, swift. Refers to the use of rabbit hair on the pipes.
Nio ⁿ 'bathi ⁿ	Ni, water; onba, day; thi ⁿ , from monthin ⁿ , walk, or travel.
No ⁿ 'ke'na	No ⁿ implies action with the foot; kena, an old word signifying good.
No ⁿ shki'gthe	Tracks of buffalo calf (child's name).
No ⁿ zhi ⁿ 'thia	Nonzhi ⁿ , to rise; thia, to fail. Unable to rise.
Nuga'	Male, bull. (In Pon'carti, Monko ⁿ ' subdivision, Ponca.)
Pa'xehashuga	Thick skin of buffalo neck.
Tade'ta	Modified from tonthinton ⁿ ; refers to the running of the pipe bearers in the He'dewachi ceremony. Two of this name.
Tewa'ko ⁿ no ⁿ zhi ⁿ	Sacred buffalo. (Dakota also.)
The'çeçabe	The'çe, tongue; çabe, black. Refers to the tip of the buffalo's tongue. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.)
Ti'zhebegtho ⁿ	Tent door flap. In Omaha treaty, 1826.
Uthi'sho ⁿ mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	To walk around.
U'thixide	To look around. Probably refers to the runners. Two of this name. (In Nu'xe, Ponca.)
Wano ⁿ 'gewathe	Wa, action with purpose; no ⁿ ge, to run; wathe, one who causes. Causes them to run, or to stampede.
Washu'she	Brave. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.)
Wate'xi	Wa, action with purpose; texe, difficult
Wi'thugtho ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.

Borrowed names

Tewa'ko ⁿ no ⁿ zhi ⁿ	Te, buffalo; wako ⁿ , the Dakota wakan ⁿ , mysterious; nonzhi ⁿ , standing. Said to be borrowed from the Dakota; equivalent therein to "medicine cow."
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Dream names

Ho ⁿ 'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ zhi ^{nga}	Little night walk.
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Fanciful names

Giu'ka	Meaning unknown.
Mo ⁿ the'gahi	Refers to arrow.
Mo ⁿ 'thihi	Refers to arrow.

Nicknames

Wa'xupagtho ⁿ	Wa'xe, white man; pa, head; ugtho ⁿ , to put in.
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Female names

Ha'wate	Refers to the child, Ho ⁿ 'ga, in Wa'wa ⁿ ceremony.
I'nikashabi	Refers to tribal pipes—objects by which the tribe is identified as a people.
Mi'gthedo ⁿ wi ⁿ	Moon hawk, feminine. (In Ni'kapashna, Washa'be, and Thi'xida, Ponca.)



MI'GTHITO'II' AND GRANDCHILD

Mi'gthito ⁿ i ⁿ (pl. 26) . . .	Moon returning.
Mi'huça	Loud voice moon. Two of this name.
Mi'mite	Meaning uncertain.
Mi'mo ⁿ shihathi ⁿ	Moon moving on high.
Mi'texi	Sacred moon.
Te'mitexi	<i>Te'mi</i> , buffalo cow; <i>texi</i> , sacred. Two of this name.
To ⁿ i'ngthihe	Sudden apparition of the new moon. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> ; also in <i>Waça'be</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subgens, Ponca.)
We'to ⁿ na	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)

*I'ekithe subdivision**Ni'kie names*

Çiko ⁿ 'xega	<i>Çikon'</i> , ankles; <i>xega</i> , brown. Three of this name. (In <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca.)
Çi ⁿ 'demuxa	<i>Çin'de</i> , tail; <i>muxa</i> , cluster.
Gthadi ⁿ 'gthitho ⁿ	<i>Gthadin'</i> , cross; <i>gthi</i> , return; <i>thoⁿ</i> , suddenly. A wounded buffalo turns sideways on his hunter. Child's name. Refers to a hungry calf crossing its mother's path to nurse.
Heba'zhu	<i>Ile</i> , horns; <i>bazhu</i> , a little lump or knob. Three of this name. (Also in <i>Nini'baton</i> subgens.)
Hi ⁿ to ⁿ 'zhi ⁿ ga	<i>Hiⁿ</i> , hair; <i>toⁿ</i> , possess; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little.
I ⁿ shta'pede	<i>Inshta</i> , eyes; <i>pede</i> , fire. (Also in <i>Nini'baton</i> subgens.)
To ⁿ 'wa ⁿ zhi ⁿ ga	<i>Ton'wan</i> , village; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , small.
Wa'baku ⁿ ga	<i>Wa</i> , action; <i>ba</i> , push; <i>kunga</i> , jostling. Buffaloes crowding and pushing each other.
Wazhi ⁿ 'ho ⁿ ga	First of birds. Refers to the eagle down put on the head of <i>Hoⁿ'ga</i> in <i>Wa'wan</i> ceremony.
Xitha'pahi	<i>Xitha'</i> , eagle; <i>pahi</i> , neck.

Dream names

Xu'ga	Badger.
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Nicknames

Ta'thaçapa	Wood tick.
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Female names

Açe'xube	<i>Açe</i> , paint; <i>xube</i> , sacred.
Mi'gasho ⁿ thi ⁿ	Traveling or moving moon. (In <i>Waça'be</i> and <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Mi'gina	Moon returning.
Mi'gthito ⁿ i ⁿ	Return of the new moon.
Mi'o ⁿ bathi ⁿ	The moon that travels by day.
Te'mitexi	<i>Te'mi</i> , buffalo cow; <i>texi</i> , sacred.

HO^N'GA GENS (3)

The Hoⁿ'ga gens camped next to the Iⁿke'çabe on the left. Hoⁿ'ga means "leader," or "first," and implies the idea of ancient, or first, people; those who led. The probability of Hoⁿ'ga being the ancient designation of the tribe has been discussed. (See p. 40.) This probability suggests a possible reason for the position of this gens and the duties devolving upon it. The gens occupied the center of the southern half (Hoⁿ'gashenu division) of the *hu'thuga*. The place of the Hoⁿ'ga corresponded to that set apart for the father of the family within the tent and the Hoⁿ'ga filled a directive position toward the gentes within the *hu'thuga*, or dwelling of the tribe, somewhat similar to that of the father toward the members of the family under his care.

Upon the Hoⁿ'ga devolved the leadership in the governing power of the tribe (see p. 201) and in the rites connected with the quest for food.

There were two subgens, the Waxthe'xetoⁿ and the Washa'betoⁿ. These had charge of the two Sacred Tents, their contents, and the ceremonies pertaining to the objects kept in them. The tents were pitched in front of the place where the two subgens came together, and were set about 30 feet in front of the line, toward the center of the *hu'thuga*, about 25 feet apart.

The two tents represented "both sides of the house," the *hu'thuga*. From the rites connected with the White Buffalo Hide, lodged in the tent (13) set in front of the Washa'betoⁿ subgens, it is probable that this tent represented the Hoⁿ'gashenu division, to which were committed the physical welfare of the people, the rites pertaining to the quest of food, and the control of warfare. The tent (12) pitched in front of the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens contained the Sacred Pole, which was allied to Thunder and the supernatural Powers, and symbolized the authority of the chiefs—an authority believed to be derived from Wakoⁿ'da. This tent probably represented the Sky people, the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda division, which had charge of the rites pertaining to the people's relation to the supernatural.

Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens (a)

Waxthe'xe (*waxthe'xe*, "mottled, as by shadows," "a mottled object"—the name of the Sacred Pole (see pl. 38); *toⁿ*, "to possess or have charge of") implied that the object thus described had the power to confer distinction, as the *xthe'xe*, "the mark of honor." The tabu of this subgens was a double one, the *tezhu'* and the crane. The *tezhu'* was a particular cut of meat from the side of the buffalo (see p. 273), that was brought as an offering to the Sacred Pole at the great tribal ceremony when the Pole was anointed. The feathers of the crane were used on the divining arrows that had a part in this same ceremony.

A group of families belonging to the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens was set apart as servers; these were called *wathi'toⁿ* (from *thitoⁿ*, "to work"), "workers". Their duties were connected with ceremonies pertaining to the Sacred Pole. They prepared and distributed the meat brought as offerings by the people at the anointing rites. The tabu of this group was the same as that of the subgens of which they were a part—the *tezhu'* and the crane. This group camped next to the Iⁿekithe of the Iⁿke'çabe gens, and at their left camped the remainder of the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens.

Washa'betoⁿ subgens (b)

The Washa'betoⁿ (*washa'be*, "a dark object," the word "dark" referring not to color, but to the general appearance of an object at a distance—the name of a peculiar staff (fig. 27) belonging to the



SACRED TENT OF THE WHITE BUFFALO HIDE

leader of the people when on the annual tribal hunt; *toⁿ*, to "possess") had the official duty of making and decorating this staff, though it did not belong to this subgens to provide the materials required for the staff. The Washa'betoⁿ had charge of the Teçoⁿ'ha (*te*, "buffalo;" *çoⁿ*, "pale" or "white;" *ha*, "skin" or "hide")—White Buffalo Hide, and its tent. (Pl. 27.) The tabu was the buffalo tongues which were brought to the sacred feast. A subdivision of this subgens, called Hoⁿ'gaxti (*xti*, "original," as a parent stock) had charge of the ceremonies connected with the maize. They preserved the sacred corn, chanted its ritual, and fixed the time for planting. Their tabu was the *hatu'* (the word *hatu'* is from *ha*, "skin," and *tu*, "green," referring to the outer husk of the ear of corn). In this connection the decoration painted on the Sacred Tent in charge of the Washa'be subgens, which was the full grown stalk of corn, becomes significant. It is probable that the Hoⁿ'gaxti was the original subgens, but when the people came into the buffalo country, the rites relating to hunting the buffalo overshadowed those pertaining to the maize; hence the subdivision that had charge of the hunt became the more important body, the group who possessed the rites of the corn the subordinate. This probability bears out a tradition of the tribe that the people in the course of their migrations west and northwest became more strictly a hunting people and that the cultivation of the maize fell into abeyance or was temporarily abandoned.

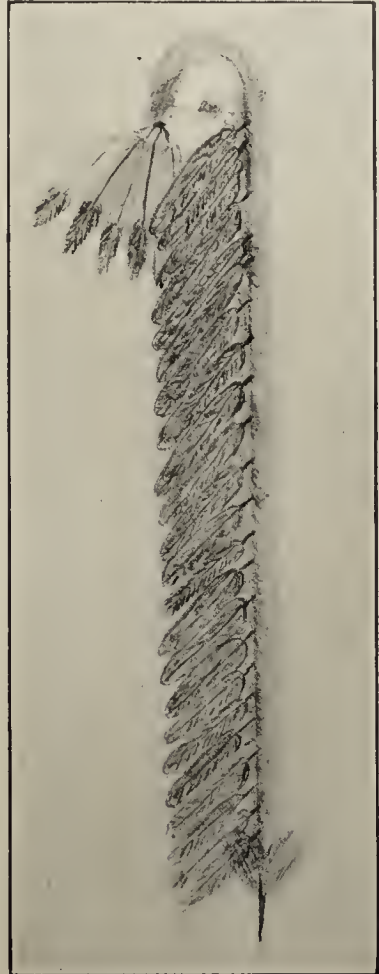
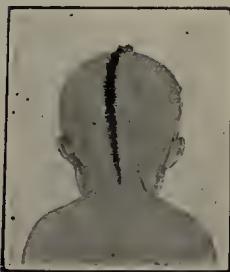


FIG. 27. Washa'be.

FIG. 28. Cut of hair,
Hoⁿ'ga gens.

The Washa'betoⁿ subgens camped to the left of the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens.

The symbolic cut of the hair of children belonging to the Hoⁿ'ga gens consisted in cutting off all the hair close to the head except a ridge which stood up from the forehead to the nape of the neck (fig. 28). This is said to represent the line of the buffalo's back as seen against the sky, but it is equally applicable to the appearance of growing corn viewed in the same way.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE HON'GA GENS (3)

*Warthe'xeton subgens (a)**Ni'kie names*

A ⁿ 'geda.....	From every direction. (See Ritual of Sacred Buffalo Hide, p. 294.) Two of this name.
Bishu'deki.....	Refers to the dust made by the herds as they move.
E ^d i'to ⁿ	<i>E^di'</i> , there; <i>toⁿ</i> , stands. Refers to Sacred Pole.
E'tho ⁿ tho ⁿ be.....	To appear repeatedly. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Gai ⁿ 'bazhi.....	Ineffectual striking.
Kaxe'giu ⁿ	<i>Kaxe</i> , crow; <i>giuⁿ</i> , to fly. Flying crow. Two of this name. The crow is used as one of the symbols in making the <i>washa'be</i> . (See Ritual of Sacred Buffalo Hide, p. 300.)
Kaxe'no ⁿ ba.....	<i>Kaxe</i> , crows; <i>noⁿba</i> , two. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.) (See Ritual of Sacred Buffalo Hide.)
Mixa'to ⁿ	<i>Mi'xa</i> , swan; <i>toⁿ</i> , standing. Refers to the down on the Sacred Pole.
Mo ⁿ chu'ha.....	Grizzly-bear skin. In Omaha treaty, 1836.
Mo ⁿ chu'no ⁿ tide.....	<i>Moⁿchu</i> , grizzly bear; <i>noⁿ</i> , action with the feet; <i>tide</i> , rumbling sound.
Mo ⁿ chu'pa.....	<i>Moⁿchu</i> , grizzly bear; <i>pa</i> , head.
Mo ⁿ 'pezhi.....	<i>Moⁿ</i> , arrow; <i>pezhi</i> , bad. Refers to the divining arrows used in the ceremony of the Sacred Pole. (See Ritual of Sacred Pole, p. 242.)
Mo ⁿ 'umizhe.....	On Omaha treaty of 1826.
Neka'hano ⁿ ge.....	<i>Neka'ha</i> , edge of a lake; <i>noⁿge</i> , running.
Nia'dishtagabi.....	<i>Ni</i> , water; <i>adi</i> , there; <i>shta</i> , from <i>in'shta</i> , eye; <i>gabtha</i> , to open. (See Legend of Sacred Pole, p. 70), where the name appears without elision.
Ni'k'umizhe.....	<i>Ni'k'umizhe</i> , resting on a human being. Probably refers to the resting of the Sacred Pole on a scalp.
No ⁿ 'gazhi.....	<i>Noⁿ'ga</i> , to run; <i>zhi</i> , abbreviated form, not. Not able to run.
No ⁿ 'kaetho ⁿ be.....	<i>Noⁿ'ka</i> , back; <i>ethoⁿbe</i> , to appear.
Nudo ⁿ 'ho ⁿ ga.....	Leader, principal. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Sha'beno ⁿ zhi ⁿ	<i>Shabe</i> , dark, as an object; <i>noⁿzhiⁿ</i> , to stand. Refers to the Sacred Pole. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)
Sho ⁿ 'ge.....	Horse. Old name for wolf.
Shu'denaci.....	<i>Shu'de</i> , smoke; <i>na</i> , action by fire; <i>ci</i> , yellow. Refers to the smoke stain of the Sacred Pole.
Shu'kamo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Shu'ka</i> , groups; <i>moⁿthiⁿ</i> , to walk. Walking in groups. Reference uncertain. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , <i>Hi'cada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Teba'gizhe.....	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>bagizhe</i> , crooked, uneven. Refers to the uneven line of a herd of buffalo as seen against the horizon.
Teho ⁿ 'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>hoⁿ</i> , night; <i>moⁿthiⁿ</i> , walking.
Te'huto ⁿ bi.....	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>hutoⁿbi</i> , bellowing. Two of this name. (See ritual, p. 298.)
Tehu'xthabe.....	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>hu'xthabe</i> , the leaf fat.
Tenu'ga.....	Buffalo bull. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Tenu'gano ⁿ pewathe....	<i>Tenu'ga</i> , buffalo bull; <i>noⁿpewathe</i> , fear inspiring. Fear-inspiring buffalo bull.
Tenu'gawazhi ⁿ pezhi...	<i>Tenu'ga</i> , buffalo bull; <i>wazhiⁿ</i> , powerful in will, angry; <i>pezhi</i> , bad.

Tezhe'btho ⁿ	<i>Tezhe'</i> , buffalo dung; <i>bthoⁿ</i> , smell.
Thiçpo ⁿ 'bi	To feel of. Refers to corn. (See ritual, p. 266.)
Thigi'çe.....	The sound made by corn husks when pulled apart. (See ritual, p. 266.)
Ushko ⁿ 'bitega.....	<i>Ushkoⁿ</i> , wallow; <i>bitega</i> , making anew or afresh.
Uthu'shino ⁿ 'zhi ⁿ	<i>Uthu'shi</i> , at the front; <i>nonzhiⁿ</i> , to stand. Refers to the Sacred Pole.
Wano ⁿ 'shekithabi.....	One who is made soldier.
Washi ⁿ 'une.....	Refers to the selection of fat for the anointing of the Pole.
Wathi'i ⁿ ge.....	Braided ears of corn.
We'kushto ⁿ	<i>We'ku</i> , to give feasts; <i>shton</i> , frequent. Appears in Omaha treaty of 1830.
Xtha'gaxe	To blossom. Refers to corn. (See ritual, p. 266).
Zho ⁿ ço ⁿ '.....	White wood.

Fanciful names

Mo ⁿ chu'no ⁿ ba.....	Two grizzly bears.
Shaa ⁿ '.....	Name by which Dakota are designated.

Female names

I ⁿ shta'mo ⁿ çewi ⁿ	<i>Iⁿshta</i> , eye; <i>monçe</i> , metal, iron; <i>win</i> , female term. Two of this name.
Mi'gasho ⁿ 'thi ⁿ	The traveling moon. Four of this name.
Mi'gthito ⁿ 'i ⁿ	Return of the new moon.
Mi'mite.....	Meaning uncertain. Four of this name.
Mi'mo ⁿ 'shihathi ⁿ	Moon moving on high.
Mi'waço ⁿ	The white moon. Three of this name. (In <i>Pon'caxti</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
No ⁿ zhe'gito ⁿ	Meaning uncertain. Two of this name. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> and in <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ thi ⁿ	New moon moving. Three of this name. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
We'to ⁿ 'bethi ⁿ	One who gives hope. (From <i>utonbethe</i> , to hope or to wish for.) (In <i>Tapa' gens</i> also.)

*Wathi'toⁿ (hereditary servers) subdivision**Ni'kie names*

Gaçu'be.....	Appearance of buffalo running against wind. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Ha'xigi	Name of the first man, mythical.
Ho ⁿ 'gaxti.....	<i>Xti</i> , real. Real or original Ho ⁿ 'ga.
I ⁿ shta'pa.....	Meaning uncertain.
Kage'zhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Kage'</i> , younger brother; <i>zhinga</i> , little. Child's name.
Ni'kadathi ⁿ	<i>Ni'ka</i> , man; <i>dathiⁿ</i> , crazy.
No ⁿ shto ⁿ 'azhi.....	No ⁿ shto ⁿ , to stop; <i>azhi</i> , not. He does not stop.
Sho ⁿ 'geho ⁿ ga.....	Horse leader. Old meaning, Wolf leader.
Uthu'shino ⁿ 'zhi ⁿ	<i>Uthushi</i> , in front; <i>nonzhiⁿ</i> , stands. Refers to the Sacred Pole.

Fanciful names

I ⁿ cho ⁿ 'gatha.....	Meaning uncertain.
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Female names

- Mi'akoⁿda..... Mi, moon; akoⁿda, part of Wakⁿda.
 Mi'moⁿshihathiⁿ..... Moon moving on high. Three of this name.
 Noⁿzhe'gitoⁿ..... Two of this name. (In Wazha'zhe and Thi'xida, Ponca.)
 We'goⁿkithe..... To come together in an order, as a society or brotherhood.

FIG. 29. Moⁿxe'wathe.*Washa'beton subgens (b)**Ni'kie names*

- Iⁿsh'a'gewahitha..... Iⁿsh'a'ge, old man, venerable; wahitha', lame. Refers to the herald, who leans on a staff as he shouts his message.
 Iⁿshta'baçude..... Iⁿshta, eyes; baçude, to shed. Refers to the shedding of the hair about the eyes of the buffalo. (In Nu'xe, Ponca.)
 Moⁿshtiⁿ'ge..... Rabbit.
 Oⁿ'geda From every direction. (See ritual, p. 294.)

Pahi'çka.....	<i>Pa</i> , head; <i>hi</i> , hair; <i>çka</i> , white. Refers to the appearance of the shoulder of the buffalo when the hair is shed.
Tenu'gaçka.....	<i>Tenu'ga</i> , buffalo bull; <i>çka</i> , white.
We'no ⁿ xitha	Meaning uncertain.

Borrowed names

Tenu'gagthi ⁿ thi ⁿ ke	Sitting buffalo bull. Said to be Dakota name.
Wako ⁿ mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	Mysterious walking. Said to be Dakota name.

Female names

A'o ⁿ wi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.)
Mi'mite.....	Meaning uncertain. Four of this name.
Mi'tena.....	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , and <i>Pon'caxti</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Teço ⁿ dabe.....	White buffalo. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.) Refers to the Sacred White Buffalo Hide.
Teço ⁿ wi ⁿ	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>çoⁿ</i> , white; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine term. Two of this name. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.) Refers to the Sacred White Buffalo Hide.
Wihe'zhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Wihe'</i> , younger sister; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little.

Honga'xti subdivision

Ho ⁿ ga'xti	Original Ho ⁿ 'ga.
Mo ⁿ xe'wathe (fig. 29) ..	Victorious.

THA'TADA GENS (4)

The Tha'tada presents points of difference from all other gentes in the tribe. It has no common rite or symbol. The rites of three of its subgentes were connected with the growth and care of the maize; the Waça'be shared in rites observed at the awakening of spring; the Wazhiⁿ'ga assisted in the protection of crops from devastation by birds; the Ke'iⁿ rites were connected with rain. While there was this general association in the purpose of the respective rites of these subgentes, their symbols or tabus and their *ni'kie* names were different. The Te'pa was the Nini'batoⁿ subgens of the Tha'tada; this subgens seems to indicate the change that had taken place in the principal food supply of the tribe, in a manner somewhat similar to that noted in the case of the Washa'betoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga, but reversed. The tabu and the name of the Te'pa subgens refer to the head of the buffalo, but the symbolic cut of the hair and the *ni'kie* names refer to the eagle, which was probably prominent in rites that were superseded by the buffalo when the people became established in the buffalo country. The choice of this subgens for the Nini'batoⁿ division and the duty assigned it in connection with the ceremonial use of the Sacred Tribal Pipes seem to indicate that this subgens held an important place in the tribe and its ceremonies prior to the present arrangement of gentes, and that this importance was recognized by the "two old men" of the Sacred Legend.

The Tha'tada gens camped on the left of the Hoⁿ'ga. The word *Tha'tada* is probably a contraction of the phrase *tha'ta tathishoⁿ-thoⁿka* (*tha'ta*, "left hand;" *tathishoⁿ*, "toward;" *thoⁿka*, "those sitting")—that is, "those whose place in the *hu'thuga* was to the left of the Hoⁿ'ga." The name is not an ancient one, probably having been given when the tribe was organized in its present form.

There were four subgentes in the Tha'tada: Waça'be itazhi, Wazhiⁿ'ga itazhi, Ke'iⁿ, and Te'pa itazhi.

Waça'be itazhi subgens (a)

(*Waça'be*, "black bear;" *itazhi*, "do not touch.") The rites connected with the black bear, which were formerly observed in this subgens, have been lost. Only the memory remains that this subgens used to join with the We'zhiⁿshte gens in rites observed when the first thunder was heard in the spring.

Xu'ka subdivision (a')

Xu'ka means teacher or instructor in mystic rites. The name was given to a group of families who were designated to act as hereditary prompters to the Hoⁿ'ga gens during the singing of the rituals pertaining to the White Buffalo Hide and to the Sacred Pole, to insure against mistakes when the sacred ritual songs were given.



FIG. 30. Cut of hair, Waça'be subgens.

In the *hu'thuga* the Xu'ka subdivision camped next to the Hoⁿ'ga on the left, and on the left of the Xu'ka camped the remainder of the Waça'be subgens.

The tabu of the Waça'be subgens was the black bear. Its flesh could not be eaten nor its skin touched.

The symbolic cut of the hair of the children of this subgens consisted in the removal of all except a broad lock over the forehead, to represent the head of the bear (fig. 30).

Wazhiⁿ'ga itazhi subgens (b)

The name of this subgens is derived from *wazhiⁿ'ga*, "bird;" *itazhi*, "do not touch." The rites that once were practised by the subgens pertained to the protection of the crops from the depredation of the birds. These rites have long been disused and are traditional only. It was said that one of the acts was to scatter partially masticated corn over the fields—a symbolic appeal to Wakoⁿ'da to prevent the small birds from attacking the corn and thus depriving the people of food. The rites of this subgens evidently referred to

the period when the people depended more on the cultivation of the maize than they did after they entered the buffalo country.

The tabu was all small birds. Even the boys of this subgens, in their games, while they would shoot their arrows or strike with sticks at the birds would never touch one with their hands.

The symbolic cut of the child's hair consisted in the shaving of the head, leaving a fringe of hair around the base of the skull, a short lock in front, and a broad lock behind (fig. 31). The fringe represented the feathered outline of the bird's body, the front lock its head, and the broad lock behind, its tail.

The Wazhiⁿ'ga itazhi camped next on the left of the Waça'be itazhi.

Ke'in subgens (c)

The name Ke'in is compounded of *ke*, "turtle;" *in*, "to carry"—"the turtle carriers or bearers."

The rites that were once in the keeping of this subgens have long since fallen into disuse and are known only by tradition. It is said that the form of the turtle was outlined on the ground and the sod cut out so as to make an intaglio of the animal, and that ceremonies were connected with this figure which pertained to the securing of rain and also to the dispelling of storms. The rites of the Turtle-bearers may have been associated with those that belonged to their neighboring subgens, the Wazhiⁿ'ga itazhi, and became obsolete for the same reason, the superseding of agriculture by hunting.

The tabu was the flesh of the turtle, which could not be eaten.



FIG. 32. Cut of hair, Ke'in subgens.

The symbolic cut of the hair consisted in shaving off all but a short fringe around the head, one small tuft over the forehead, two on each side, and a small lock at the nape of the neck (fig. 32). The short fringe outlined the shell of the turtle, the tuft over the forehead represented its head, the two on each side its feet, and the lock at the nape its tail.

The Ke'in camped on the left of the Wazhiⁿ'ga itazhi.

Te'pa itazhi subgens (d)

The derivation of the name of this subgens is: *te*, "buffalo;" *pa*, "head;" *itazhi*, "do not touch." The rites pertaining to the buffalo head, which once belonged to this subgens, have been lost and there remains no trustworthy tradition concerning them. A pipe was given to this subgens to insure to it, as representative of its gens,

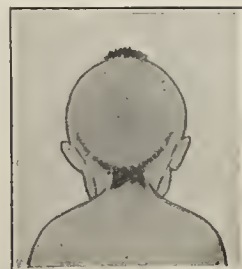


FIG. 31. Cut of hair, Wazhiⁿ'ga itazhi subgens.

a place in the tribal Council of Seven Chiefs, when that body was instituted. The names in this subgens which refer to the eagle refer also to this ceremonial pipe. The head of the subgens had an official position as one of the bearers of the Sacred Tribal Pipes when they were ceremonially smoked.

The tabu was the head of the buffalo. No member of this subgens would touch a spoon made from the horn of the buffalo.

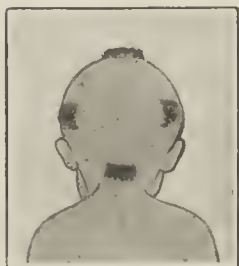


FIG. 33. Cut of hair,
Te'pa itazhi subgens.

The symbolic cut of the hair of children of this subgens did not refer to the tabu of the gens, but to the eagle, which was connected with the pipe. The hair was cut close to the head except a square tuft over the forehead, a similar one at the nape of the neck, and a broad lock over each ear (fig. 33). The head, tail, and two wings of the eagle were thus represented.

The pipes used in the Wa'waⁿ ceremony could be painted on the tents of members of this gens, one on each side of the entrance and one at the back of the tent.

This subgens camped next on the left of the Ke'iⁿ.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE THA'TADA GENS (4)

Waça'be itazhi subgens (a)

Ni'kie names

Çida'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
Gada'ka.....	Meaning uncertain.
Giha'zhi.....	Probable meaning: Unkempt.
Gi'thiko ⁿ bi.....	He to whom a place is yielded.
I ⁿ shta'duba.....	<i>Iⁿshta</i> , eyes; <i>duba</i> , four. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.)
Kaxe'katithe.....	<i>Kaxe'</i> , crow; <i>ka</i> , sound made by the crow; <i>tithe</i> , passing.
Ku'wi ⁿ xegthitho ⁿ	Whirling around.
Mo ⁿ 'shkaaxa.....	<i>Mon'shka</i> , crawfish; <i>axa</i> , to cry for. (In <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca.)
Mo ⁿ thi'uke.....	The digger of the ground. (Real name of Xa'debano ⁿ .)
No ⁿ 'kaxude.....	<i>Noⁿka</i> , back; <i>xude</i> , gray.
No ⁿ 'pabi.....	One who is feared. (In <i>Hi'çada</i> , Ponca.)
Pi'çithi ⁿ ge.....	<i>Pi'çi</i> , gall; <i>thiⁿge</i> , without, none. Appears in Omaha treaties of 1815, 1836.
Shui'ma.....	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.)
Tepa'uthixaga.....	Meaning uncertain.
Te'thiti.....	Buffalo ribs. In Omaha treaties of 1826, 1845.
To ⁿ ga'gaxe.....	Pretensions to greatness, self-importance.
U'xthetego ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
Waça'apa.....	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)
Waça'be.....	Black bear.
Waça'bezhi ⁿ ga.....	Black bear; <i>zhiⁿ'ga</i> , young, little. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.)
Wawe'xa.....	To laugh at. He who laughs.



HU'PETHA

Dream names

Ni'daho ⁿ	<i>Ni'da</i> , mythical being or animal (see note on this name, p. 194); <i>hoⁿ</i> , night.
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Fanciful names

Hu'petha (pl. 28).....	Meaning uncertain.
Niu'gashude.....	<i>Ni</i> , water; <i>u'gashude</i> , to make turbid. Refers to bears pawing in the water.

Valor names

A'gahawashushe.....	<i>A'gaha</i> , apart from, as outside a crowd; <i>washushe</i> , brave. Distinguished for bravery. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Pa'thi ⁿ no ⁿ pazhi.....	<i>Pa'thiⁿ</i> , Pawnee; <i>noⁿpa</i> , fear; <i>zhi</i> , not. Fears not Pawnee. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)

Nicknames

Xa'debano ⁿ	Bunch grass.
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Female names

Do ⁿ abi.....	Meaning uncertain. Two of this name.
Do ⁿ ama.....	Meaning uncertain.
Ma'zho ⁿ wi ⁿ	<i>Ma'zhoⁿ</i> , <i>mazhoⁿha</i> , fox; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine term. Two of this name.
Mi'bthiwi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Pon'carti</i> , <i>Monkon'</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Mi'hupegthi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
Mi'no ⁿ dabi.....	The only sun.
Mi'o ⁿ bathi ⁿ	Moon that travels by day.
Mi'to ⁿ i ⁿ gi.....	New moon returning.
Ni'dawi ⁿ	<i>Ni'da</i> , mythical being; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine term.
No ⁿ ce'i ⁿ ce.....	Meaning uncertain.
To ⁿ i ⁿ gina.....	Refers to the new moon. Three of this name.
Wate'wi ⁿ	Victory woman.
We'to ⁿ na.....	Meaning uncertain.

*Xu'ka (hereditary prompts) subgens (a')**Ni'kie names*

A'gahamo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>A'gaha</i> , apart from, outside a crowd; <i>monthin</i> , moving, traveling, walking.
Qi'xude.....	<i>Qi</i> , feet; <i>xude</i> , gray.
I ⁿ gtho ⁿ xepa.....	Wild cat undersized.
Ka'xepa.....	<i>Ka'xe</i> , crow; <i>pa</i> , head.
Keo ⁿ hazhi.....	<i>Ke</i> , turtle; <i>on'ha</i> , to flee; <i>zhi</i> , not. (In <i>Pon'carti</i> , Ponca.)
Ke'to ⁿ gai ⁿ shage.....	<i>Ketonga</i> , great turtle; <i>inshage</i> , venerable, also old man.
Mo ⁿ gezhide.....	<i>Mon'ge</i> , breast; <i>zhide</i> , red. Refers to the breast of the turtle.
Mo ⁿ xpi'axaga.....	<i>Monxpi</i> , clouds; <i>xaga</i> , rough.

Ni'çtumo ⁿ thi ⁿ	Ni'çtu, backwards; monthi ⁿ , walking. (In Waça'be, Ponca.)
Pahe'tape.....	Seeking the hills.
Sha'geçka.....	Sha'ge, claws; çka, white.
Watha'wajigthe.....	Watha'wa, count; ji, then; gthe, sits. Refers to the office of prompter, holding the counting sticks of the songs.

Dream names

Tenu'ga zho ⁿ thi ⁿ 'ke.....	Sleeping buffalo bull.
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Female names

Mi'gthito ⁿ i ⁿ	Return of the new moon.
Mi'hupagthi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
Mi'to ⁿ i ⁿ ge.....	Returning new moon.
Tha'tadawi ⁿ	Tha'tada, name of gens; wi ⁿ , feminine termination.
To ⁿ i ⁿ thi ⁿ	New moon moving.

Wazhiⁿ'ga itazhi subgens (b)

Ni'kie names

A'bthuzhide.....	A'bthu, wing, an old word; zhide, red. Refers to the red-winged blackbird.
A'hi ⁿ xega.....	A'hi ⁿ , wings; xega, brown. Two of this name.
A'hi ⁿ zhide.....	A'hi ⁿ , wings; zhide, red—red-winged blackbird.
Axi'abaha.....	Meaning uncertain.
Çi'mikaçi.....	Çi, feet; mikaçi, wolf, coyote.
Çi'xude.....	Çi, feet; xude, gray.
Gamo ⁿ xpi.....	Ga, to strike; mo ⁿ xpi, clouds. The wind strikes the clouds until it rains. (In Waça'be, Ponca.)
Gio ⁿ 'habi.....	Gi, from him; on'ha, to flee; bi, who is. One who is fled from.
Gthedo ⁿ 'no ⁿ zhi ⁿ	Gthedo ⁿ , hawk; no ⁿ zhi ⁿ , standing. (In Ni'kapashna, Ponca.) In Omaha treaty, 1854, 1865.
Gthedo ⁿ 'xude.....	Gthedo ⁿ , hawk; xude, gray. (In Ni'kapashna, Ponca.)
Gthedo ⁿ 'zhi ⁿ ga.....	Little hawk.
I ⁿ shta'çka.....	I ⁿ shta', eyes; çka, white. Refers to blackbirds.
Ke'to ⁿ ga.....	Ke, turtle; to ⁿ ga, big. (In Xu'ka; also in Waça'be, Hi'çada subdivision, Ponca.)
Ma'azhi ⁿ ga.....	Ma'a, cottonwood; zhi ⁿ ga, little, young. (In Xu'ka; also in Thi'xida, Ponca.)
Mi ⁿ ke'shage.....	Minke may be mika, raccoon; shage, claw.
Mo ⁿ shti ⁿ 'çka.....	Rabbit; çka, white. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.)
Ni'kuthibtho ⁿ	Smelling human being.
No ⁿ ba'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	No ⁿ ba', two; monthi ⁿ , walking. (In Waça'be, Ponca.) In Omaha treaty, 1830.
No ⁿ be'duba.....	No ⁿ be, hands; duba, four. Refers to the bear (?).
No ⁿ 'no ⁿ de.....	No ⁿ , mature; no ⁿ de, heart.
No ⁿ 'pewathe.....	One who is feared. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.)
No ⁿ zhi ⁿ 'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	No ⁿ zhi ⁿ , rain; monthi ⁿ , walking. Refers to the sand martins which do not retreat before the rain.
Pi'daega.....	Meaning unknown. Old name.
Shu'zhi ⁿ ga.....	Little prairie chicken.

Tawa'inge.....	Meaning uncertain.
Teço ^{n'}	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>çoⁿ</i> , white. In Omaha treaties of 1830, 1836, 1865. (In <i>Hí'çada</i> , Ponca.)
U'ho ⁿ no ⁿ ba.....	<i>Uhoⁿ</i> , cook, one who prepares a ceremonial repast; <i>noⁿba</i> , two. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
U'wethate.....	<i>U'we</i> , field; <i>thate</i> , eats. Refers to eating of the corn by blackbirds.
Wa'baçkaha.....	Meaning uncertain.
Washko ^{n'} mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Washkoⁿ</i> , strength; <i>moⁿthiⁿ</i> , walking. In Omaha treaties of 1815, 1826, 1836, 1865. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Wa'thidaxe.....	Sound as of tearing with claws, as when a bear claws a hollow tree to get at honey. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Wato ^{n'} i.....	Conspicuous, plainly visible.
Wazhi ^{n'} ga.....	Bird. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , <i>Hí'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Zhi'do ⁿ hathi ⁿ	He who moves in the dew.

Dream names

Ho ⁿ a'kipa.....	<i>Hoⁿ</i> , night; <i>akipa</i> , to meet.
Tenu'gagahi.....	<i>Tenuga</i> , male buffalo; <i>gahi</i> , chief. (In <i>Nu're</i> , Ponca.)
Tenu'gawazhi ⁿ	Angry buffalo—male.
Uha'hi.....	Meaning uncertain.
Wazhi ^{n'} agahige.....	Bird chief. (In <i>Waça'be</i> gens, Ponca.)

Fanciful names

Pe'degahi.....	Fire chief. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.) In Omaha treaty of 1865.
Umo ⁿ ho ⁿ to ⁿ wo ⁿ gtho ⁿ	Omaha village.

Nicknames

Iti'go ⁿ no ⁿ pi ⁿ	Medals worn on the neck.
Wabthu'ga.....	Hominy.

Female names

Gixpe'axa.....	Meaning uncertain.
Mi'ako ⁿ da.....	Moon power.
Mi'dasho ⁿ thi ⁿ	Refers to the moon.
Mi'o ⁿ bathi ⁿ	Moon travels by day. Four of this name.
Mi'tena.....	Refers to the sun.
Mo ^{n'} shihathi ⁿ	Moving on high. Six of this name.
Ni'dawi ⁿ	<i>Nida</i> , a mysterious or fabulous being; <i>win</i> , feminine termination.
Tha'tadawi ⁿ	<i>Tha'tada</i> ; <i>win</i> , feminine termination.
Tha'taweco ⁿ	White <i>Tha'tada</i> woman.
To ^{n'} i ⁿ gthihe.....	Sudden return of new moon.
We'to ⁿ na.....	Meaning uncertain.
Wihe'to ⁿ ga.....	Big younger sister.

*Ke'in subgens (c)**Ni'kie names*

Ezhno ^{n'} zhuwagthe.....	<i>Ezhnon</i> , alone; <i>zhugthe</i> , with; <i>wa</i> , them.
He'ga.....	Buzzard.
Hega'di.....	Meaning uncertain.

He'katho ⁿ	He, horns; <i>kathoⁿ</i> , rattle, clatter, as the horns strike the brush. (In <i>Wazhin'ga</i> subdivision.)
I ⁿ ku'shige.....	Meaning uncertain.
Ke'chu ⁿ	<i>Ke</i> , turtle; <i>chuⁿ</i> , plenty. Two of this name. (Doubtful if <i>ni'kir</i> .)
Ke'gaxe.....	<i>Ke</i> , turtle; <i>gaxe</i> , to make. Refers to the drawing of the figure of a turtle on the ground in the ceremony pertaining to the turtle.
Kegthe'gei ⁿ shtazhide ..	<i>Ke</i> , turtle; <i>gthege</i> , spotted; <i>inshita</i> , eye; <i>zhide</i> , red. The sand-hill turtle.
Ke'ho ⁿ ga.....	<i>Ke</i> , turtle; <i>honga</i> , leader, or ancient.
Ke'i ⁿ zhi ⁿ ga.....	Little <i>Ke'in</i> .
Kethi'hi.....	<i>Ke</i> , turtle; <i>thihi</i> , to scare animals. Two of this name.
Kezhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Ke</i> , turtle; <i>zhin'ga</i> , little. (In <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca.)
Mi'xabaku.....	<i>Mi'ca</i> , goose; <i>buku</i> , bent, crooked. (In <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca.)
Mo ⁿ 'cedo ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
Na'etho ⁿ be.....	<i>Na</i> , by heat; <i>ethonbe</i> , appear. Refers to the hot days when the turtles rise to the top of the water.
Nia'kibano ⁿ	<i>Ni</i> , water; <i>a</i> , for; <i>kibanon</i> , to run, as in a race. Refers to the flight of the turtle to the water.
Nia'tagithe.....	<i>Ni</i> , water; <i>a</i> , for; <i>ta</i> , towards; <i>gigthe</i> , goes home.
Nitha'shtage.....	<i>Ni</i> , water; <i>tha</i> , action with mouth; <i>shtage</i> , tepid.
No ⁿ 'nonde.....	<i>Noⁿ</i> , mature; <i>nonde</i> , heart.
Non'pewathe.....	<i>Non'pe</i> , afraid; <i>wa</i> , on; <i>the</i> , to be. One who is feared. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Shko ⁿ shko ⁿ 'tithe.....	<i>Shkonshkon</i> , to move with the body; <i>tithe</i> , suddenly.
Shu'zhi ⁿ ga.....	Prairie chicken.
Tenu'gawazhi ⁿ	<i>Tenu'ga</i> , buffalo bull; <i>wazhin</i> , means here, anger.
Uga'hatithe.....	<i>Ugaha</i> , to float; <i>tithe</i> , by.
U'namo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>U'na</i> , to borrow; <i>monthin</i> , walking.
Wano ⁿ 'cabe.....	The scratcher. This refers to the scratches inflicted by the turtle in his struggles to escape when caught.
Xae'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Xae</i> , rustling sound; <i>monthin</i> , moving, walking. Refers to sounds made by birds.

Dream names

Wathi'shuatigthe.....	<i>Wathi'shua</i> , plain to the sight; <i>tigthe</i> , suddenly.
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Valor names

Ka'xebaha.....	<i>Ka're</i> , crow; <i>baha</i> , to exhibit. Refers to the badge of bravery.
Wa'to ⁿ 'nonzhi ⁿ	<i>Wa'ton</i> , upon; <i>nonzhin</i> , to stand.

Nicknames

Iti'go ⁿ 'no ⁿ p'i ⁿ	<i>Iti'gon</i> , grandfather; <i>nonp'in</i> , to wear around the neck. Refers to wearing medals.
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Female names

Do ⁿ 'ama.....	Meaning uncertain. Five of this name.
Mi'ako ⁿ da.....	Moon power.
Mi'gasho ⁿ thi ⁿ	The moon that travels. Four of this name. (In <i>Washa'be</i> and <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Mi'gthedo ⁿ wi ⁿ	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>gthedon</i> , hawk; <i>win</i> , feminine. Two of this name. (In <i>Washa'be</i> and <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Mi'mo ⁿ 'shihathi ⁿ	Moon moving on high. Two of this name. (In <i>Pon'carti</i> , <i>Monkon'</i> subdivision, Ponca.)

Mi'tena.....	Refers to the moon. Seven of this name. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , <i>Hi'cada</i> subdivision, and <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Ni'dawi ⁿ	<i>Ni'da</i> , imps, mysterious little beings; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine. Seven of this name. (See footnote, p. 194.)
No ⁿ ce'i ⁿ ce.....	Meaning uncertain. Eight of this name. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , <i>Thi'rida</i> , and <i>Washa'be</i> , <i>Hi'cada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
To ⁿ i ⁿ gthihe.....	Sudden apparition of the new moon.
Wate'wi ⁿ	<i>Wate</i> , victory. Three of this name. (In <i>Thi'rida</i> , Ponca.)



FIG. 34. Cha'cathi'ge.

*Te'pa itazhi subgens (d)**Ni'kie names*

Agthi ⁿ duba.....	Fourteen.
A'hi ⁿ cka.....	<i>A'hiⁿ</i> , wings; <i>cka</i> , white. In Omaha treaty of 1830. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
A'hi ⁿ cnede.....	<i>A'hiⁿ</i> , wings; <i>cnede</i> , long. Refers to the eagle.
A'zhido ⁿ to ⁿ	<i>A'zhidoⁿ</i> , bedewed; <i>toⁿ</i> , stands. Refers to the eagle upon which the dew has fallen.
Cha'cathi'ge (fig. 34) ..	<i>Cha'ca</i> , unkempt, ruffled; <i>thi'ge</i> , not. Refers to an unusual appearance of the tidy eagle.
Çi'çi.....	Yellow feet.
Çi'ha.....	Soles.
Çi'to ⁿ ga.....	Big feet.
Ezhno ⁿ ho ⁿ ga.....	<i>Ezhnoⁿ</i> , only; <i>hoⁿga</i> , leader.

Gaha'gthi ⁿ	Refers to eagle sitting on tree. Appears in Omaha treaty of 1815.
Gahi'ge.....	Chief. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Gaku'wi ⁿ xe.....	<i>Ga</i> , action by striking; <i>ku'win^{ce}</i> , to turn. Refers to the soaring of the eagle. (See ritual of hair cutting.) (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> and <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Gap'o ⁿ 'ditho ⁿ	Eagles jar the branch when alighting.
Hi ⁿ 'xpeagaçnede.....	<i>Hiⁿxpe</i> , downy feather; <i>aga</i> , drooping; <i>çncde</i> , long. Refers to the downy feather taken from the eagle and used as a symbol in the pipe ceremony.
I'gachizhe.....	<i>I</i> with; <i>gachizhe</i> , to fall with a crash on dry leaves or limbs. Refers to the lighting of the eagle.
I ⁿ gtho ⁿ 'ga.....	Wild cat. (Also in <i>Xu'ka</i> .)
Mo ⁿ 'çeguhe.....	Meaning uncertain.
Mo ⁿ ge'çi.....	<i>Mon^{ge}'</i> , breast; <i>çi</i> , yellow.
Mo ⁿ gthi'xta.....	Blackbird.
Nini'ba.....	Pipe. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.)
Nini'bai ⁿ sh'age.....	<i>Nini'ba</i> , pipe; <i>iⁿsh'age</i> , old, venerable.
No ⁿ 'no ⁿ de.....	<i>Noⁿ</i> , mature; <i>noⁿde</i> , heart.
No ⁿ zhi ⁿ 'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Noⁿzhiⁿ</i> , rain; <i>moⁿthiⁿ</i> , walking.
Paço ⁿ '.....	<i>Pa</i> , head; <i>çoⁿ</i> , white or whitish. Bald-headed eagle.
Paço ⁿ 'no ⁿ zhi ⁿ	<i>Paçoⁿ'</i> , bald-headed eagle; <i>noⁿzhiⁿ</i> , standing.
Pe'hi ⁿ xte.....	Tuft on the head of the eagle.
Pi'daega.....	Meaning uncertain.
Sho ⁿ 'to ⁿ çabe.....	Black wolf.
Tia'gito ⁿ	<i>Ti</i> , house; <i>a'gi</i> , his own; <i>toⁿ</i> , stands. Refers to eagle standing on his nest.
Waça'apa.....	Meaning uncertain.
Waje'pa.....	Old name for the tribal herald.
Wa'thishnade (pl. 29) ..	One who grasps. Refers to the eagle.
Xitha'i ⁿ sh'age.....	<i>Xitha'</i> , eagle; <i>iⁿsh'age</i> , old, aged.
Xitha'wahi.....	<i>Xitha'</i> , eagle; <i>wahi</i> , bone. Probably refers to the eagle-bone whistle used in ceremonies with the pipes.
Xitha'xega.....	<i>Xitha'</i> , eagle; <i>xega</i> , the color of dried grass, yellowish brown.
Xitha'xti.....	<i>Xitha'</i> , eagle; <i>xti</i> , real. Two of this name.
Xitha'zhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Xitha'</i> , eagle; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little, young. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)

Dream names

Gaki'emo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Gaki'e</i> , scattered; <i>moⁿthiⁿ</i> , traveling. Refers to flocks of birds.
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Female names

Gixpe'axa.....	Meaning uncertain. Eight of this name.
Mipi'.....	Meaning uncertain; probably <i>mi</i> , moon; <i>pi</i> , good.
Mo ⁿ 'shiliathi ⁿ	Moving on high. Refers to the eagle. Nine of this name.
Ni'dawi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain. Three of this name.
No ⁿ çe'i ⁿ the.....	Meaning uncertain. Three of this name.
Tha'tadawi ⁿ	<i>Tha'tada</i> ; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine termination.
Tha'tawiço ⁿ	<i>Tha'ta</i> , <i>tha'tada</i> ; <i>wi</i> , <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine termination; <i>çoⁿ</i> , white or pale.
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ gthihe.....	Sudden apparition of the new moon. Seven of this name.
We'to ⁿ na.....	Meaning uncertain. Eight of this name.
Wihe'to ⁿ ga.....	<i>Wihe'</i> , younger sister; <i>toⁿga</i> , big.



WA'THISHNADE (WAJE'PA)

KON'ÇE GENS (5)

The name of this gens is an ancient and untranslatable word. It belongs to one of the tribes (Kansa) of the cognate group of which the Omaha is a member. From this tribe the State of Kansas takes its name.

In the *hu'thuga* the Kon'çe gens camped on the left of the Tha'tada.

There were two subdivisions in the gens: (a) Tade'ata (*tade*, "wind;" *ata*, "in the direction of"—"in the direction of the wind"); the name is said to refer to the clouds. Rites connected with the wind were formerly in charge of this subgens, but they have been lost. In memory of the connection of these people with the wind was the following jesting action: when the mosquitoes were thick, a Kon'çe man was beaten with robes; this would call up a breeze to drive away the pests. (b) Nini'batoⁿ.

The tabu of the entire gens, as well as of its subgentes, was *verdigris*, which the people were forbidden to touch.

The symbolic cut of the children's hair represents a design which it is said used to be cut upon the earth after the sod had been removed when the ancient rites relating to the wind were practised. All the hair was cut off except a tuft over the forehead, one at the nape of the neck, and one on each side over the ear. From each of these four tufts, representing the four points of the compass, a narrow line of hair extended upward, terminating in a round tuft on the top of the head (fig. 35).



FIG. 35. Cut of hair, Kon'çe gens.

When the Hethu'shka society formerly was led around the tribal circle by the Kon'çe the act may have been in recognition of the power of the wind to befriend the warriors, as certain customs practised during warfare suggest. (See p. 39.) The Kon'çe also had the office of starting the ball game which was played by the two grand divisions of the *hu'thuga*. (See p. 197.)

The Tade'ata subgens camped on the left of the Te'pa itazhi of the Tha'tada, and on the left of the Tade'ata was the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE KON'ÇE GENS (5)

*Tade'ata subgens (a)**Ni'kie names*

- Da'doⁿthiⁿge..... Da'doⁿ, possessions; *thiⁿge*, not, nothing. He has nothing.
 Refers to the invisible nature of the air or wind. (In *Wazha'zhe*, Ponca.)
- Koⁿ'çedathiⁿ..... dathiⁿ, crazy—Crazy Kon'çe.
- Kuge'..... The sound made by a drum.

Ma'axude.....	Ma'a, cottonwood; <i>xude</i> , gray.
Mu'xano ⁿ zhi ⁿ (pl. 30)...	Refers to the clouds.
Ni'kagahi.....	Chief.
No ⁿ xtha'demo ⁿ thi ⁿ	The creeping sensation of a bug crawling.
Ta ⁿ ci'ha.....	Old name, meaning uncertain.
Tade'umo ⁿ thi ⁿ	Tade', wind; <i>u</i> , in; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking. (See ritual of hair cutting.) (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> and <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca.)
Thixthi'gazhi.....	<i>Thixthiga</i> , old; <i>zhi</i> , not (abbreviated) never old. Two of this name.
Wa'ci ⁿ ci ⁿ de.....	Flapping with a quivering motion, as when the wind blows the tent flaps.

Borrowed names

Cho ⁿ 'cho ⁿ xepa.....	Dakota.
Mi'chaxpe.....	Omaha.

Dream names

Waba'hizhi ⁿ ga.....	Waba'hi, to graze; <i>zhinga</i> , little—little nibbler. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Zho ⁿ ci'mo ⁿ de.....	<i>Zhon</i> , wood; <i>ci</i> , yellow; <i>monde</i> , bow.

Female names

A ⁿ ce'to ⁿ ga.....	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Pon'caxti</i> , <i>Monkon'</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Mi'ako ⁿ da.....	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>akonda</i> , power.
Mi'mo ⁿ shihathi ⁿ	Moon moving on high.
Mi'texi.....	Sacred moon.
Mi'to ⁿ i ⁿ ge.....	New moon returning.
Mi'xube.....	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>xube</i> , sacred.
Mo ⁿ 'shathi ⁿ ke.....	<i>Mon'sha</i> , on high; <i>thinke</i> , sitting (moon).
Tade'wi ⁿ	Tade, wind; <i>win</i> , feminine term.
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ thi ⁿ	New moon moving.
Xu'degi.....	<i>Xu'de</i> , gray; <i>gi</i> , returning. Refers to the mist blown by the wind.

Nini'baton subdivision (b)

Nikie names

Ezhno ⁿ 'githabi.....	<i>Ezhnon'</i> , only; <i>githabi</i> , who is favored— <i>gi</i> , possessive sign; <i>tha</i> , favored; <i>bi</i> , who is. The favored son (?)
Gahi'zhi ⁿ ga (pl. 31)....	<i>Gahi'</i> , <i>gahi'ge</i> , chief; <i>zhinga</i> , little. (In <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca.)
Micha'xpezhi ⁿ ga.....	Little star—old name.
Mo ⁿ 'shewakude.....	Meaning uncertain; probably, old man who shoots an arrow.
Mo ⁿ zho ⁿ 'hathi ⁿ	<i>Monzho'</i> , the earth; <i>ha</i> , over; <i>thin</i> , from <i>monthiⁿ</i> , to walk or travel. Travels over the earth. Refers to the wind. The bearer of this name was a herald.
Mo ⁿ zho ⁿ kide.....	Watches over the land. Refers to wind. (In Osage.) Appears in treaties of 1815 and 1826.
Pa ⁿ ci'duba.....	Four buffaloes. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Wami ⁿ '.....	Blood. (In <i>Thi'rida</i> , Ponca.)
Zha'bezhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Zha'be</i> , beaver; <i>zhinga</i> , little.

Female names

Ko ⁿ cewi ⁿ	<i>Konce</i> ; <i>win</i> , feminine termination. Five of this name.
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MU'XANO'ZHIN



GAH'ZHINGA (LITTLE CHIEF)

*Names unclassified as to subgentes**Nikie names*

Heba'dizho ⁿ	<i>Heba'di</i> , half; <i>zhon</i> , sleep. Sleeps halfway.
Ko ⁿ çegahige.....	<i>Konçe</i> , Kansa chief.
Ko ⁿ çezhi ⁿ ga.....	Little <i>konçe</i> .
No ⁿ 'dethi ⁿ ge.....	<i>Nonde</i> , heart; <i>thinge</i> , not any.
Pahi'thagthi ⁿ	Good hair.
Pa'nuhu.....	Owl.
Tade'ta.....	To the wind. Also in <i>Inke'çabe</i> ritual of hair cutting.
Tade'u ⁿ ça.....	<i>Tade'</i> , wind; <i>uⁿça</i> , swift.
Waba'shetho ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
Wate'wahi.....	Meaning uncertain.
Xage'wathe.....	One who causes weeping.
Zhega'no ⁿ ba.....	<i>Zhega</i> , legs; <i>nonba</i> , two. ¹

Female names

Tade'wahage.....	Meaning uncertain.
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ISHTAÇUNDA DIVISION, REPRESENTING THE SKY PEOPLE (A)

MON'THINKAGAXE (GENS (6))

The significance of this name (*mon'thinka*, "earth;" *gaxe*, "to make") is somewhat obscure, but the rites committed to this gens seem to have been connected with the rock or stone and with the gray wolf. What these rites were is not now known. They have long since fallen into disuse and become lost. In myths that deal with the creation of the earth, with the contention of man against strange monsters that controlled the animals, with the interdependence of various forms of life, and with the persistent mystery of death we find the idea of permanence, of length of days, of wisdom acquired by age, to be symbolized by the rock or stone; while man's restlessness, his questionings of fate, his destructiveness, are frequently symbolized by the wolf. These two, the rock or stone and the gray wolf, are in myths represented as brothers and in the ancient rites belonging to this gens they were symbolically united, in some way now unknown, a fact that makes it not unlikely that the name of the gens, "earth makers," preserves the purpose of the rites once committed to these people—rites that not only dramatized the myth of Creation, but were believed to insure the continuance of that which had been created.

According to tradition there were formerly in the keeping of this gens four sacred stones, which were painted, respectively, white, black, red, and green or blue. These stones were ceremonially placed in a circular hole made in the ground, and over them was spread the down of the swan (*Cygnus americanus*). As late as the last century one of these stones was in existence, in charge of Toⁿ'woⁿgaxe. It is said that at the meetings of the Pebble society he would "place it on the ground and make it walk." There is a tradition that in the

ancient rites pertaining to the stones water or rain was represented. This tradition is borne out by the use of the down of the swan, a water bird, to cover ceremonially the stones. The connection with water rites is probably also indicated by the statement that the old keeper of the stones could take them to the Pebble society, whose rites pertained to the element water. All four stones are now lost. The last one was probably buried with Toⁿ'woⁿgaxe. The connection of the stones with the water adds to the probability that the lost rites of this gens dealt with the Creation.

There are no subgentes in this gens. Within the last century the groups of families to whom were formerly assigned certain duties connected with the ancient rites have taken names referring to their ancient hereditary office, and as a result these groups have been mistaken for subgentes. The Xu'be (sacred) group had direct charge of the sacred stones. Another group, whose office pertained to that part of the rites which related to the wolf, called themselves the Mi'kaçi (wolf). Still another, to whom belonged the duties relating to the water and the swan, called themselves Mi'xaçoⁿ (swan).

All of the above-mentioned groups had the same tabus as the gens, namely: The swan, the clay used for making the colors with which to paint the stones, and the soot from the kettle employed in preparing the black paint used on the stones.



FIG. 36. Cut of hair, Moⁿ'-
thiⁿkagaxe gens.

The cut of the hair of the children of these groups was peculiar. The hair on the right side of the head was shaved off, while that on the left side was allowed to grow (fig. 36). It has been impossible to obtain a general explanation of this symbolic style of cutting the hair. Some have said it represented the bare rock and the falling rain.

At the organization of the tribe in its present form a group of families was set apart in the gens as Nini'batoⁿ, keepers of the pipes, and a chief from this group was given a place in the Council of Seven Chiefs. In this group occurs a name found nowhere else in the tribe: Nini'ushi, filler of the pipes; this may refer in some way to the rites which once belonged to this gens, and which, as they probably pertained to the Creation, may have had a significance in the Council of Seven Chiefs, that ruled the tribe.

The cut of the hair of the children belonging to the Nini'batoⁿ group was the same as that used by the other Nini'batoⁿ subdivisions in the gentes of the tribe.

In camping, the Xu'be (*a*) pitched their tents immediately on the left of the Koⁿ'çe; then came the Mi'kaçi (*b*); next, the Mi'xaçoⁿ (*c*); and on their left the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision (*d*).



SHO'GEÇKA (WHITE HORSE)



TON'WONGAXEZHINGA (LITTLE VILLAGE MAKER)

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE MO^NTHI^NKAGAXE GENS (6)*Xu'be subdivision (a)**N'kie names*

- A'xabazhi..... *A'xa*, to cry for; *ba*, they; *zhi*, not. One who is not cried for.
 Gachi'zhithoⁿ..... *Gachi'zhi*, to fall with a crash; *thoⁿ*, contraction of *ithoⁿ*, suddenly. Refers to the noise made by the eagle when alighting.
 I'gashoⁿ..... Wanderers; refers to wolf. Two of this name.
 Moⁿgthithoⁿ..... Standing up suddenly. Refers to a little animal that suddenly rises to an upright position.
 Noⁿgemoⁿthiⁿ..... *Noⁿge*, to run; *monthin*, walks or travels. Travels running. (In *Waça'be*, Ponca.)
 Noⁿzhiⁿmoⁿthiⁿ..... *Noⁿzhin'*, rain; *monthin*, travels. (In *Washa'be*, Ponca.)
 Shoⁿgeçka (pl. 32).... *Shoⁿge*, horse (old name for wolf); *çka*, white. Appears in treaties of 1826, 1830, 1836, 1854. (See *Shoⁿge'çabe*, *Tapa' gens*.) (In *Nu'xe*, Ponca and Osage.)
 Uga'shoⁿzhiⁿga..... *Uga'shoⁿ*, traveler; *zhin'ga*, little. (In *Washa'be*, Ponca.)
 Waba'hiçi..... *Waba'hi*, to graze; *çi*, yellow. Yellow object grazing; refers to yellow wolf. (In *Pon'caxti*, *Monkoⁿ'* subdivision, Ponca.)
 Wahu'thabi..... One of whom permission is asked. Appears in treaty of 1815.

Dream names

- Çigthe'noⁿpabi..... *Çigthe*, footprints; *nonpabi*, to fear. One whose footprints, even, are feared. (In *Wazha'zhe*, Ponca.)
 Waça'betoⁿga..... *Waça'be*, black bear; *tonga*, big. (In *Thi'xida*, Ponca.)
 Wa'dupa..... Old dream name. Two of this name.
 Wahe'he..... Easy to break, tender to the touch.
 Wakoⁿda..... Power. Refers to sacred stones. (In *Wazha'zhe*, Ponca.)
 Wakoⁿdaukie..... Talks to Wakoⁿda.
 Washi'shka..... Shell. (In *Thi'xida*, Ponca.)

Borrowed names

- Hexa'ganoⁿzhiⁿ..... *Hexa'ga*, elk (Dakota); *nonzhin*, to stand. (In *Washa'be*, Ponca.)
 Koⁿçehoⁿga..... *Koⁿçe*, name of gens and tribe, Kansa; *honga*, leader. (In *Wazha'zhe*, Ponca.)
 Mixa'çka..... White swan.
 Wazhiⁿgaçabe..... *Wazhin'ga*, bird; *çabe*, black. (In *Waça'be*, Ponca.)

Fanciful names

- Toⁿwoⁿgaxe..... *Toⁿwon*, village; *gaxe*, maker.
 Toⁿwoⁿgaxeⁿzhiⁿga (pl. 33.) *Zhin'ga*, little. Little village maker.
 We'thishku..... *We*, to do something for another; *thishku*, from *thishkuda*, to dig with the fingers.

Valor names

- Moⁿga'azhi..... *Mon*, arrow; *ga'azhi*, not afraid. (In *Waça'be*, Ponca.)
 Waçe'athiⁿ..... *Waçe'*, paint; *athin*, have. Refers to war parties.
 Washi'binoⁿhiⁿ..... *Washi'bi*, to ask one to work; *nonhin* from *inonhin*, willing. Willing to serve.

Female names

Mi'mitega.....	The new moon. Four of this name.
Mi'mo ⁿ shihathi ⁿ	Moon moving on high.
Mi'texi.....	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>texi</i> , sacred. Two of this name.
Mi'to ⁿ i ⁿ	New moon. Two of this name.
No ⁿ zhe'gito ⁿ	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.) Two of this name.
Po ⁿ caço ⁿ	White Ponka. (In <i>Pon'caxti</i> , <i>Monkon'</i> subdivision, Ponca.) Three of this name.
Po ⁿ cawi ⁿ	<i>Ponca</i> feminine. (In <i>Waca'be</i> , Ponca.)
To ⁿ i'ngina.....	New moon returning. Three of this name.
We'tewi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain. Five of this name.

*Nini'batoⁿ subdivision (d)**Unclassified names*

Çe'çethi ⁿ ke.....	The trotter; indicating the characteristic gait of the wolf.
Çi ⁿ 'dezhi ⁿ ga.....	Little tail.
Gahi'gewadathi ⁿ ga.....	Refers to the peaceful office of the chiefs. This name appears among the Osage, and is sometimes misleadingly translated as Saucy Chief or Crazy Chief.
Gthedo ⁿ 'no ⁿ pabi.....	Hawk who is feared.
Gthedo ⁿ 'wi ⁿ	<i>Gthedoⁿ</i> , hawk; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine termination. Two of this name.
Gu'dahi.....	There-he-goes! An exclamation of hunters who scare up a coyote.
Huti'gthe.....	Voice heard at a distance. Refers to wolves.
I ⁿ 'ço ⁿ	White rock. Refers to the sacred stones.
I ⁿ ke'gaxe.....	Refers to pipes.
I ⁿ zhi'de.....	Red rock. Refers to the sacred stones.
Mi'gthedo ⁿ 'wi ⁿ	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>gthedoⁿ</i> , hawk; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine termination.
Mixa'çka.....	<i>Mixa</i> , swan; <i>çka</i> , white. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.) Two of this name.
Mo ⁿ 'gthitho ⁿ	<i>Mongthe</i> , to stand; <i>ithoⁿ</i> , suddenly. The last vowel in <i>mon-gthi</i> is dropped. Refers to sudden action of gray wolf. Two of this name.
Ni'kaçtuwathe.....	The gatherer. Refers to the Sacred Tribal Pipes and their unification of the people into one social body.
Nini'ushi.....	<i>Nini'</i> , pipe; <i>ushi</i> , to present. Refers to ceremony of pipes.
Sho ⁿ 'to ⁿ gaçka.....	The white gray wolf.
Sho ⁿ 'to ⁿ gamo ⁿ shiadi...	The tall gray wolf.
Sho ⁿ 'to ⁿ gatu.....	The blue gray wolf.
Sho ⁿ 'to ⁿ gawathihuça...	The mad gray wolf.
Sho ⁿ 'to ⁿ zhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Shonton</i> , gray wolf; <i>zinga</i> , little or young.
Thata'xitigthe.....	Crunching of bones. Refers to wolf.
The'dewathatha.....	Refers to the frequent cautious looking backward of the wolf as he trots along.
Ugaç'i ⁿ no ⁿ	The peeper. Refers to the coyote.
Uga'sho ⁿ 'no ⁿ zhi ⁿ	The wanderer. The restless habit of the coyote.
Uga'sho ⁿ 'to ⁿ	The wanderer. The restlessness of the wolf.
U'shkadazhi.....	Dauntless, rushing into battle without hesitation. (In <i>Nu're</i> , Ponca.)
Utha'gabi.....	Refers to wolf.

Wa'gawiⁿxe..... The soarer. Refers to the eagle.
 Wathi'gthoⁿthiⁿge..... No mind.

Borrowed names

Ki'shtawagu..... Said to be Pawnee. (In *Waça'be* gens, Ponca.)
 Waxua'taiⁿge..... Said to be Oto.

Dream names

Hoⁿ'hemoⁿthiⁿ..... Night walker.
 Moⁿ'chu'wakoⁿda..... Bear god.

Valor names

Iⁿke'washushe..... Brave soldier.

Nicknames

Iⁿshti'thiⁿke..... Name of a mythical mischievous being.

Female names

Açe'xube..... *Açe'*, from *wage*, paint; *xube*, sacred.
 Gixpe'axa..... Meaning lost. Old name. Two of this name.
 Mi'ashteshtoⁿ..... Meaning uncertain. Three of this name.

TEÇIⁿ'DE GENS (7)

The name of this gens has reference to the buffalo (*te*, "buffalo;" *çiⁿde*, "tail"). There are no subgentes.

The rites anciently committed to the people of this gens have been lost. Nothing but a tradition remains, which states that the ceremony pertained to the crow. In certain myths that speak of the Creation it is said that human beings were at first without bodies; they dwelt in the upper world, in the air, and the crow was instrumental in helping the people to secure bodies so that they could live on the earth and become as men and women.

The tabu of the gens favors the tradition that the rites under its charge referred to the birth of the people in bodily form. They were forbidden to touch the unborn young of an animal. In later days the tabu applied especially to the buffalo young, and also to the lowest rib adhering to the backbone, as the head of the fetus was said to rest against this part of the animal; consequently the meat from this rib could not be eaten.

The symbolic cut of the hair referred to the young of the buffalo. All the hair was cut off except two small tufts on the side of the crown, indicating the coming horns, and a lock at the nape of the neck representing the tail of the calf (fig. 37).

When the tribe was organized in its present form, a Nini'batoⁿ group of families was chosen in this gens and the leader of the group was given a place in the tribal Council of Seven Chiefs.

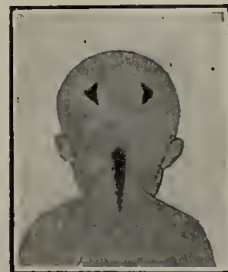


FIG. 37. Cut of hair,
Teçiⁿ'de gens.

The tabu of this subdivision was the same as that of the gens itself. The symbolic cut of the hair was like that of all the children belonging to Nini'baton subdivisions.

The Teçin'de (a) camped on the left of the Mon'thiⁿkagaxe, the Nini'baton subdivision (b) being at the extreme left of the gens.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE TEÇIN'DE GENS (7)

Teçin'de subdivision (a)

Ni'kie names

Heba'zhu.....	<i>He</i> , horns; <i>bazhu</i> , knobby.
He'xude.....	<i>He</i> , horns; <i>xude</i> , gray.
Hi ⁿ çi'zhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Hiⁿ</i> , hair, of an animal; <i>çi</i> , yellow; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little. Refers to the young buffalo. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca; also in <i>Inke'çabe</i> .)
I'shibazhi.....	The name of an old hero whose deeds are preserved in song and story.
Ka'xenumpi ⁿ	Crow necklace.
Kigtha'zho ⁿ zho ⁿ	<i>Kigtha</i> , himself; <i>zhoⁿzhoⁿ</i> , to shake—shakes himself. Refers to a buffalo. (In <i>Pon'carti</i> , <i>Monkon'</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Tamo ⁿ xaga.....	<i>Ta</i> , a corruption of <i>te</i> , buffalo; <i>mon</i> , arrows; <i>xaga</i> , bristling. Two of this name.
Uma'abi.....	Cut into pieces and spread (scattered?).
Waho ⁿ 'thi ⁿ ge (pl. 34).	<i>Wa</i> , a prefix by which a condition is generalized and expressed as a noun; <i>hon</i> , from <i>chon</i> , mother (general term); <i>thiⁿge</i> , none. Hence, <i>wahoⁿ'thiⁿge</i> , orphan. The loss of the mother makes an orphan, according to the Omaha idea. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)

Female names

Mi'ako ⁿ da.....	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>akonda</i> , <i>wakonda</i> . Four of this name. (In <i>Pon'carti</i> , <i>Monkon'</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Mi'gthito ⁿ i ⁿ	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>gthi</i> , return; <i>tonⁿiⁿ</i> , new. The new moon returns. (In <i>Inshta'çunda</i> gens.)
Mi'xube.....	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>xube</i> , sacred.
Teço ⁿ 'wi ⁿ	White buffalo, feminine term. Three of this name.
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ gi.....	<i>Ton'iu</i> , new moon, <i>gi</i> , coming. (In <i>Inshta'çunda</i> gens.)
Umo ⁿ 'agthi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
Uthe'amo ⁿ 'thi ⁿ	Three of this name.
Uzho ⁿ 'geagthi ⁿ	<i>Uzhon'ge</i> , trail; <i>agthiⁿ</i> , to sit on. Refers to buffalo sitting in the buffalo path.
Wihe'gthedo ⁿ	<i>Wihe'</i> , younger sister; <i>gthedoⁿ</i> , hawk. Two of this name.

Nini'baton subdivision (b)

Ni'kie names

Çi ⁿ 'dethiho ⁿ	<i>Çiⁿ'de</i> , tail; <i>thihon</i> , to lift. The father (now dead) bore same name. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)
I ⁿ shta'shabe.....	<i>Inshta'</i> , eye; <i>shabe</i> , black. Two of this name. (In <i>Waç'a'be</i> , Ponca.)
Mo ⁿ a'xaga.....	<i>Mon</i> , arrow; <i>a'xaga</i> , bristling—bristling with arrows.
Mo ⁿ 'sho ⁿ ho ⁿ ga.....	Refers to feathers on the pipe leaders.
No ⁿ 'dewahi.....	Bone heart.
No ⁿ 'gethia.....	<i>Non'ge</i> , to run; <i>thi'a</i> , not able. Probably refers to the new-born calf. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)



WAHO'THINGE

No ^{no} bi.....	No ^{no} , to hear; bi, who is. One who is heard. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Pc ^z hexuta.....	Wild sage (<i>artemisia</i>).
Shu ['] degina.....	Shu ['] de, smoke; gina, coming. Refers to the smoke-like appearance of the cloud of dust raised by the herds of buffalo as they approach.
Ta ['] mo ⁿ ha.....	Ta, deer; mo ⁿ , mo ⁿ ge, breast; ha, skin.
Tato ['] gashkade.....	Tato ['] ga, tata ⁿ ka, Dakota for buffalo; shkade, to play—Dakota, ska ['] ta. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Tenu ['] gazhi ⁿ ga.....	Tenu ['] ga, buffalo bull; zhi ⁿ ga, little. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Texe ['] uno ⁿ zhi ⁿ	Texe, marsh; u, in; no ⁿ zhi ⁿ , to stand. Standing in buffalo wallow.
Thixa ['] bazhi.....	Thixa ['] , to chase; ba, they; zhi, not. Two of this name. Refers to the calf that no one chases.
Uzhna ['] gaxe.....	Uzhna ['] , clear space; gahe, to make. Refers to the wallow. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)
Waba ['] xe.....	The many layers. Refers to the fat about the stomach of the buffalo. Two of this name.
Zhu ['] gthethi ⁿ ge.....	Zhugthe, companion; thi ⁿ ge, none.

Female names

Mi ['] cebe.....	Mi, moon; cebe, dark or shadowy. May refer to the shadowy part of the moon seen when the moon is new. Two of this name.
Mi ['] gthito ⁿ i ⁿ	Mi, moon; gthi, return; to ⁿ i ⁿ , new, applied to the new moon. Three of this name.
Mo ⁿ cepetewi ⁿ	Ax; wi ⁿ , feminine termination.
Teço ⁿ wi ⁿ	White buffalo, wi ⁿ , feminine termination. (In <i>Ingthe'zhide</i> .) Six of this name. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Uthe ['] amo ⁿ thi ⁿ	Uthe, a route usually taken; a, over; monthi ⁿ , walking. May refer to the migrations of the buffalo. Six of this name.

Unclassified names

Heba ['] chage.....	He, horns; ba ['] chage, crumpled.
No ⁿ he ['] gazhi.....	Running hard.
No ⁿ kapai.....	No ⁿ ka, back; pai, sharp.
Shu ['] kagthi ⁿ	Shu ['] ka, a group; gthi ⁿ , agthi ⁿ , to sit.

Nicknames

Wau ['] xtawathe.....	Admirer of women.
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Fanciful names

Mo ⁿ cepeto ⁿ ga.....	Mon ['] cepe, ax; to ⁿ ga, big.
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TAPA' GENS (8)

Tapa', "head of the deer," is the name given to the Pleiades. The rites formerly in charge of this gens are lost, but there are traditions that point to the strong probability that they related to the stars and the night skies. These rites seem to have been connected with myths dealing with the Creation. In them the wild-cat skin and the fawn skin were used, their spotted appearance having a symbolic reference to the heavens at night. The thunder and zigzag lightning

were also typified, and were connected with the ceremonies pertaining to the cutting of the child's hair, ceremonies in which this gens formerly took part, and represented the father, the sky. Of the ancient rites only a few vestiges now remain, such as the painting of spots on the child along the sides of its spine, when a few days after birth the child received its baby name. This was done by an old man of the gens, who dipped three fingers into the paint and with them made the symbolic spots on the child. These spots had the double significance of the fawn—the young or newborn of the deer—and the constellation known by the name of “the deer's head.” Names in the gens refer to the lightning, and it is said that red lines were sometimes painted on the child's arms, typical of it.

There were no subgentes in the Tapa' gens, but formerly there were groups in charge of certain duties connected with the ancient rites. These groups continued to cling together, although their duties became obsolete with the loss of the rites. They still exist and are known as the group under Mike'nitha or Çiⁿdexoⁿxoⁿ. The members of this group sometimes speak of themselves as Tapa'xti (“the real or original Tapa'”); the group under Pa'thiⁿgahige seems to have had charge of that part of the ancient ceremonies which referred to the thunder; to the group under Zhiⁿga'gahige seems to have been committed the symbolic fawn skin. Pa'thiⁿgahige and Zhiⁿga'gahige were not chiefs but leading men. These groups have sometimes been mistaken for subgentes.

Tabu: charcoal and verdigris could not be touched by this gens. The verdigris by its color was said to symbolize the sky, and the association of charcoal with the verdigris would indicate that the dark, or night, sky was symbolized in the tabu.

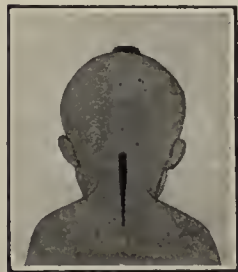


FIG. 38. Cut of hair,
Tapa' gens.

The symbolic cut of the hair consisted in shaving the head, leaving only a tuft over the forehead and a thin lock at the nape of the neck. The significance of this style is uncertain (fig. 38).

At the organization of the tribe in its present form a group of families became the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision, and its leader had a seat in the tribal Council of Seven Chiefs. The Nini'batoⁿ observed the tabu of the gens, but the hair of the children was cut in the style of all the Nini'batoⁿ subdivisions in the tribe.

This gens affords another instance of the change that takes place in the general significance of the name of a gens when the rites intrusted to it have become obsolete and lost. The star cult rites of the gens being no longer practised, the deer's head ceased to be regarded merely as symbolic and took on a literal interpretation.

This is evidenced in the personal names where the stellar significance has been largely lost sight of.

In the *hu'thuga* the group under Çi^{n'}dexoⁿxoⁿ (*a*), or Mike'nitha, camped on the left of the Teçi^{n'}de people; next was the group under Pa'thiⁿgahige (*b*); on their left the group under Zhiⁿga'gahige (*c*); and at the left end of the Tapa' was the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision (*d*).

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE TAPA' GENS (8)

Group under Çi^{n'}dexoⁿxoⁿ (Mike'nitha) (*a*)

Ni'kie names

Bachi'zhithe.....	<i>Bachizhi</i> , to rush in in spite of obstacles; <i>the</i> , to go—as the deer rushing into the bushes. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Çigthu'no ⁿ ge.....	Çi ⁿ gthu, trail in; <i>noⁿge</i> , running.
Çi ^{n'} deçka.....	Çi ⁿ de, tail; <i>çka</i> , white. (In <i>Pon'carti</i> , <i>Monkon'</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Çi ^{n'} deço ⁿ tigthe.....	Çi ⁿ de, tail; <i>çoⁿ</i> , pale; <i>tigthe</i> , sudden. Refers to the sudden flash of the white tail of the deer as the animal leaps into the cover. Four of this name.
Çi ^{n'} degabizhe.....	Çi ⁿ de, tail; <i>gabizhe</i> , wagging. Two of this name.
Çi ^{n'} dexo ⁿ xo ⁿ (fig. 39).....	Çi ⁿ de, tail; <i>xoⁿxoⁿ</i> , glittering.
Hethi'axe.....	<i>He</i> , horn; <i>thiaxe</i> , rattling. Refers to the rattling sound of the antlers against the bushes as the deer plunges into a thicket.
Hexa'gazhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>He</i> , horn; <i>xa'ga</i> , rough; <i>zhinga</i> , little.
Hezha'ta.....	<i>He</i> , horn; <i>zhata</i> , forked. Two of this name. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
I'i ⁿ gabi.....	<i>I'inga</i> , rejected; <i>bi</i> , who is.
Keba'ha.....	<i>Ke</i> , turtle; <i>baha</i> , to show—turtle showing himself. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Mika'xage.....	<i>Mika</i> , raccoon; <i>xage</i> , to cry—crying raccoon. (In <i>Pon'carti</i> , <i>Monkon'</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Mike'nitha.....	Old name; meaning uncertain. Four of this name.
Mo ⁿ no ⁿ 'xaxa.....	<i>Moⁿ</i> , earth; <i>noⁿ</i> , action by the feet; <i>xaxa</i> , to scrape, to tear up. Refers to the rutting of the deer.
No ⁿ 'ço ⁿ dazhi.....	<i>Noⁿ'çoⁿda</i> , to dodge; <i>zhi</i> , from <i>on'kazhi</i> , not. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
No ⁿ 'kahega.....	<i>Noⁿka</i> , back; <i>hega</i> , brown. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
O ⁿ 'hazhi.....	<i>Oⁿ'ha</i> , to flee; <i>zhi</i> , from <i>on'kazhi</i> , not. Makes no attempt to escape.
Pahi'çka.....	<i>Pa</i> , head; <i>hi</i> , hair; <i>çka</i> , white.
Shage'duba.....	<i>Shage'</i> , hoofs; <i>duba</i> , four. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.)
Sha'gezhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Sha'ge</i> , hoofs; <i>zhinga</i> , little. Two of this name.
Shko ⁿ 'shko ⁿ tithe....	<i>Shkon</i> , to move; <i>shkonshkon</i> , continually moving; <i>tithe</i> , suddenly. Two of this name.
Tato ⁿ 'gamo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Ta</i> , deer; <i>tonga</i> , big; <i>monthin</i> , walking. (In <i>Ni'kapashua</i> , Ponca.)
Ta'xtiduba.....	<i>Ta'xti</i> , original deer; <i>duba</i> , four.
Te'hego ⁿ	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>he</i> , horn; <i>goⁿ</i> , like. Refers to the stage of growth when the antler resembles the horn of the buffalo. Two of this name.
Thiti'bitho ⁿ	Bounding up.

- Tide'moⁿthiⁿ..... Tide, noise, rumbling; moⁿthiⁿ, walking, moving.
 Uwoⁿ'çitithe..... Uwoⁿ'çi, to jump up; tithe, suddenly.
 Wa'xanoⁿzhiⁿ..... Wa'xa, in advance; noⁿzhiⁿ, standing. (In Pon'carti, Monkon' subdivision, Ponca.)
 Waxpe'sha..... Old name, meaning lost. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.) Appears in treaty of 1830.
 Xitha'nika..... Xitha', eagle; nika, from nikashiga, person. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.)
 Zhidetoⁿ'..... Zhide, red; toⁿ, stands.

FIG. 39. Çia'dexoⁿxoⁿ (Mike'nitha).

Female names

- Gthedoⁿ'shitewiⁿ..... Meaning uncertain. Nine of this name.
 Hiⁿ'xudewiⁿ..... Hiⁿ, hair; xude, brown; wiⁿ, feminine termination.
 Mi'gthedoⁿwiⁿ..... Mi, moon; gthedoⁿ, hawk; wiⁿ, feminine termination. Seven of this name.
 Mi'moⁿ'shihathiⁿ..... Mi, moon; moving on high.
 Moⁿ'çepewiⁿ..... Mon'çepe, axe; wiⁿ, feminine termination. Three of this name.

No ⁿ çe'i ⁿ çe.....	Meaning uncertain. Four of this name.
Po ⁿ 'caço ⁿ	Pale or white Ponca. Nine of this name.
Po ⁿ cawi ⁿ	Ponca woman.
Teço ⁿ 'wi ⁿ	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>çoⁿ</i> , white; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine. Belongs also to <i>Ingthe'zhide</i> gens.

Group under *Pa'thiⁿgahige* (b)

He'ço ⁿ thi ⁿ ke.....	<i>He</i> , horn; <i>çoⁿ</i> , white; <i>thiⁿke</i> , to sit. Refers to the deer when sitting in the grass so that only his white horns are visible.
Hezho ⁿ 'ka.....	<i>He</i> , horn; <i>zhoⁿka</i> , forked.
Hu'hazhi.....	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
I ⁿ chu ⁿ 'gaçka.....	<i>Inchuⁿ'ga</i> , weasel; <i>çka</i> , white. (In <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca.)
I ⁿ shta'basho ⁿ sho ⁿ	<i>Inshta'</i> , eyes; <i>bashoⁿshoⁿ</i> , zigzag.
Kaxe'çabe.....	<i>Kaxe</i> , crow; <i>çabe</i> , black. (In <i>Ni'kapashna</i> , Ponca.)
No ⁿ 'kagthezhe.....	<i>Noⁿka</i> , back; <i>gthezhe</i> , spotted. Refers to the fawn. Two of this name.
Ta'skahiagtho ⁿ	Refers to the oak struck by lightning.
Wapa'de.....	One who cuts up the carcass. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Weço ⁿ githe.....	Old name, an organizer. Name of <i>Pa'thiⁿgahige</i> .

Borrowed names

A'shkamo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>A'shka</i> , near; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking. Dakota name.
Pa'thi ⁿ gahige.....	<i>Pathiⁿ</i> , Pawnee; <i>gahige</i> , chief. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)

Female names

Ezhno ⁿ 'mo ⁿ he.....	<i>Ezhnoⁿ</i> , lone, solitary; <i>moⁿhe</i> , one who is dwelling in another's house. Five of this name.
Gthedo ⁿ 'shtewi ⁿ	Refers to hawk difficult to handle. Three of this name.
Gthedo ⁿ 'wi ⁿ texi.....	<i>Gthedoⁿ</i> , hawk; <i>wiⁿ</i> , feminine term; <i>texi</i> , sacred. Four of this name.
Mi'huça.....	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Inshta'çuⁿda</i> gens.)
Po ⁿ 'caço ⁿ	Pale Ponca. Six of this name.
We'to ⁿ bethi ⁿ	Two of this name.

Group under *Zhinga'gahige* (c)

Ni'kie names

Çiha'.....	<i>Çi</i> , feet; <i>ha</i> , skin. Soles. (In <i>Waça'be</i> , Ponca.)
Te'çehi ⁿ çabe.....	<i>Teçe</i> , belly; <i>hiⁿ</i> , hair; <i>çabe</i> , black. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Tenu'gano ⁿ ba.....	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>nuga</i> , bull; <i>noⁿba</i> , two. Two of this name. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Thac'githabi.....	<i>Thae</i> , from <i>thaethe</i> , liked or beloved; <i>gi</i> , passive; <i>bi</i> , who is. Refers to a calf that is caressed by its mother. (In <i>Pon'caxti</i> , Ponca.)

Female names

He'wegaça.....	<i>He</i> , horn; <i>we</i> , with; <i>gaça</i> , cut.
Mi'giu ⁿ the.....	<i>Mi</i> , moon; <i>giuⁿ</i> , to fly; <i>the</i> , to go.
Po ⁿ 'caço ⁿ	Pale or white Ponca. Three of this name.
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ gthihe.....	Meaning uncertain.
Umo ⁿ 'agthi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.

*Ninibatōn subdivision (d)**Nikie names*

A'kidagahige . . . A'kida, to watch over; gahige, chief. Chief who watches. (In *Nikupashna*, Ponca.)



FIG. 40. Hethi kuwixe (son of Shoogegabe).

Hethi'kuwixe (fig. 40). *He*, horn; *thi'kuwixe*, turning around. Refers to the twisting
 . of the antlers before shedding.
 Hexa'ga *He*, horn; *zaga*, rough. Refers to the rough antlers of the deer.
 Two of this name. (In *Wazha'zhe*, Ponca.)

- Shage'dubazhiⁿga.... *Shage'*, hoofs; *duba*, four; *zhinga*, little. (It is said that *zhinga* has been recently added to distinguish this name.)
- Shoⁿ'geçabe (see fig. 40). *Shonge*, horse; *çabe*, black. (It is said that this name was originally Shageçabe ("black hoofs") and that it has been changed since the introduction of horses.) (In *Waça'be*, Ponca.)
- Tatoⁿ'ga..... Great Male Deer; old name. (In *Thi'xida*, Ponca.)
- Wazhiⁿ'kide..... *Wazhin*, will power, anger; *kide*, to shoot. Refers to a challenging male animal.
- Xitha'çka..... *Xitha'*, eagle; *çka*, white. (In *Thi'xida*, Ponca.)
- Xitha'gahige..... *Xitha'*, eagle; *gahige*, chief. Two of this name. (In *Pon'carti*, *Monkon'* subdivision, Ponca.)
- Xitha'gaxe..... *Xitha'*, eagle; *gaxe*, maker. Three of this name. (In *Pon'carti*, *Monkon'* subdivision, Ponca.)

Borrowed names

- Xitha'giuⁿ..... *Xitha'*, eagle; *giuⁿ*, to fly. Flying eagle. Dakota name.

Female names

- Gthedoⁿ'wiⁿtexi..... *Gthedon*, hawk; *wiⁿ*, feminine termination; *teri*, sacred. Five of this name. (In *Waça'be* and in *Pon'carti*, *Monkon'* subdivision, Ponca.)
- Moⁿ'çepewiⁿ..... *Moⁿ'çepe*, axe; *wiⁿ*, feminine term. Seven of this name.
- Poⁿ'çagoⁿ..... *çon*, pale. Pale or white Ponca. Twelve of this name.
- Weⁿ'toⁿbëçiⁿ..... (In *Hon'ga* gens.) Six of this name.

Fancy names

- Wani'tawaxa..... Lion. (This name was given by a government official in Washington City when the bearer and other Indians were on a visit.)

Unclassified names

- Gthedoⁿ'thihi..... *Gthedon'*, hawk; *thihi*, to scare by approaching, the bird.
- Hexa'gaçka..... *Hexaga*, *hexaka*, Dakota for elk; *çka*, white.
- Iezhoⁿ'katoⁿga..... *Ie*, horns; *zhonka*, forked; *tonga*, big.
- I'kuhabi..... *I*, is; *kuhe*, fear of the unknown; *bi*, who is. One who is feared.
- Ki'dabazhi..... *Ki'da*, to shoot; *bazhi*, they not. They do not shoot him.
- Moⁿ'çebaha..... *Mon'çe*, metal; *baha*, to show.
- Moⁿ'geçka..... *Mon'ge*, breast; *çka*, white. Refers to the deer.
- Noⁿ'zhiⁿ'tithe..... *Nonzhin*, to rise; *tithe*, suddenly.
- Pa'thiⁿwaça..... Meaning uncertain.
- Tanoⁿ'zhiⁿ..... *Ta*, deer; *non'zhin*, to stand.
- Wa'bagthazhi..... *Wa'bagtha*, bashful, timid; *zhi*, not, from *onkazhi*.
- Wadu'kishke..... Meaning uncertain.
- Wathi'hi..... To startle game.
- Xu'begoⁿtha..... *Xu'be*, holy, sacred; *gontha*, want, desire.

Dream names

- Taçu'geçka..... *Taçu'ge*, antelope; *çka*, white.
- Ta'xtidathiⁿ..... *Ta'xti*, deer; *dathin*, crazy.

INGTHE'ZHIDE GENS (9)

The name of this gens refers to the reddish excrement of the newly born calf. The rites committed to the keeping of the gens have been lost. Traditions speak of these having been connected with the procreation of the race to insure its continuance through the medium of the sky powers.

The name Ingthe'zhide has given rise to considerable speculation by white observers, and stories are told to account for it,^a but these stories and explanations are not corroborated by the old and trusty men of the tribe, nor do they accord with what is known of the functions of the gentes of the tribe and the fundamental ideas of the tribal organization.

Tabu: The fetus of an animal must not be touched. As the buffalo was most commonly met with, the tabu came to be confined to the unborn young of the buffalo.



FIG. 41. Cut of hair,
Ingthe'zhide gens.

The symbolic cut of the hair consisted in shaving the head, all except a small lock in front, one behind, and one on each side of the head, to represent the head and the tail of the young animal, and the knobs where the horns would grow (fig. 41).

There were no subgentes and no subdivisions or groups, nor was there a representative from this gens in the Council of Seven Chiefs.

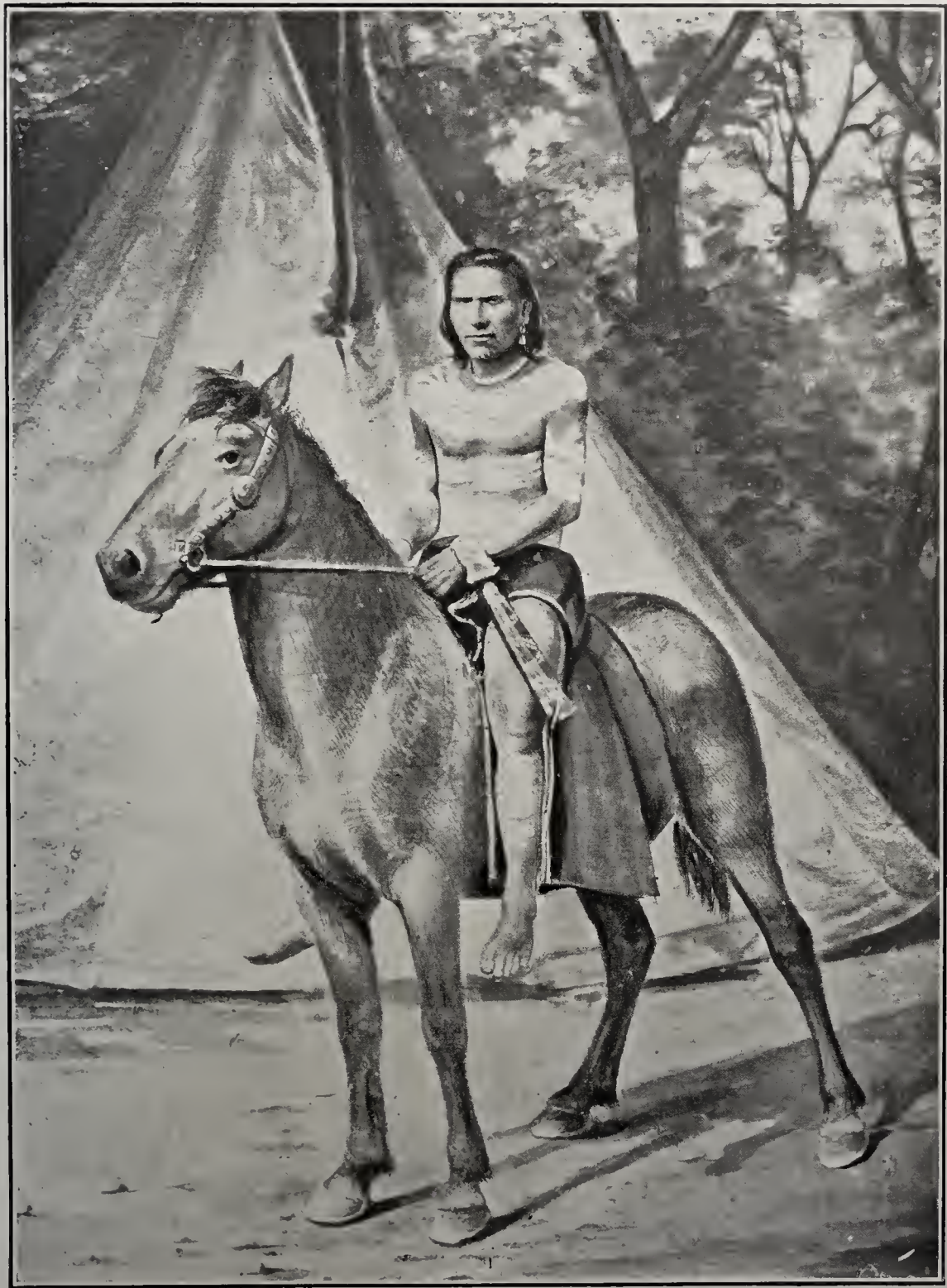
The Ingthe'zhide camped on the left of the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision of the Tapa'.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE INGTHE'ZHIDE GENS (9)

Ni'kie names

A'hi ⁿ weti ⁿ	A'hi ⁿ , wings; <i>wetiⁿ</i> , to strike.
Çi ⁿ deçi ⁿ nu	Çi ⁿ de, tail; <i>çiⁿnu</i> , to drag.
Çi ⁿ wano ⁿ zhi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
Çni'titho ⁿ	Çni, cold; <i>tithoⁿ</i> , to come.
Iho ⁿ ugine.....	Iho ⁿ , mother (spoken of); <i>ugine</i> , seeks for his. Refers to buffalo calf after the slaughter of its mother.
Kaxe'axube.....	Kaxe'a, crow; <i>xube</i> , sacred. Refers to the symbolic use of the bird.
Ko ⁿ çepa.....	Ko ⁿ çe, name of one of the Omahagentes; <i>pa</i> , head. Old name.
Mika'ezhi ⁿ ga.....	Mika'e, star; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little.
Sha'nugahi.....	Meaning uncertain. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Te'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking, traveling. (In <i>Poⁿcarti</i> , <i>Monkoⁿ</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Te'pezhi.....	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>pezhi</i> , from <i>piazhi</i> , bad.
Tezhi ⁿ 'ga.....	<i>Te</i> , buffalo; <i>zhiⁿ'ga</i> , little. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Ti'shimuxa.....	<i>Tishi</i> , tent poles; <i>muxa</i> , to spread out. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Uho ⁿ gemo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Uhoⁿ'ge</i> , at the end of a single file; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)
Uho ⁿ geno ⁿ zhi ⁿ (pl.35)	<i>Uhoⁿge</i> , at the end of a single file; <i>noⁿzhiⁿ</i> , standing. (In <i>Nu'xe</i> , Ponca.)
Uki'pato ⁿ	Rolling himself. Two of this name. (In <i>Poⁿcarti</i> , <i>Monkoⁿ</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Wa'baçkaha.....	Meaning uncertain. Two of this name.

^a As in Long, Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, I, 327, Philadelphia, 1823.



UHO'GENOZHIN

- Wa'inoⁿzhiⁿ..... Wa'i, over them; *nonⁿzhiⁿ*, standing. Probably refers to the last halt of the hunters as they ceremonially approach the herd of buffalo. Two of this name. (In *Washa'be*, Ponca.)
- Wakoⁿ'ha..... Meaning uncertain. Two of this name.
- Wanoⁿ'pazhi..... Wanoⁿ'pa, fear; *zhi*, from *onⁿkazhi*, not. Having no fear. Two of this name. (In *Ni'kapashna*, Ponca.)
- Wati'thakuge..... Meaning uncertain.
- Wazhiⁿ'gthedoⁿ.... Wazhiⁿ', will power; *gthedoⁿ*, hawk. Sometimes translated as Angry Hawk.

Dream names

- Moⁿ'a'zhiⁿga..... Moⁿ'a', bank; *zhiⁿga*, little. (In *Thi'xida*, Ponca.)
- Moⁿ'çedoⁿ..... Moⁿ'çe, metal; *doⁿ*, to possess. Two of this name. (In *Washa'be*, Ponca.)
- Moⁿ'shoⁿçka..... Moⁿ'shoⁿ, feather; *çka*, white. (In *Ni'kapashna*, Ponca.)
- Noⁿ'katu..... Noⁿ'ka, back; *tu*, blue. Refers to the sparrow hawk. (In *Ni'kapashna*, Ponca.)
- Waaⁿ'..... Waaⁿ', to sing. (In *Wazha'zhe*, Ponca.)

Female names

- Gi'doⁿabe..... Meaning uncertain.
- Mi'gthedoⁿwiⁿ..... Mi, moon; *gthedoⁿ*, hawk; *wiⁿ*, feminine. Six of this name.
- Mi'gthitoⁿiⁿ..... Mi, moon; *gthi*, to return; *tonⁿiⁿ*, new. Return of the new moon, or the moon returns new.
- Mi'hewiⁿ..... Mi, moon; *hewiⁿ*, the new moon lies horizontal, like a canoe.
- Mi'hezhiⁿga..... Little moon. Two of this name.
- Moⁿ'shihathiⁿ..... Moving on high. Refers to the eagle.
- Noⁿ'gtheçe..... Noⁿ, action by the foot; *gtheçe*, impressions on the ground in lines. Refers to the tracks of buffalo calves. Two of this name.
- Teçoⁿ'wiⁿ..... Te, buffalo; *çoⁿ*, pale or white; *wiⁿ*, feminine. Refers to the Sacred White Buffalo Hide.
- Ugi'nemoⁿthiⁿ..... Ugiⁿ'ne, seeks for his; *monⁿthin*, walking. Wanders seeking for his mother. The feminine counterpart of *Ihoⁿ'ugine*.

INSHTA'ÇUⁿDA GENS (10)

The name of this gens is an ancient term that may be translated as follows: *iⁿshta'*, "eyes;" *çuⁿda*, "flashing." The word refers to the lightning, and the rites committed to this gens were connected with the thunder and lightning as manifestations of the sky forces which represented the power of Wakoⁿ'da in controlling man's life and death. The name of this gens was applied to one-half of the *hu'thuga*—the half that represented the Sky people who, in union with the Earth people, gave birth to the human race. (See p. 135.)

At present there are in this gens but one subgens and the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision. Formerly there was another subgens, but the ceremonies of which it had charge have long since been lost and the subgens disintegrated. An example of how such disintegration can come about may be seen to-day in the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision. During the last century the Nini'batoⁿ became reduced to one family; of this

family there is at the present time but one survivor, who has an only son; if this son should be childless, on his death the subdivision would be extinct. In the past when a subgens lost its distinctive rites and became depleted through death the survivors seem to have joined the nearest related group within the gens. That such a change has taken place in the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens is evidenced by the names. Formerly there seems to have been a clear line of demarcation between the subgentes as well as the gentes of the tribe, and each had its set of names that referred directly to the rites belonging to the gens or subgens. Laxity in the use of subgentes' names, owing probably to disintegration, had already set in by 1883, when the names as here given were collected, although each gens still clung with tenacity to its distinctive *ni'kie* names.

Of the two subgentes formerly existing in the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens one referred to the earth and the other to the sky. At first glance these two rites appear unrelated, but in fact they were allied and formed an epitome of the basal idea expressed in the tribal organization. The rites which pertained to the earth subgens as well as its name have been lost, and the people who composed this subgens have mingled with the surviving subgens. From the meaning of the name of the latter and the significance of its rites it is possible to identify not only those names which originally belonged to it but also those names which were formerly associated with the rites of the lost earth subgens. In this connection it is interesting to note that the present tabu of the entire gens (worms, insects, etc.) relates to the lost rites of the lost subgens rather than to the rites of the surviving subgens, a fact that throws light on the relation which existed between the rites of the two subgentes. The subgens which survives and the rites which it controls pertain to the sky, to the power which descends to fructify the earth. This power is typified by the rain which falls from the storm clouds, with their thunder and lightning, and causes the earth to bring forth. The response of the earth is typified by the abounding life as seen in the worms, insects, and small burrowing creatures living in the earth. These were the sign, or symbol, of the result of the fructifying power from above. Tradition says that one of the symbols used in the rites of the lost subgens was a mole, painted red (the life color).

The surviving subgens is called Washe'toⁿ. The prefix *wa* denotes action with a purpose; *she* is from *shie*, a generic term for children (as, *shie' athiⁿkithe*, "to beget children," and *shie' githe*, "to adopt children"); *toⁿ* means "to possess" or "become possessed of." The word *washe'toⁿ* therefore means "the act of possessing children." Through the rites pertaining to this subgens the child's life was consecrated to the life-giving power symbolized by the thunder and lightning, and

passed out of the simple relation it bore to its parents and was reborn, so to speak, as a member of the tribe. A detailed account of this ceremony in connection with the consecration of the child and its entrance into the tribe has been given (p. 117).

On the fourth day after the birth of a child a baby name was given to it, and if it was a boy, a belt ornamented with the claws of the wild-cat was put about its body. The significance and use of the skin of the wild-cat and the skin of the fawn in reference to the stars and the newly born were mentioned in connection with the lost stellar rites of the Tapa' gens which referred to the sky, the masculine (father) element. If the child was a girl, a girdle of mussel shells strung on a string was put around her. Here, again, is to be noted the connection of the shell with water and of water as the medium for transmitting power from the Above to the mother earth. The placing of these symbolic emblems on the infant constituted a prayer for the preservation of the tribe and for the continuation of life through children.

There is a curious tradition concerning the formation of the Nini'-batoⁿ subdivision in this gens. At the time of the organization of the tribe in its present form, when this group of families was selected and the pipe was offered them, they refused, their chief saying: "I am not worthy to keep this pipe that represents all that is good. I am a wanderer, a bloody man. I might stain this sacred article with blood. Take it back." Three times was the pipe offered and rejected; the fourth time the pipe was left with them and the old men who brought it turned away; but the families returned the pipe, accompanied with many gifts, because they feared to accept the responsibility put upon them by the reception of the pipe. But again they were remonstrated with, and finally the pipe and the duties connected with it were fully accepted. These duties consisted in not only furnishing a member of the Council of Seven Chiefs, which governed the tribe, but in the preservation and recital of a ritual to be used when the two Sacred Pipes belonging to the tribe were filled for ceremonial purposes, as at the inauguration of chiefs or some other equally important tribal event. The recitation of this ritual was essential when the tobacco was placed in the pipes to make them ready for smoking. This ritual is now irrevocably lost. Its last keeper was Moⁿ'hiⁿçi. He died about 1850 without imparting the knowledge of the ritual to anyone.^a

^a It is said that he withheld it from his son because of the latter's nervous, energetic temperament. He thought that, with added years, the young man would be able to become the quiet, sedate person to whom so important an office might be safely trusted; but death overtook the old man before he was satisfied that he ought to put his sacred charge into the keeping of his son. Since his death the Sacred Tribal Pipes have never been ceremonially filled. The son developed into a fine, trustworthy man, with a remarkably well-polished mind but with a great fund of humor.

It has been impossible to learn the exact nature of this ritual, but from the little information that could be gleaned it would seem to have been a history of the development of the Sacred Pipes and their ceremonies. The old chiefs who had heard it regarded it as too sacred to talk about.

The Nini'batoⁿ subdivision bids fair soon to follow the lost ritual, as only one person survives.

When the growing corn was infested by grasshoppers or other destructive insects the owner of the troubled field applied to the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens for help. A feast was made, to which those were invited who had the hereditary right to make the ceremonial appeal for the preservation of the crop. A young man was dispatched to the threatened field of corn with instructions to catch one of the grasshoppers or beetles. On his return he handed the captured insect to the leader, who removed one of its wings and broke off a bit from the tip, which he dropped into the vessel containing the food about to be eaten.

The whole ceremony was a dramatic form of prayer. The feast symbolized the appeal for a plentiful supply of food; breaking the wing and putting a piece of its tip into the pot of food set forth the wish that the destructive creatures might lose their power to be active and thus to destroy the corn. This latter act exemplified the belief in the living connection of a part with its whole; consequently, the bit of wing was thought to have a vital relation to all the insects that were feeding on the maize, and its severance and destruction to have a like effect on all its kind.

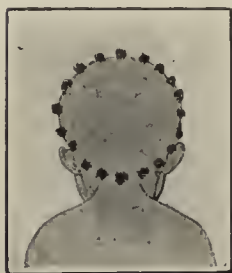


FIG. 42. Cut of hair,
Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens.

This ceremony, which is probably the survival of a rite pertaining to the lost subgens, has been inaccurately reported and misunderstood. Only a bit of the wing was cast into the food for the ceremonial feast. No other creature, nor any other part of the insect, was used.

In the *hu'thuga*, the place of the lost gens (*a*) was left of the Iⁿgthe'zhide; next came the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision (*b*); then the Washe'toⁿ (*c*); this last-named subgens formed the eastern end of the line of the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda division of the tribe.

Tabu: The entire gens was forbidden to touch all manner of creeping insects, bugs, worms,^a and similar creatures.

The symbolic cut of the hair consisted in removing all hair from the crown, leaving a number of little locks around the base of the skull (fig. 42), said to represent the many legs of insects.

^a Lightning is said to feed on the gum weed, *monkon tonga* ("big mocasin"), and to leave a worm at the root.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE I^NSHTA'ÇU^NDA GENS

Nini'batoⁿ subdivision (b)

Ni'kie names

Gahi'pethoⁿba..... *Gahi*, from *gahige*, chief; *pe'thoⁿba*, seven. Refers to the seven original chiefs when the Omaha reorganized.



FIG. 43. Teu'koⁿha.

Hoⁿ'gashenu..... *Hoⁿ'ga*, leader; *shenu*, young man (full brother of Kawa'ha; now lives with the Pawnee tribe). (In *Wazha'zhe*, Ponca.)
Kawa'ha..... Meaning uncertain.
Moⁿ'hi^açi..... *Monhin*, stone knife; *çi*, yellow.
U'kiça..... Deserted, as a dwelling.

Dream names

- Moⁿchu'waxe..... Moⁿchu', grizzly bear; *waxe*, maker.
 Teu'koⁿlia (fig. 43).... Te, buffalo; u'koⁿlia, alone; refers to the male buffalo in the winter season, when its habit was to remain alone.

Borrowed names

- Ushka'dewakoⁿ..... Dakota name.

Derisive names

- Wazhe'thiⁿge..... Wazhe', gratitude; thiⁿge, none. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.)

Female names

- Mi'gthitoⁿi..... Return of the new moon.
 Mi'moⁿshilathiⁿ..... Moon moving above.
 Mi'moⁿthiⁿ..... Mi, moon; moⁿthiⁿ, walking, traveling; refers to the moving of the moon across the heavens. Two of this name.
 Mi'texiçi..... Mi, moon; texi, sacred; çi, yellow. Three of this name.
 Moⁿshadithiⁿ..... One moving on high.
 Toⁿiⁿgi..... Toⁿiⁿ, new; gi, coming. Refers to moon. Two of this name.
 We'toⁿna..... Meaning uncertain. Two of this name. (In Thi'rida, Ponca.)

*Washetⁿ (owners of the children) subgens (c)**Ni'kie names*

- A'thiude..... Left alone, abandoned.
 Athu'hage..... The last, in a file of men or animals. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.)
 Chuⁿgthi'shkamoⁿthiⁿ.... Chuⁿ, meaning uncertain, perhaps wood; wagthi'shka, bug; moⁿthiⁿ, walking. Two of this name.
 Edi'toⁿ..... Edi, there; toⁿ, stands.
 Ga'gigthethiⁿ..... Ga, at a distance; gigthe, passing toward home; thiⁿ, moving. Refers to thunder. Two of this name.
 Gahi'iⁿshage..... Gahi, chief; iⁿshage, old.
 Ha'shimoⁿthiⁿ..... Walking last in a file. Two of this name. (In Thi'rida, Ponca.)
 Heba'a..... He, horn; ba'a, worn down.
 Heba'çabazhi..... He, horn; baçabe, splinter; zhi, onkazhi, not. Refers to a horn not yet jagged from age.
 Heçoⁿnida..... He, horn; çoⁿ, white or pale; nida, a mythical animal. (See note on nida, p. 194.)
 He'shathage..... He, horn; shathage, branching. Refers to the elk. (In Thi'rida, Ponca.)
 Hoⁿdoⁿmoⁿthiⁿ..... Hoⁿ, night; doⁿ, when or at; moⁿthiⁿ, walking. Refers to thunder.
 Hu'toⁿtoⁿ..... Hu'toⁿ, noise; toⁿ, stands. Roars as he stands (referring to thunder). Two of this name.
 I'bahoⁿbi..... I'bahoⁿ, to know; bi, he is. He is known. Refers to a chief's son. (In Ni'kapashna, Ponca.)
 I'gadoⁿne..... Same as preceding.
 I'gadoⁿtha..... Probably refers to clouds driven by the wind.
 I'ke'toⁿga..... Inke', shoulder; tonga, big. Two of this name. (In Pon'carti, Monkoⁿ' subdivision, Ponca.)
 Iⁿsha'gemoⁿthiⁿ..... Insha'ge, old man; moⁿthiⁿ, walking. Refers to thunder. (In Nu'xe gens, Ponca.)

I ⁿ shta'xi.....	<i>Inshta'</i> , eye; <i>xi</i> , yellowish. Refers to lightning, "the yellow eye of the thunder."
Ka'etha.....	<i>Ketha</i> , clear sky, after a storm.
Ki'mo ⁿ ho ⁿ	Against or facing the wind. Two of this name. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Ku'zhiwate.....	<i>Ku'zhi</i> , afar; <i>wate</i> , a valorous deed. Victory widespread.
Ma'çikide.....	<i>Ma'çi</i> , cedar; <i>kide</i> , to shoot. Refers to the myth of the thunder striking the cedar tree. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Mo ⁿ a'gata.....	<i>Moⁿ</i> , arrow; <i>a'gata</i> , to aim.
Mo ⁿ hi ⁿ duba.....	<i>Moⁿhiⁿ</i> , stone knife; <i>duba</i> , four. One of the names of the keeper of the ritual used in cutting the hair and consecrating the child to the thunder. The bearer of this name died in 1884.
Mo ⁿ shi'ahamo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Moⁿshi'aha</i> , above; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , moving. (In <i>Thi'xida</i> , Ponca.)
Mo ⁿ xpi'.....	Clouds. Two of this name.
Mo ⁿ xpi'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Moⁿxpi'</i> , clouds; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking. This name appears in the treaties of 1826 and 1836, signed by Omaha chiefs.
Paga'sho ⁿ	<i>Pa</i> , head; <i>ga'shoⁿ</i> , to nod. Refers to bugs nodding the head as they walk.
Sheda'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Sheda</i> , meaning uncertain; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking. Appears in treaty of 1826.
Shugi'shugi.....	Meaning uncertain.
Te'bi'a.....	Frog.
Thigthi'çemo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Thigthiçe</i> , zigzag lightning; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Thio ⁿ bagigthe.....	<i>Thioⁿba</i> , general term for lightning; <i>gigthe</i> , going by, on the way home. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Thio ⁿ bagina.....	<i>Thioⁿba</i> , lightning; <i>gina</i> , coming. Two of this name.
Thio ⁿ batigthe.....	<i>Thioⁿba</i> , lightning; <i>tigthe</i> , sudden. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
Ti'gaxa.....	<i>Ti</i> , tent or village; <i>gaxa</i> , to approach by stealth. Refers to the thunder under the guise of a warrior approaching the village by stealth.
Ti'uthio ⁿ ba.....	<i>Ti</i> , tent; <i>u</i> , in; <i>thioⁿba</i> , lightning. Lightning flashes into the lodge. (In <i>Waca'be</i> , <i>Hi'çada</i> subdivision, Ponca.)
U'bani ⁿ	<i>U</i> , in; <i>ba</i> , to push; <i>nin</i> , digging. Digging in the earth. Said to refer to a small reptile that disappears in the earth when the thunder comes. Two of this name; one in <i>Inshta'çundaxti</i> subdivision.
Uçu'gaxe.....	<i>Uçu'</i> , path; <i>gaxe</i> , to make. Refers to one who leads. (The name of a subdivision of <i>Wazha'zheçka</i> gens, Osage. Occurs in <i>Wazha'zhe</i> gens, Ponca.) Appears in Omaha treaty of 1815. Two of this name.
Uha'mo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>Uha'</i> , in a hollow; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking. Refers to the thunder storms following the valleys and river courses.
Ushu'demo ⁿ thi ⁿ	<i>U</i> , in; <i>shu'de</i> , mist; <i>monthiⁿ</i> , walking.
Wagi'asha.....	Meaning lost. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Waha'xi.....	<i>Waha</i> , skin; <i>xi</i> , yellowish. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.) Two of this name.
Wa'huto ⁿ to ⁿ	<i>Wa</i> , prefix denoting action with a purpose; <i>hutoⁿ</i> , noise; <i>toⁿ</i> , stands. (See <i>Hu'toⁿtoⁿ</i> .)
Wano ⁿ kuge (fig. 44).....	<i>Wa</i> , purpose in action; <i>noⁿ</i> , action with the feet; <i>kuge</i> , sound of a drum. Refers to the resounding footsteps of the thunder. Appears in the Omaha treaties of 1854 and 1865.

- Washa'ge Claw. Refers to the wild-cat claw, an hereditary possession, and used in ceremonies conducted by this gens.
- Washe'toⁿzhiⁿga..... Washe'toⁿ, the name of this subdivision; zhiⁿga, little.
- Washe'zhiⁿga..... Washe', an abbreviation of washe'toⁿ; zhiⁿga, little.
- Washkoⁿhi..... Washkoⁿ, strength. Refers to the power of thunder. (In Wazha'zhe, Ponca.)



FIG. 44. Wanoⁿkuge.

- Wazhiⁿ'çka..... Wazhiⁿ', will, mind; çka, white. Wisdom. (In Thi'xida, Ponca.)
- Wazhiⁿ'oⁿba..... Wazhiⁿ', will power, energy; oⁿba, day. Sometimes translated as "angry or turbulent day," a day of storms of thunder and lightning.

We'ç'a	Snake. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
We'ç'aho ⁿ ga	We'ç'a, snake; <i>hoⁿga</i> , leader. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
We'ç'azhi ⁿ ga	We'ç'a, snake; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little. Two of this name. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Wi'ukipae	Meaning uncertain

Valor names

Ku'e'the.....	Rushing forward suddenly. This name was bestowed on the man because he rushed suddenly on a large party of Sioux, armed only with a hatchet.
Waba'ące.....	<i>Wa</i> , <i>waan'</i> , a valorous deed; a successful war party is also called <i>waan'</i> ; <i>baące</i> , to put to flight, to scare. This name was won by a man who, although partially paralyzed, killed his adversary in single combat during a fight with the Dakota. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.)
Wai ⁿ 'washi.....	<i>Waiⁿ</i> , to carry; <i>washi</i> , to ask another to do something for one.
Wano ⁿ 'shezhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Wanoⁿ'she</i> , soldier; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little. (In <i>Wazha'zhe</i> , Ponca.) Two of this name—one in <i>Nini'baton</i> subdivision.

Dream names

O ⁿ 'po ⁿ wahi.....	<i>Oⁿ'pon</i> , elk; <i>wahi</i> , bone.
Sho ⁿ 'geo ⁿ ąa.....	<i>Shoⁿge</i> , horse; <i>uⁿąa</i> , from <i>uⁿąagi</i> , swift.
Wa'shi ⁿ nixa.....	The layers of fat about the stomach of an animal—the buffalo.

Names taken from incidents or historic experiences

Çithe'dezhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>Çithe'de</i> , heel; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little. (In <i>Waąa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Nibtha'ąka	<i>Ni</i> , water; <i>bthaąka</i> , flat. The name by which the Omaha call the Platte river. Nebraska is a corruption of <i>Nibtha-ąka</i> .
Tahe'gaxe.....	<i>Ta</i> , deer; <i>he</i> , horn; <i>gaxe</i> , branch.
To ⁿ 'wo ⁿ pezhe	<i>Toⁿ'won</i> , village; <i>pezhe</i> , bad. Said to be a nickname given to a man who had poisoned several persons. It is said also that the name refers to the Thunder village, whence the Thunder issues to kill men.
U'ho ⁿ zhi ⁿ ga.....	<i>U'hon</i> , cook; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little. Two of this name—one in <i>Nini'baton</i> subdivision. Appears in Omaha treaty of 1826. (In <i>Washa'be</i> , Ponca.)
Une'ęezhi ⁿ ga	<i>Une'ęe</i> , fireplace; <i>zhiⁿga</i> , little.

Names borrowed from cognate tribes, modified or unmodified

No ⁿ xe'wanida.....	Dakota name.
Thio ⁿ 'baąka	<i>Thion'ba</i> , lightning; <i>ąka</i> , white. This is said to be taken from the Dakota name <i>Wakiyanska</i> , meaning White Thunder.
Waxtha'thuto ⁿ	Oto name.

Female names

Çiçi'kawate.....	Çiçi'ka, turkey; wate, victory.
Hu'to ⁿ wi ⁿ	Hu'ton, noise; wi ⁿ , feminine termination. Refers to thunder.
I ⁿ shta'ço ⁿ wi ⁿ	I ⁿ shta', eye; ço ⁿ , white or pale; wi ⁿ , feminine termination. Two of this name.
Mi'asheto ⁿ	Mi, moon; asheto ⁿ , the end. The waning moon.
Mi'gthito ⁿ i ⁿ	Mi, moon; gthi, to return; to ⁿ i ⁿ , new. The return of the new moon. Four of this name—one in Nini'baton subdivision. (In Washa'be and Thi'xida, Ponca.)
Mi'huça.....	Mi, moon; huça, loud voice.
Mi'mo ⁿ shihathi ⁿ	Mi, moon; mo ⁿ shiha, above; thi ⁿ , moving. Five of this name—one in Nini'baton subdivision.
Mi'o ⁿ bathi ⁿ	Mi, moon; onba, day; thi ⁿ , moving. Three of this name. (In Thi'xida, Ponca.)
Mo ⁿ 'shadithi ⁿ	One moving on high. Refers to thunder. Six of this name—one in Nini'baton subdivision. (In Washa'be and Ni'kapashna, Ponca.)
Ni'dawi ⁿ	Ni'da, a mythical being; wi ⁿ , feminine. Six of this name. ^a
Ni'kano ⁿ zhiha.....	Ni'ka, person; no ⁿ zhiha, human hair. Three of this name.
No ⁿ 'xtiçewi ⁿ	Meaning uncertain.
On ⁿ 'bathagthi ⁿ	On'ba, day; thagthi ⁿ , fine. Two of this name.
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ gina.....	Ton'in, new; gi, coming; na, who does. Refers to the moon symbolically. Three of this name. (In Ni'kapashna, Ponca.)
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ gthihe.....	Ton'in, new; gthihe, to return suddenly. The sudden apparition of the new moon. Three of this name.
To ⁿ 'i ⁿ athi ⁿ	Ton'in, new; thi ⁿ , moving. Refers to the new moon moving in the heavens. Three of this name.

After the preceding detailed account of the Omaha gentes it may be of service to the reader to recapitulate briefly the salient features of the tribal organization.

Five gentes composed the southern half of the *hu'thuga* or tribal circle. These had charge of the physical welfare of the people. The We'zhiⁿshte gens had charge of the Sacred Tent of War and its duties, and also of rites connected with the first thunder of the spring. These rites, which were fragmentary, probably once formed part of ancient ceremonies connected with surviving articles no longer ceremonially used—the Sacred Shell and the Cedar Pole. The elk was tabu to the We'zhiⁿshte gens, and it is to be noted that elk rites were associated with war in the Osage tribe. (See Ceremony of Adoption, p. 61.) The other four gentes were charged with duties and rites connected with the food supply and were under the direction of the Hoⁿ'ga gens. This gens was leader, as its name implies, and had the care of the two Sacred Tents; one contained the White

^aThe Nida was a mythical creature, in one conception a sort of elf that crept in and out of the earth. The word was applied also to the bones of large extinct animals, as the mastodon. When the elephant was first seen it was called Nida, and that name is still applied to it by the Omaha, Ponca, and Osage.

Buffalo Hide. Its keeper conducted the rites attending the planting of maize and the hunting of the buffalo. The other tent held the Sacred Pole. Its keepers were the custodians of the rites concerned with the maintaining of the authority of the chiefs in the government of the tribe. Protection from without, the preservation of peace within the tribe, the obtaining of food and clothing, devolved upon the rites in charge of the gentes composing the Ho^{n'}gashenu half of the *hu'thuga*.

The five gentes on the north half of the tribal circle were custodians of rites that related to the creation, the stars, the manifestation of the cosmic forces that pertain to life. Nearly all of these rites have become obsolete, except those of the last-named class, in charge of the I^{shta'}çuⁿda gens. These constituted the ritual by which the child was introduced to the Cosmos (see p. 115), the ceremony through which the child was inducted into its place and duty in the tribe (see p. 117), and the ritual required when the two Sacred Tribal Pipes were filled for use on solemn tribal occasions.

In view of what has been discerned of the practical character of the Omaha, it is interesting to note that only those rites directly concerned with the maintenance of the tribal organization and government were kept active and vital, while other rites, kindred but not so closely connected with the tribal organization, were suffered to fall into neglect.

THE OMAHA GENS NOT A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

From the foregoing account of the gentes of the tribe, it is apparent that the Omaha gens was not a political organization. It differed from the Latin gens in that the people composing it did not claim to be descended from a common ancestor from whom the group took its name and crest. There was, however, one point of resemblance, and because of this one point of resemblance the name gens is applied to the Omaha group; namely, the practice of a common rite the title to share in which descended solely through the father. Beyond this one point all resemblance ends. The rights and duties of the Omaha father in no way corresponded to those devolving on the head of a Roman family. Nor was the Omaha group a clan, for the bond between the people was not because of a common ancestor whose name and crest were the clan designation and from whom were descended the hereditary rulers of the clan. The Omaha gens was a group of exogamous kindred who practised a particular rite, the child's birthright to which descended solely through the father; and the symbol characteristic of that rite became the symbol, crest, or "totem," of the gens. There was no political or governing chief of an Omaha gens or subgens, but there were persons to whom belonged

the hereditary right to be keepers, or "priests," in the ceremonies that were in charge of the gens. The Omaha gens, the two grand divisions composing the tribe, and the tribe as a whole, were each and all expressive and representative of certain fundamental religious ideas and beliefs that were dramatized in rites.

Later, when the tribe was reorganized into its present form, the political government of the people was vested in certain chiefs, but these did not derive their position from their gentes as representatives of political organizations.

INTERRELATION OF THE TWO GRAND DIVISIONS

Looking at the *hu'thuga*, we observe that the rites and duties belonging to the gentes composing the Hoⁿ'gashenu division bear out their designation as "the Earth people." All the rites and all the duties intrusted to these gentes have a direct relation to the physical welfare of the people. The ceremonies connected with the warrior as the protector of the life and property of the tribe were in charge of the We'zhiⁿshte gens, whose place was at the eastern end of this division and at the southern side of the opening, or "door," of the *hu'thuga*, viewed as when oriented. The rites pertaining to the people's food supply—the hunting of the buffalo, the planting of the maize, the protection of the growing crops from the depredations of birds, and the fostering help of wind and rain—were in charge of the other four gentes of this division, each gens having its special share in these ceremonies. Besides these rites which bore directly upon the food supply; there were other duties which were concerned with the governing power and the maintenance of peace within the tribe. When the governing power was vested in a Council of Seven Chiefs, the right to convene this council became the duty of the Hoⁿ'ga gens, and the custody of the two Sacred Tribal Pipes was given to the Iⁿke'çabe gens. The presence and use of these pipes were essential to any authoritative proceeding but the preparation of the pipes for use could not be undertaken by any member of the Hoⁿ'gashenu division. This preparation belonged solely to the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens. Therefore the pipes when in use became tribal, and represented both of the divisions of the tribe.

The Iⁿshta'çuⁿda division, spoken of as "the Sky people," had charge of those rites by which supernatural aid was sought and secured. The rites committed to the gentes composing this division were all connected with the creation and the maintenance on the earth of all living forms. To the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens belonged the rites which enforced the belief that the life and the death of each person was in the keeping of a supernatural power—a power that could punish an offender and that alone could give authority to the

words and acts of the council of chiefs. Although the rites and duties of the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda* division pertained distinctively to the supernatural, to the creative and directive forces as related to man's social and individual life, yet they were necessary and essential to the rites and duties of the *Hoⁿ'gashenu* division, in whose charge was the physical well-being of the people. The former gave a supernatural sanction and authority to the latter, and made them effective not only over the animals and the fruits of the earth, but exercised an equally potent control over the governing power and the life of every member of the tribe. Thus the belief that by union of the Sky people and the Earth people the human race and all other living forms were created and perpetuated was not only symbolized in the organization of the tribe, but this belief was kept vital and continually present to the minds of the people by the rites, the grouping and interrelation of the gentes, and the share given the two great divisions in tribal affairs and ceremonies. No tribal ceremony, negotiation, or consultation could take place without both divisions being represented; no council could act unless there were present one chief from the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda* division and two from the *Hoⁿ'gashenu*. In this connection, the saying of an old Omaha man may throw light on how this representation from the two divisions was regarded by the people. He said: "The *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda* represented the great power, so that one chief from that side was enough, while two were necessary from the *Hoⁿ'gashenu*." This native estimate of the reason for the unequal representation of chiefs is the reverse of what a member of the white race would naturally conclude—that the more important division should be represented by the two chiefs.

In former times a ball game used to be ceremonially played between the young men of the two divisions. At such times it was the duty of a member of the *Tade'ata*, or Wind, subgens of the *Koⁿ'çe* gens, to start the ball. A circle with two lines crossing each other at right angles was drawn on the cleared ground, and the ball placed in the center (fig. 45). The ball was first rolled toward the north along the line drawn to the edge of the circle, and then back on the same line to the center. It was then rolled on the line toward the east to the edge of the circle and back to the center. Next it was rolled to the south and returned on the same line to the center. Finally it was rolled to the west on its line, and back to the center, and then it was

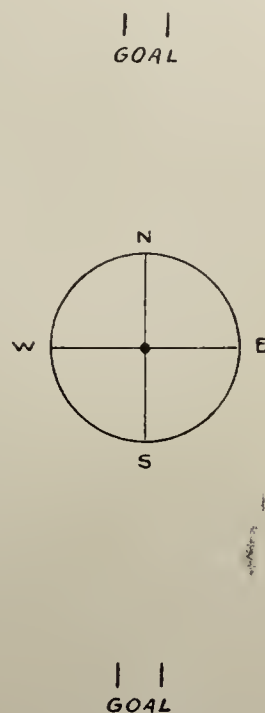


FIG. 45. Diagram of ball game.

tossed into the air and the game proper began. The game is said to have had a cosmic significance and the initial movements of the ball referred to the winds, the bringers of life. It was played by the two divisions of the *hu'thuga* as representatives of the earth and the sky.

The demarcation between the two divisions of the *hu'thuga* was well known to the boys of the tribe, and no boy dared to go alone across this line. When for any purpose a boy was sent on an errand from the Hoⁿ'gashenu side to the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda side, he was obliged to go attended by his friends from the gentes belonging to his own side, for a fight was always the result of an attempt to cross the line. It is an interesting fact that while the old men of the tribe generally punished boys for fighting together, these juvenile combats over the line were not objected to by the parents and elders. This custom seems to have come into practice to serve a purpose similar to that of the symbolic cutting of the hair. The cutting of the hair was done, it was said, in order to impress on the mind of a child, as in an object lesson, the gentes to which his playmates belonged. That it served its purpose has been observed by the writers. Frequently when a man has been asked to what gens a certain person belonged, he would pause and then say: "I remember, his hair used to be cut thus and so when we were boys, so he must be ———," mentioning the gens that used this symbolic cut of the hair. The line that marked the two divisions of the *hu'thuga*, although invisible, was well known to the boys as the fighting line, where they could have a scrimmage without being interfered with, and each boy knew his own half of the *hu'thuga* and the boundary, where he was at liberty to attack and where he must stand on the defensive. This custom of one division standing by its members in a fight as against outsiders throws a side light on the word for tribe already referred to.

V

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL UNITY

From an examination by the light of tribal traditions of the rites, duties, and interrelations of the gentes, one discerns in the tribal organization of the Omaha and cognates, as it stood in the early part of the nineteenth century, the evidences of past vicissitudes, all of which show that a tendency had existed toward disintegration because of a lack of close political organization, and that various expedients for holding the people together had been tried. This weakness seems to have been specially felt when the people were in the buffalo country; while there groups would wander away, following the game, and become lost. Occasionally they were discovered and would rejoin the main body, as has been shown in the case of the Hoⁿ'ga utanatsi of the Osage tribe. The environment of the people did not foster sedentary habits, such as would have tended toward a close political union; therefore the nature of the country in which these cognates dwelt added to rather than lessened the danger of disintegration. This danger was further increased by the number of religious rites among the people, each one of which was more or less complete in itself and was in the keeping of a group of exogamous kindred. The fact that the group was exogamous indicates that some form of organization had long existed among the people, but the frequent separations that took place emphasized the importance of maintaining the unity of the tribe, and the problem of devising means to secure this essential result was a matter of serious concern to the thinking and constructive minds among the people. The Sacred Legend, already quoted, says: "And the people thought, How can we better ourselves?"

As has been stated, the ideas fundamental to the tribal organization of the Omaha and their cognates related to the creation and perpetuation of living creatures. The expression of these ideas in the dramatic form of rites seems to have been early achieved and those which symbolically present the connection of cosmic forces with the birth and well-being of mankind seem to have persisted in whole or in part throughout the various experiences of the five cognate tribes, and to have kept an important place in tribal life. These rites constitute what may be regarded as the lower stratum of religious ceremonies—for example, in the recognition of the vital relation of the Wind, as shown in the ceremony of Turning the Child, per-

formed when it entered on its tribal life (see p. 117); in the names bestowed on females, which generally refer to natural phenomena or objects rather than to religious observances; in the ceremonies connected with Thunder as the god of war and arbiter of the life and death of man. There are indications that other rites relating to cosmic forces have been lost in the passage of years. Among the Omaha certain articles still survive rites long since disused, as the Cedar Pole and the Sacred Shell, both of which were preserved until recently in the Sacred Tent of War in charge of the We'zhiⁿshte gens. It is probable that the rites connected with the Sacred Shell were the older and that they once held an important place and exercised a widespread influence in the tribe, as indicated by the reverence and fear with which this object was regarded by the people of every Omaha gens. Other Omaha rites, as has been shown, have ceased to be observed—those connected with the thunder (p. 142), the stars (p. 177), and the winds (p. 169). The disappearance of former rites may indicate physiographic changes experienced by the people, which affected their food supply, avocations, and other phases of life, thereby causing certain rites to be superseded by others more in harmony with a changed environment. Thus life in the buffalo country naturally resulted in rites which pertained to hunting the buffalo finally taking precedence over those which pertained to the cultivation of the maize (see pp. 147, 155).

There are indications that under these and other disturbing and disintegrating influences certain ceremonies were instituted to counteract these tendencies by fostering tribal consciousness in order to help to bind the people together. The Hede'wachi ceremony is of this character and seems to date far back in the history of the Omaha tribe. It is impossible to trace as in a sequence the growth of the idea of the desirability of political unity, for there were many influences, religious and secular, at work to bring about modifications of customs and actual changes in government. The efforts to regulate warfare and to place it under greater control and at the same time to enhance the honor with which the warrior was to be regarded seem to have been among the first steps taken toward developing a definite governing power within the tribe. The act of placing the rites pertaining to war in charge of one gens was probably the result of combined influences. When this modification of earlier forms was accomplished a new name seems to have been given to the gens holding this office, and thus the present term We'zhiⁿshte (see p. 142) came into use. The former name of this kinship group is not known, but judging from analogy it probably had reference to one or the other of the lost ceremonies connected with the sacred articles left in its care. While the segregation of the war power may have tended

to stay some of the disintegrating tendencies it did not have the positive unifying force that was desired. If other devices were tried to bring about this result nothing is known of them.

The Sacred Legend and other accounts tell the story of the way in which a central governing body was finally formed and all agree that it was devised for the purpose of "holding the people together." One version speaks of seven old men who, while visitors to the tribe, inaugurated the governing council. The Sacred Legend declares that the council was the outcome of "thought" and "consultation among the wise old men," their purpose taking form in the plan to establish a Nini'bato^a subdivision in some of the gentes, each subdivision to furnish one member to the council, which was to be the governing authority, exercising control over the people, maintaining peace in the tribe, but having no relation to offensive warfare. According to the Legend account of the formation of the Nini'bato^a, "two old men," one from the Hoⁿ'ga gens and the other from the Iⁿke'çabe gens, were commissioned to carry out the plan of the "wise old men." The term "old" is one of respect and indicates that these men had gained wisdom from experience, and that their plan was the result of knowledge and thought concerning actual conditions in the past and in the present, rather than one based on speculative notions. The "two old men" were entrusted with the two Sacred Tribal Pipes; as they passed around the *hu'thuga* they would stop at a certain gens, designating a family which was to become a Nini'bato^a and making this choice official by the presentation of a pipe. For some unknown reason in this circuit of the tribe the "old men" passed by the Iⁿgthe'-zhide gens and did not give them a pipe. Nor was a pipe given to the We'zhiⁿshte gens or to the Hoⁿ'ga gens. It was explained concerning these latter omissions that the We'zhiⁿshte had already been given the control of the war rites of the tribe, while the duties of the council formed from the Nini'bato^a subdivisions were to be solely in the interests of peace, and to the Hoⁿ'ga gens was to belong the duty of calling together this governing council.

The two Sacred Pipes carried by the "two old men" were their credentials. The authority of these two pipes must have been of long standing and undisputed by the people in order to have made it possible for their bearers to inaugurate such an innovation as setting apart a certain family within a gens and giving to it a new class of duties—duties that were to be civil and not connected with the established rights of the gentes. These new duties did not conflict,

^a The word *nini'batoⁿ* means "to possess a pipe." The origin of the significant use of the pipe lies in a remote past. Among the Omaha and cognate tribes the pipe was regarded as a medium by which the breath of man ascended to Wakoⁿ'da through the fragrant smoke and conveyed the prayer or aspiration of the person smoking; the act also partook of the nature of an oath, an affirmation to attest sincerity and responsibility. The pipe was a credential known and respected by all.

however, with any of such rites, nor did they deprive the Nini'batoⁿ families from participating in them. A new class of obligations to Wakoⁿ'da and to all persons composing the tribe were laid upon the Nini'batoⁿ and the new council.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

The earliest tradition among the Omaha as to the establishment of chiefs is contained in the story already recounted concerning the formation of the Nini'batoⁿ and governing council, which was to be composed of hereditary chiefs. How long the hereditary character was maintained and what had previously constituted leadership in the tribe are not known, nor is there any knowledge as to how the change from hereditary to competitive membership in the council came about. It may be that the change was the result of increasing recognition of the importance of strengthening the power of the governing council by making it both the source and the goal of tribal honors, thus enhancing its authority and at the same time emphasizing the desirability of tribal unity. All that the writers have been able to ascertain concerning the change in the composition of the council from hereditary to competitive membership has been that it took place several generations ago, how many could not be learned.

ORDERS OF CHIEFS

The period of the establishment of these orders is lost in the past, but internal evidence seems to point to their formation after the council with its Nini'batoⁿ membership had been fully established and accepted by the people.

There were two orders of chiefs, the Ni'kagahi xu'de and the Ni'kagahi sha'be. The name of the first (*ni'kagahi*, "chief;" *xu'de*, "brown") has reference to a uniform color, as of the brown earth, where all are practically alike, of one hue or rank. The Ni'kagahi xu'de order was unlimited as to membership, but admittance into it depended upon the consent of the Ni'kagahi sha'be (*ni'kagahi*, "chief," *sha'be*, "dark"). The word *sha'be* does not refer to color, but to the appearance of an object raised above the uniform level and seen against the horizon as a dark object. Men who had risen from the Ni'kagahi xu'de into the limited order of the Ni'kagahi sha'be were regarded as elevated before the people.

WATHI^N'ETHE

Entrance into this order was possible only when a vacancy occurred, and then only to a member of the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de after the performance of certain acts known as *wathiⁿ'ethe* (from *wa*, "thing having power;" *thiⁿ*, from *thiⁿ'ge*, "nothing;" *the*, "to make" or "to cause," the word meaning something done or given for which

there is no material return but through which honor is received).

Wathi'ethe stands for acts and gifts which do not directly add to the comfort and wealth of the actor or donor, but which have relation to the welfare of the tribe by promoting internal order and peace, by providing for the chiefs and keepers (see p. 212), by assuring friendly relations with other tribes; they partook therefore of a public rather than a private character, and while they opened a man's way to tribal honors and position, they did so by serving the welfare of all the people. Entrance into the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de was through the performance of certain *wathi'ethe*; in this instance the gifts of the aspirant were made solely to the Seven Chiefs.

The election of members to the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de took place at a meeting of the Ni'kagahi sha'be called by the leaders of the Hoⁿ'ga gens for this purpose. After the tribal pipes had been smoked the name of a candidate was mentioned, and his record and the number and value of his gifts were canvassed. The prescribed articles used in making these gifts were eagles, eagle war bonnets, quivers (including bows and arrows), catlinite pipes with ornamented stems, tobacco pouches, otter skins, buffalo robes, ornamented shirts, and leggings. In olden times, burden-bearing dogs, tents, and pottery were given; in recent times these have been replaced by horses, guns, blankets, blue and red cloth, silver medals, and copper kettles. It is noteworthy that all the raw materials used in construction, as well as the unmanufactured articles of the early native type, were such as required of the candidate prowess as a hunter, care in accumulating, and skilled industry. A man often had to travel far to acquire some of these articles, and be exposed to danger from enemies in securing and bringing them home, so that they represented, besides industry as a hunter, bravery and skill as a warrior. Moreover, as upon the men devolved the arduous task of procuring all the meat for food and the pelts used to make clothing, bedding, and tents, and as there was no common medium of exchange for labor in the tribe, such as money affords, each household had to provide from the very foundation, so to speak, every article it used or consumed. It will therefore be seen that persistent work on the part of a man aspiring to enter the order of chief was necessary, as he must not only provide food and clothing for the daily use of his family, but accumulate a surplus so as to obtain leisure for the construction of the articles to be counted as *wathi'ethe*. The men made the bows and arrows, the war bonnets, and the pipes; the ornamentation was the woman's task. Her deft fingers prepared the porcupine quills after her husband or brother had caught the wary little animals. For the slow task of dyeing the quills and embroidering with them she needed a house well stocked with food

and defended from lurking war parties, in order to have time and security for her work. A lazy fellow or an impulsive, improvident man could not acquire the property represented by these gifts. There was no prescribed number of gifts demanded for entrance into the Xu'de order but they had to be sufficient to warrant the chiefs in admitting him, for the man once in the order could, by persistent industry and care, rise so as to become a candidate for the order of Sha'be when a vacancy occurred.

When a favorable decision as to the candidate was reached the chiefs arose and followed the Sacred Pipes, borne reverently, with the stems elevated, by the two leading chiefs. Thus led, the company walked slowly about the camp to the lodge of the man who had been elected a Xu'de and paused before the door. At this point the man had the option to refuse or to accept the honor. If he should say: "I do not wish to become a chief," and wave away the tribal pipes offered him to smoke, thus refusing permission to the chiefs to enter his lodge, they would pass on, leaving him as though he had not been elected. When the man accepted the position he smoked the pipes as they were offered, whereupon the chiefs entered his lodge, bearing the pipes before them, and slowly passed around his fireplace. This act signified to all the tribe that the man was thenceforth a chief, a member of the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de. He was now eligible to other honors—all of which, however, depended upon further efforts on his part. (For portrait of Omaha chiefs, see pls. 36, 37.)

Eligibility to enter the order of Ni'kagahi sha'be depended upon the performance of certain graded *wathi'ethe*. Vacancies occurred only by death or by the resignation of very old men. A vacancy was filled by the one in the Xu'de order who could "count" the most *wathi'ethe* given to the chiefs or who had performed the graded acts of the *wathi'ethe*. The order and value of these graded acts were not generally known to the people, nor even to all the chiefs of the Xu'de. Those who became possessed of this knowledge were apt to keep it for the benefit of their aspiring kinsmen. The lack of this knowledge, it is said, occasionally cost a man the loss of an advantage which he would otherwise have had.

There were seven grades of *wathi'ethe* the performance of which made a man eligible to a place in the order of Ni'kagahi sha'be. They ranked as follows:

First. Washa'be ga'xe (*washa'be*, "an official staff;" *ga'xe*, "to make"). This grade consisted in procuring the materials necessary to make the *washa'be*, an ornamented staff carried by the leader of the annual buffalo hunt. (See p. 155.) These materials were a dressed buffalo skin, a crow, two eagles, a shell disk, sinew, a pipe with an ornamented stem, and, in olden times, a cooking vessel of pottery, replaced in modern times by a copper kettle. The money



GAHI'GE, AN OLD OMAHA CHIEF



GTHEDON'NOZHIN (STANDING HAWK) AND WIFE

value of these articles, rated by ordinary trading terms, was not less than \$100 to \$130. The performance of the first grade four times would constitute the highest act possible for a man. No Omaha has ever accomplished this act so many times.

Second. Boⁿ'wakithe ("I caused the herald to call"). The aspirant requested the tribal herald to summon the Ni'kagahi sha'be together with the keeper of the ritual used in filling the Sacred Pipes, from the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens, to a feast. Besides providing for the feast, gifts of leggings, robes, bows and arrows, and tobacco were required as gifts for the guests. If it chanced that the aspirant for honors was not on friendly terms with the keeper of the ritual, or if from any other motive the keeper desired to check the man's ambition, it lay in his power to thwart it by allowing the pipes to remain unfilled, in which case the gifts and feast went for nothing.

Third. U'gashkegthoⁿ ("to tether a horse"). A man would make a feast for the Ni'kagahi sha'be and tie at the door of his tent a horse with a new robe thrown over it. The horse and the robe were gifts to his guests. A man once gained renown by "counting" seven acts of this grade, performing four in one day.

Fourth. Gaçi'ge noⁿshtoⁿ wakithe (*gaçi'ge*, "marching abreast;" *noⁿshtoⁿ*, "to halt;" *wakithe*, "to make or cause"), "causing the people to halt." This act was possible only during the annual hunt. As the people were moving, the Sacred Pole and the governing chiefs in advance, a man would bring a horse or a new robe and present it to the Pole. The gift was appropriated by the Waxthe'-xetoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga, who had charge of the Pole. During this act the entire tribe halted, while the herald proclaimed the name of the giver. This act should be repeated four times in one day.

Fifth. Te thishke' wakithe (*te*, "buffalo;" *thishke'*, "to untie;" *wakithe*, "to make or cause"), "causing the Sacred White Buffalo Hide to be opened and shown." During this ceremony of exhibiting the White Buffalo Hide a shell disk or some other article of value was presented to the Hide, the gifts becoming the property of the Waxthe'betoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga, who had charge of this sacred object. This act had to be repeated four times in one day.

Sixth. Wa't'edoⁿbe (*wa*, "things having power and purpose;" *t'e*, "dead;" *doⁿbe*, "to see"). This act consisted in taking gifts to the family of a chief when a death occurred. The costliest donation remembered to have been made under this class was on the occasion of the death of the son of old Big Elk, who died of smallpox in the early part of the nineteenth century, when a fine horse on which was spread a bearskin was offered in honor of the dead.

Seventh. When a person had been killed accidentally or in anger the chiefs took the Sacred Tribal Pipes to the kindred of the man, accompanied by gifts, in order to prevent any revengeful act. All

those who contributed toward these gifts could "count" them as belonging to the seventh grade. If the aggrieved party smoked the pipe and accepted the gifts, bloodshed was averted and peace maintained in the tribe.

All of the gifts constituting these seven grades were made to the chiefs of the governing council in recognition of their authority. They were for a definite purpose—to enable the giver to secure entrance into the order of Ni'kagahi sha'be whenever a vacancy should occur in that body.

It will be noticed that the act constituting the first grade differed from the other six in that it was not a direct gift made to the chiefs, but was connected with the ceremonial staff of the leader of the annual buffalo hunt. It was, however, a recognition of authority, an authority which held the people in order and made it possible for each family to secure its supply of food and clothing. It was therefore, in its intrinsic character, in harmony with the purpose of the other six graded *wathi'ethe*.

Waba'hoⁿ, designated an act not belonging to the regular *wathi'ethe*, but esteemed as a generous deed that redounded to the credit of the doer. The term means "to raise or push up," and refers to placing a deer, buffalo, or elk on its breast and putting bits of tobacco along its back, all of which signified that the hunter had dedicated the animal as a gift to the chiefs. A chief could not receive such a gift, however, unless he had performed the act of *waba'hoⁿ* four times. If he had not performed the acts and desired to receive the gift he could call on his near of kin to help him to "count." If he was thus able to receive the gift, it became his duty to divide the game with those who had helped him by lending their "count." If he was able to "count" four *waba'hoⁿ* himself, he could then keep the entire animal for his own use.

In admitting a man to either order of chiefs his personal character was always taken into consideration. If he was of a disputatious or quarrelsome nature no amount of gifts would secure his election to the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de or make possible a place for him in the Ni'kagahi sha'be. The maxim was: "A chief must be a man who can govern himself."

THE COUNCIL OF SEVEN CHIEFS

The origin of this governing council as given in the Sacred Legend and elsewhere has been recounted and the change from the early form of hereditary membership mentioned. The institution of a small body representing the entire tribe, to have full control of the people, to settle all contentions, and to subordinate all factions to a central authority, was an important governmental movement. The credential of this authority both for the act of its creation and for the exercise of its functions was the presence and ceremonial use of the

two Sacred Tribal Pipes. The two stood for the fundamental idea in the dual organization of the *hu'thuga* (see p. 137). This was recognized also in the ceremonial custody and preparation of the Pipes. The keeping of them belonged to the Iⁿke'çabe gens of the southern (earth) side of the *hu'thuga*; the office of ceremonially filling the Pipes, making them ready for use, was vested in the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens of the northern (upper) realm of the *hu'thuga*, representative of the abode of the supernatural forces to which man must appeal for help. Through the ceremonies and use of the two Sacred Pipes the halves of the *hu'thuga* were welded, as it were, the Pipes thus becoming representative of the tribe as a whole. The prominence given to the Pipes, as the credential of the "old men," as their authority in the creation of chiefs and the governing council, seems to indicate that the institution of the Nini'batoⁿ and the establishment of the council, although a progressive movement, was a growth, a development of earlier forms, rather than an invention or arbitrary arrangement of the "old men." The retaining of the two Pipes as the supreme or confirmatory authority within the council rather than giving that power to a head chief was consonant with the fundamental idea embodied in the tribal organization. The number of the council (seven) probably had its origin in the significance of the number which represented the whole of man's environment—the four quarters where were the four paths down which the Above came to the Below, where stood man. The ancient ideas and beliefs of the people concerning man's relation to the cosmos were thus interwoven with their latest social achievement, the establishment of a representative governing body.

Whether the ornamentation of the two Tribal Pipes was authorized at this time is not known; but it is probable that in this as in every other arrangement there was the adaptation or modification of some old and accepted form of expression to meet the needs of newer conditions. It is said that the seven woodpecker heads on one of the Tribal Pipes stood for the seven chiefs that composed the governing council, while the use of but one woodpecker head on the other pipe represented the unity of authority of the chiefs. This explanation explains only in part. The reason for the choice of the woodpecker as a symbol lies far back in the history of the people, and it may be that it did not originate in this linguistic group. In myths found throughout a wide region this bird was connected with the sun. It was used on the calumet pipes, which had a wide range, covering almost the whole of the Mississippi drainage. It is not improbable that the woodpecker symbol was accepted at the time the calumet ceremony became known to the Omaha and adopted as a symbol of peaceful authority, but a definite statement on the subject at present is impossible.

The seven members of the council belonged to the order of Ni'kagahi sha'be, in fact they may be said to have represented that order in which each man held his place until death or voluntary resignation. Five other persons were entitled to attend the meetings of the council, being of an ex officio class: The keeper of the Sacred Pole; the keeper of the Sacred Buffalo Hide; the keeper of the two Sacred Tribal Pipes; the keeper of the ritual used when filling them; and the keeper of the Sacred Tent of War. None of these five keepers had a voice in the decisions of the council, the responsibility of deciding devolving solely on the Seven Chiefs who composed the council proper.

At council meetings the men sat in a semicircle. The two chiefs who could count the greatest number of *wathi'ethe* were called Ni'kagahi u'zhu (*u'zhu* "principal"); these chiefs sat side by side back of the fireplace, facing the east and the entrance of the lodge. They represented the two halves of the *hu'thuga*, the one who sat on the right (toward the south) representing the Hoⁿ'gashenu, the one who sat on the left (toward the north), the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda. The other members sat in the order of their "counts" on each side of the principal chiefs, the highest next to those chiefs and so on to the end of the line. The position assigned each member on entrance into the council remained unchanged until a death or resignation took place. In the case of a vacancy in the *u'zhu*, the place was taken by whoever could count the most *wathi'ethe*; he might be an old member of the council or a new man from the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de. Any vacancy occurring was likely to cause a change in the places of the members, according to the "count" of the new member, but the place and position of *u'zhu* were affected only by death or resignation. An *u'zhu* held his rank against all claimants.

The manner of deliberating and coming to a decision in the Council of Seven is said to have been as follows: A question or plan of operation was presented by a member; it was then referred to the chief sitting next, who took it under consideration and then passed it on to the next person and so on around the circle until it reached the man who first presented it. The matter would pass again and again around the circle until all came to agreement. All day was frequently spent in deliberation. No one person would dare to take the responsibility of the act. All must accept it and then carry it through as one man. This unity of decision was regarded as having a supernatural power and authority. Old men explained to the writers that the members of the council had been made chiefs by the Sacred Tribal Pipes, which were from Wakoⁿ'da; therefore, "when the chiefs had deliberated on a matter and had smoked, the decision was as the word of Wakoⁿ'da."

The ceremonial manner of smoking the Sacred Pipes was as follows:

After the members of the council were in their places the keeper of the Sacred Pipes laid them before the two principal chiefs, who called

on the keeper of the ritual to prepare the Pipes for use. As he filled them with native tobacco he intoned in a low voice the ritual which belonged to that act. He had to be careful not to let either of the Pipes fall. Should this happen, that meeting of the council would be at an end, and the life of the keeper would be in danger from the supernatural powers. After the Pipes were filled they were again laid before the two principal chiefs. When the time came to smoke the Pipes in order to give authority to a decision, the Iⁿke'çabe keeper arose, took up one of the Pipes, and held it for the principal chief sitting toward the north, to smoke. The assistant from the Te'pa subgens of the Tha'tada gens (see p. 159) followed, taking up the other Pipe and holding it for the principal chief sitting toward the south, to smoke. The Pipes were then passed around the council, the Iⁿke'çabe keeper leading and carefully holding the Pipe for each member to smoke, the assistant following and serving the other Pipe in the same manner. The principal chief sitting toward the south was the last to smoke from the Pipe borne by the Iⁿke'çabe keeper, who then laid the Pipe in the place from which he had taken it. When the Te'pa assistant reached the chief to whom he had first offered the Pipe he laid it down beside the other. The keeper of the ritual from the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda gens then arose and cleaned the Pipes, after which he laid them back before the two chiefs, who then called the keeper from the Iⁿke'çabe gens to take them in charge.^a

"The seven must have but one heart and speak as with one mouth," said the old men who explained these things to the writers, adding: "It is because these decisions come from Wakoⁿ'da that a chief is slow to speak. No word can be without meaning and every one must be uttered in soberness. That is why when a chief speaks the others listen, for the words of a chief must be few." When a conclusion was reached by the council the herald was summoned, and he went about the camp circle and proclaimed the decision. No one dared to dispute, for it was said: "This is the voice of the chiefs."

Among the duties of the Council of Seven besides that of maintaining peace and order within the tribe were making peace with other tribes, securing allies, determining the time of the annual buffalo hunt, and confirming the man who was to act as leader, on whom rested the responsibility of that important movement. While on the hunt the Seven Chiefs were in a sense subordinate to the leader, their duties being advisory rather than governing in character; they were always regarded, however, as directly responsible to Wakoⁿ'da for the welfare of the tribe. The council appointed officers called

^a All the other sacred articles used in tribal ceremonies have been turned over to the writers for safe-keeping, but no arguments could induce the leading men to part with the two Sacred Pipes. The answer was always, "They must remain." And they are still with the people.

wanoⁿ'she ("soldiers") to carry out their commands. These officers were chosen from the order of *Ni'kagahi xu'de* and were always men who had won honors, and whose character commanded the respect of the tribe. (Fig. 46.) Frequently they were appointed for some special service, as when an unauthorized war party committed depredations on a neighboring tribe; if the chiefs ordered the stolen



FIG. 46. Kaxe'no'ba, who frequently served as a "soldier."

property returned, the booty would then be sent back under "soldiers" selected for the task. "Soldiers" were appointed by the council to preserve order during the annual hunt, the office expiring with the hunt. Men who had once filled the office of "soldier" were apt to be called on to assist the council in the preservation of order within the tribe.

Should a sudden attack be made on the tribe the Seven Chiefs would then join in the defense and if need be lead the people against the enemy. The council cooperated with the keeper of the Tent of War in sending out scouts during the annual tribal hunt (see p. 279). The punishment of men who slipped away on unauthorized warfare devolved on these chiefs (see p. 404). On one notable occasion the Council of Seven temporarily resigned, and placed the entire tribe under the control of one man, Wa'bačka, who led the people against the Pawnee. This exception to all tribal rule has been preserved in both story and song (see p. 406). When a man desired to perform the Wa'waⁿ ceremony (see p. 376) and carry the pipes to another tribe or to a man within the tribe, permission from the chiefs had first to be obtained. The consent of the Seven Chiefs was also necessary to the admission of a candidate to the Hoⁿ'hewachi.

There were no other governing chiefs in the tribe besides those of the council. No gens had a chief possessing authority over it, nor was there any council of a gens, nor could a gens act by itself. There was one possible exception; sometimes a gens went on a hunt under the leadership of its chiefs, for there were chiefs in every gens, men who belonged to the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de or who had entered the ranks of the Ni'kagahi sha'be; but none of these men could individually exercise governing power within a gens or in the tribe. The gens, as has been shown, was not a political organization, but a group of kindred, united through a common rite. The leading men of a gens were those who had charge of its rites; those who could count many *wathiⁿ'ethe*, and those who had been designated to act as "soldiers." Such men were invited on various occasions to sit with the Council of Seven, as in the communal tent when the ceremony of anointing the Sacred Pole took place. There was no tribal assembly or tribal council. All power for both decision and action was lodged in the Council of Seven.

The old Omaha men, who are the authority for the interpretations of tribal rites and customs contained in this memoir, have earnestly sought to impress upon the writers that peace and order within the tribe were of prime importance; without these it was declared neither the people nor the tribe as an organization could exist. War was secondary; its true function was protective—to guard the people from outside enemies. Aggressive warfare was to be discouraged; any gains made by it were more than offset by the troubles entailed. It was recognized that it was difficult to restrain young men; therefore restrictions were thrown about predatory warfare (see p. 404), that all who went on the warpath should first secure permission, while the special honors accorded to those whose brave acts were performed in defense of the tribe tended to make war secondary to peace.

"Plentiful food and peace," it was said, "are necessary to the prosperity of the tribe."

In later years, under the influence of traders and of United States Government officials, the old order of chieftainship lost much of its power. Men who were pliant were enriched by traders and became unduly important, and the same was frequently true of the men who were made "chiefs" by United States Government officials. Some of these have been men who had no rightful claim according to tribal usage to that office. Chiefs made by the Government were called "paper chiefs." These men sometimes exercised considerable influence, as they were supposed by the people to be supported by the Government, but their influence was that born of expediency rather than that growing out of the ancient belief that the chief was one who was favored by Wakoⁿ'da and who represented before the people certain aspects of that mysterious power.

EMOLUMENTS OF CHIEFS AND KEEPERS

Entrance into the order of chieftainship was secured through certain prescribed acts and gifts called *wathiⁿ'ethe* (see p. 202). All of the gifts, except those belonging to the first and second grades (see p. 204), were made to the Seven Chiefs. The two exceptions were contributions to ceremonies connected with the maintenance of order and the consequent welfare of the tribe. While all the *wathiⁿ'ethe* were in a sense voluntary, they were obligatory on the man who desired to rise to a position of prominence in the tribe. It was explained that "the gifts made to the chiefs were not only in recognition of their high office and authority as the governing power of the tribe but to supply them with the means to meet the demands made upon them because of their official position." It was further explained that—

Chiefs were expected to entertain all visitors from other tribes, also the leading men within the tribe and to make adequate gifts to their visitors. Both Chiefs and Keepers were often deterred from hunting by their official duties and thus were prevented from securing a large supply of food or of the raw material needed for the manufacture of articles suitable to present as gifts to visitors. The gifts made by aspirants to tribal office therefore partook of the nature of payment to the Chiefs and Keepers for the services they rendered to the people.

Not only did the *wathiⁿ'ethe* accomplish the purpose as explained above, but the custom stimulated industry and enterprise among the men and women, and thus indirectly served the cause of peace within the tribe.

Beside their use as stated above, gifts were demanded as entrance fees to the various societies. Those requisite for admission to the Hoⁿ'hewachi were particularly costly (see p. 493). Moreover, the meetings of the societies made demands on the accumulated wealth,

so to speak, of the family. Food was required for the "feasts" of the members, and gifts were expected as a part of some of the ceremonies. All these had to be drawn from the surplus store, a store that had to be created by the skill of the man as a hunter and by the industry of the woman. No one gave feasts or made gifts which left the family in want of food or of clothing.

At the anointing of the Sacred Pole a supply of meats of the cut called *tezhu'* (see p. 273) was expected from every family in the tribe except from those of the Hoⁿ'ga subgens, that had charge of the Pole and its ceremonies. While there was no penalty attached to the non-fulfillment of this tribal duty, as it was considered, yet from a series of coincidences a belief had grown up that a refusal would be punished supernaturally.

These customs in reference to gifts made as *wathiⁿ'ethe* show that the people had progressed to the recognition that something more was required of a man than merely to supply his own physical needs; that he had social and public duties to perform and must give of his labor to support the chiefs and keepers, officers who served and promoted the general welfare of the people.

OFFENSES AND PUNISHMENTS

The authority of the chiefs and social order were safeguarded by the following punishment:

Within the Tent Sacred to War was kept a staff of ironwood, one end of which was rough, as if broken. On this splinted end poison was put when the staff was to be used officially for punishment. In the pack kept in this tent was found a bladder, within which were four rattlesnake heads, and with them in a separate bundle the poison fangs (fig. 47; Peabody Museum nos. 48262-3). These were probably used to compound the poison put on the staff. As men's bodies were usually naked, it was not difficult when near a person in a crowd to prod him with the staff, making a wound and introducing the deadly poison, which is said always to have resulted in death. This form of punishment was applied to a man who made light of the authority of the chiefs or of the *wain'waxube*, the packs which could authorize a war party, such a person being a disturber of the peace and order of the tribe. The punishment was decided on by the Council of Seven Chiefs, which designated a trustworthy man to apply the staff to the offender. Sometimes the man was given a chance for his life by having his horses struck and poisoned. If, however, he did not take this warning, he paid the forfeit of his life, for he would be struck by the poisoned staff end and killed.

Thieving (*wamoⁿ'thoⁿ*) was uncommon. Restitution was the only punishment. Assaults were not frequent. When they occurred they were settled privately between the parties and their relatives.

In all offenses the relatives stood as one. Each could be held responsible for the acts of another—a custom that sometimes worked injustice, but on the whole was conducive to social order.

Running off with a man's wife or committing adultery was severely punished. In this class of offenses the husband or his near relatives administered punishment. The woman might be whipped, but the heavy punishment fell on the guilty man. Generally his property was taken from him, and if the man offered resistance he was either

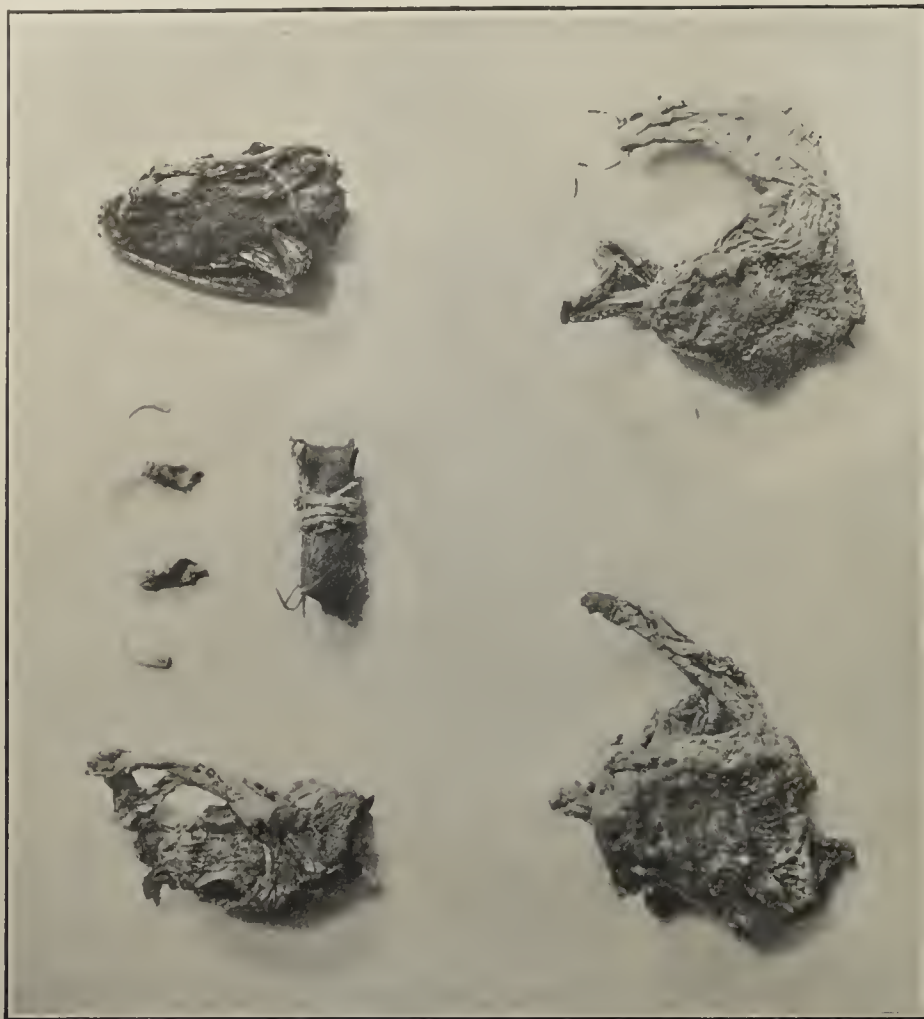


FIG. 47. Rattlesnake heads and fangs.

slashed with a knife or beaten with a bludgeon. The revenge taken by a husband on a man making advances to his wife was called *miwa'da*.

A wife jealous of another woman who was attentive to her husband was apt to attack her with a knife. An assault of this kind, called *noⁿ'woⁿci*, was seldom interfered with. If a man's wife died and left children, custom required that he marry his wife's sister. Should he fail to do so, the woman's relatives sometimes took up the matter and threatened the man with punishment.

The term *wanoⁿ'kathe* was used in reference to murder, or to any act which caused personal injury to another, even if it was unpremeditated. In the latter case the act would be condoned by gifts made to the injured party or his relatives. Deliberate murder was punished by banishment. When the knowledge of such a deed was brought to the notice of the chiefs, banishment was ordered, the offender was told of the decision and he obeyed. Banishment was four years, unless the man was sooner forgiven by the relatives of the murdered man. During this period the man had to camp outside the village and could hold no communication with anyone except his nearest kindred, who were permitted to see him. He was obliged to wear night and day a close-fitting garment of skin, covering his body and legs, and was not allowed to remove this covering during his punishment. His wife could carry him food but he was obliged to live apart from his family and to be entirely alone during the period of his exile.

It was believed that the spirit of a murdered man was inclined to come back to his village to punish the people. To prevent a murdered man from haunting his village he was turned face downward, and to impede his steps the soles of his feet were slit lengthwise. The return of a spirit to haunt people was called *wathi'hide*, "disturbance." Such a haunting spirit was supposed to bring famine. To avert this disaster, when a murdered man was buried, besides the precautions already mentioned, a piece of fat was put in his right hand, so that if he should come to the village he would bring plenty rather than famine, fat being the symbol of plenty. Even the relatives of the murdered man would treat the body of their kinsman in the manner described.

The sentence being passed on a murderer, the chiefs at once took the Tribal Pipes to the family of the murdered man and by gifts besought them to forego any further punishment upon the family of the murderer. If they accepted the gifts and smoked the pipe, there was no further disturbance connected with the crime. (See seventh grade, p. 205.)

The offense of *wathi'hi*, that of scaring off game while the tribe was on the buffalo hunt, could take place only by a man slipping away and hunting for himself. By this act, while he might secure food for his own use, he imperiled the food supply of the entire tribe by frightening away the herd. Such a deed was punished by flogging. Soldiers were appointed by the chiefs to go to the offender's tent and administer this punishment. Should the man dare to resist their authority he was doubly flogged because of his second offense. Such a flogging sometimes caused death. Besides this flogging, the man's tent was destroyed, his horses and other property were confiscated, and his tent poles burned; in short, he was reduced to beggary.

The punishment of a disturber of the peace of the tribe, by the exercise of *wazhiⁿ'agthe*, the placing of will power on the offender by the chiefs, was a peculiar form of chastisement by which the person was put out of friendly relations with men and animals. (See p. 497.) For a similar placing of the mind on an offender, see Ponca custom, page 48.

White Eagle (Ponca) narrated the following as showing the Ponca treatment of a murderer, even if the killing was an accident:

A Ponca killed a man. It was not intentional, but nevertheless he was, by the consent of the people, punished by the father of the man who was killed. The father cut all the edges of the man's robe, so that nothing about him could flutter should the wind blow. The spirit of a murdered person will haunt the people, and when the tribe is on the hunt, will cause the wind to blow in such a direction as to betray the hunters to the game and cause the herd to scatter, making it impossible for the people to get food. [The Omaha have the same belief about ghosts scattering the herds by raising the wind.] After the man's robe was cut it was sewed together in front, but space was left for his arm to have freedom. He was then bade to say, as he drew the arrow from the wound and rubbed it over the dead man, "I did not kill a man, but an animal." Then his hair was cut short for fear it might blow and cause the winds to become restless. The covering about the heart of a buffalo was taken and put over the man's head, and he was banished from the tribe for four years. The man obeyed strictly all the directions given him, and, further than that, he wept every day for the man he had slain. This action so moved the relatives of the dead, it is said, that in one year they pardoned him, gave him his liberty, and he returned to the tribe and his family.

VI THE SACRED POLE

ORIGIN.

In the process of governmental development it became expedient to have something which should symbolize the unity of the tribe and of its governing power—something which should appeal to the people, an object they could all behold and around which they could gather to manifest their loyalty to the idea it represented. The two Tribal Pipes, which hitherto had been the only representative of the governing authority, were not only complex in their symbolism, but they were not easily visible to the entire tribe and did not meet the need for a central object at great tribal gatherings. The ceremony of the He'dewachi had familiarized the people with the symbol of the tree as a type of unity. A similar idea would seem to have been expressed in the ancient Cedar Pole, which is said to have stood as a cosmic symbol representative of supernatural authority; its name was taken and the ceremonies formerly connected with it seem to have been preserved in part, at least, in those of the Sacred Pole.

Tradition states that the Sacred Pole was cut before the "Ponca gens broke away [from the Omaha] and became the Ponca tribe." Other evidence indicates that the tribes had already become more or less distinct when the Sacred Pole was cut.

There are two versions of the story of the finding of the Sacred Pole. Both have points in common. One runs as follows:

A great council was being held to devise some means by which the bands of the tribe might be kept together and the tribe itself saved from extinction. This council lasted many days. Meanwhile the son of one of the ruling men was off on a hunt. On his way home he came to a great forest and in the night lost his way. He walked and walked until he was exhausted with pushing his way through the underbrush. He stopped to rest and to find the "motionless star" for his guide when he was suddenly attracted by a light. Believing that it came from a tent the young hunter went toward it, but on coming to the place whence the welcome light came he was amazed to find that it was a tree that sent forth the light. He went up to it and found that the whole tree, its trunk, branches, and leaves, were alight, yet remained unconsumed. He touched the tree but no heat came from it. This mystified him and he stood watching the strange tree, for how long he did not know. At last day approached, the brightness of the tree began to fade, until with the rising of the sun the tree with its foliage resumed its natural appearance. The man remained there in order to watch the tree another night. As twilight came on it began to be luminous and

continued so until the sun again arose. When the young man returned home he told his father of the wonder. Together they went to see the tree; they saw it all alight as it was before but the father observed something that had escaped the notice of the young man; this was that four animal paths led to it. These paths were well beaten and as the two men examined the paths and the tree it was clear to them that the animals came to the tree and had rubbed against it and polished its bark by so doing. This was full of significance to the elder man and on his return he told the leading men of the mysterious tree. It was agreed by all that the tree was a gift from Wakoⁿ'da and that it would be the thing that would help to keep the people together. With great ceremony they cut the tree down and hewed it to portable size.

Both Omaha and Ponca legends concerning the Pole say that the people were living in a village near a lake, and that the tree grew near a lake at some distance from where the people were dwelling. The finding of the Pole is said to have occurred while a council was in progress between the Cheyenne, Arikara, Omaha, Ponca, and Iowa, to reach an agreement on terms of peace and rules of war and hunting, and to adopt a peace ceremony.^a (See p. 74.)

The account in the Omaha Sacred Legend is as follows:

During this time a young man who had been wandering came back to his village. When he reached his home he said, "Father, I have seen a wonderful tree!" And he described it. The old man listened but he kept silent, for all was not yet settled between the tribes.

After a little while the young man went again to visit the tree. On his return home he repeated his former tale to his father about the wonderful tree. The old man kept silent, for the chiefs were still conferring. At last, when everything was agreed upon between the tribes, the old man sent for the chiefs and said: "My son has seen a wonderful tree. The Thunder birds come and go upon this tree, making a trail of fire that leaves four paths on the burnt grass that stretch toward the Four Winds. When the Thunder birds alight upon the tree it bursts into flame and the fire mounts to the top. The tree stands burning, but no one can see the fire except at night."

When the chiefs heard this tale they sent runners to see what this tree might be. The runners came back and told the same story—how in the night they saw the tree standing and burning as it stood. Then all the people held a council as to what this might mean, and the chiefs said: "We shall run for it; put on your ornaments and prepare as for battle." So the men stripped, painted themselves, put on their ornaments, and set out for the tree, which stood near a lake. They ran as in a race to attack the tree as if it were a warrior enemy. All the men ran. A Ponca was the first to reach the tree, and he struck it as he would an enemy. [Note the resemblance to the charge upon the He'dewachi tree; also in the manner of felling and bringing the tree into camp. (See p. 253.)]

Then they cut the tree down and four men, walking in line, carried it on their shoulders to the village. The chiefs sang four nights the songs that had been composed for the tree while they held a council and deliberated concerning the tree. A tent was made for the tree and set up within the circle of lodges. The chiefs worked upon the tree; they trimmed it and called it a human being. They made a basket-work receptacle of twigs and feathers and tied it about the middle. Then they said: "It has no hair!" So they sent out to get a large scalp lock and they put it on the top of the Pole for hair. Afterward the chiefs bade the herald tell the people that when all was completed they should see the Pole.

Then they painted the Pole and set it up before the tent, leaning it on a crotched stick, which they called *imongthe* (a staff). They summoned the people, and all the

^a See the Hako, in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, part 2.



TATTOOED OSAGE

people came—men, women, and children. When they were gathered the chiefs stood up and said: "You now see before you a mystery. Whenever we meet with troubles we shall bring all our troubles to him [the Pole]. We shall make offerings and requests. All our prayers must be accompanied by gifts. This [the Pole] belongs to all the people, but it shall be in the keeping of one family (in the Hoⁿ'ga gens), and the leadership shall be with them. If anyone desires to lead (to become a chief) and to take responsibility in governing the people, he shall make presents to the Keepers [of the Pole] and they shall give him authority." When all was finished the people said: "Let us appoint a time when we shall again paint him [the Pole] and act before him the battles we have fought." The time was fixed; it was to take place in "the moon when the buffaloes bellow" (July). This was the beginning of the ceremony of Waxthe'xe xigithe (see p. 230), and it was agreed that this ceremony should be kept up.

MARK OF HONOR

Waxthe'xe, the name given to the Pole, was the name of the ancient Cedar Pole preserved in the Tent of War. The word is difficult to translate. The prefix *wa* indicates that the object spoken of had power, the power of motion, of life; *xthere* means "mottled as by shadows;" the word has also the idea of bringing into prominence to be seen by all the people as something distinctive. *Xthere'* was the name of the "mark of honor" put on a girl by her father or near of kin who had won, through certain acts, entrance into the Hoⁿ'hewachi, and so secured the right to have this mark tattooed on the girl. (See fig. 105.) The name of the Pole, Waxthe'xe, signifies that the power to give the right to possess this "mark of honor" was vested in the Pole. The mark placed on the girl was not a mark of her own achievements, but of her father's, as no girl or woman could by herself win it. The designs tattooed on the girl were all cosmic symbols. While the "mark of honor," as its name shows, was directly connected with the Cedar Pole, which was related to Thunder and war, the tattooed "mark of honor" among the Omaha was not connected with war, but with achievements that related to hunting and to the maintenance of peace within the tribe.

It was the custom among the Osage to tattoo the "mark of honor" on the warrior and on the hereditary keeper of the Honor Packs of War. The description of the Osage practice, which appears below, may relate to a time antedating the separation of the cognate tribes when the Cedar Pole may have been common property. The photograph from which the accompanying illustration (pl. 37*a*) was made, was taken in 1897. The design tattooed on the neck and chest (fig. 48) comes to a point about 2 inches above the waist line and extends over the shoulders to the back. The central part of the design, extending from under the chin downward to the lowest point, represents the stone knife. Two bands on each side of this central figure extend up to the hair an inch or two behind the ear, terminating in a knob solidly tattooed. This figure is called *i'bashabe* (meaning unknown); the name and significance of these bands were not

given. A pipe is tattooed on each side of the central figure, the bowl pointing upward. At the root of the neck, on each side of the stone knife, a triangle is traced; a line from the hypotenuse extends to the top of the shoulder. These represent tents. The design means that "the Sacred Pipe has descended." "All its keepers must be marked in this way." If a keeper had cut off heads in battle, skulls would be represented between the pointed ends of the bands which fall over the shoulders. It was explained that the



FIG. 48. Tattooed design, "mark of honor" (Osage).

pictured skulls would draw to the tattooed man the strength of the men he had killed, so that his life would be prolonged by virtue of their unexpended days.

The man here shown was about 17 years old when he was tattooed. He said that the tattooing was done "to make him faithful in keeping the rites;" that he had tried to have visions by the Pipes, which he had always respected and "had never laid on the ground;" and that he had sought these visions and had been thus careful of the Pipes in order that his children might have long life. .

A warrior who had won honors in battles was entitled to the privilege of tattooing his body or that of his wife or daughter as a mark of distinction. The lowest mark of such honors was three narrow lines beginning at the top of each shoulder and meeting at an angle at the lower part of the chest. The next higher mark had in addition to the lines on the chest three narrow lines running down the outer surface of the arms to the wrists. The highest mark had in addition to the lines on the chest and arms three narrow lines that continued from the shoulders, where the lines of the first mark began, meeting at an angle in the middle of the back. The tattooing was done by a man who was learned in the rituals connected with the ceremony. The needles used were tipped with the rattles of the rattlesnake.

THE SACRED TENTS

The tent set apart for the Sacred Pole was pitched in front of the Waxthe'xeto^a subgens of the Ho^a'ga gens, who, as their name implies, were given charge of the Pole. The tent was decorated with round red spots, which probably referred to the sun. Some have said they represented the buffalo wallow, but this seems improbable, judging from other evidence and the character of the Pole. The three Sacred Tents of the Omaha tribe were all objects of fear to the people because of the character of their contents. No one unbidden went near them or touched them; nor could any one borrow fire from any of the Sacred Tents; nor could holes be made about the fireplace. Should any person, animal, or object, as a tent pole, accidentally come in contact with any of these Sacred Tents, the offending person, animal, or thing had to be taken to the keeper of the tent that had been touched and be cleansed ceremonially in order to prevent the evil believed to follow such sacrilege. A piece of meat that chanced to drop into the fire while being roasted in one of the Sacred Tents could not be taken out but was left to be entirely consumed.

The contents of two of the Sacred Tents of the Omaha tribe have been placed for safe keeping in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University—those of the Sacred Tent of War in 1884 and the Sacred Pole with its belongings, in 1888. (See p. 411.) All these relics are unique and of ethnologic value. The disposition to be made of these sacred objects, which for generations had been essential in the tribal ceremonies and expressive of the authority of the chiefs, was a serious problem for the leading men of the tribe. To destroy these sacred relics was not to be thought of, and it was finally decided that they should be buried with their keepers.

For many years the writers had been engaged in a serious study of the tribe and it seemed a grave misfortune that these venerable

^a *Waxthe'xe*, the name of the Sacred Pole; *ton*, "to possess" or "to keep and care for."

objects should be buried and the full story of the tribe be forever lost, for that story was as yet but imperfectly known, and until these sacred articles, so carefully hidden from inspection, could be examined it was impossible to gain a point of view whence to study, as from the center, the ceremonies connected with these articles and their relation to the autonomy of the tribe. The importance of



FIG. 49. Joseph La Flesche.

securing the objects became more and more apparent, and influences were brought to bear on the chiefs and their keepers to prevent the carrying out of the plan for burial. After years of labor, for which great credit must be given to the late Iⁿshta'maza (Joseph La Flesche, fig. 49), former principal chief of the tribe, the sacred articles were finally secured.

LEGEND AND DESCRIPTION OF THE SACRED POLE

When the Pole was finally in safe keeping it seemed very important to secure its legend, which was known only to a chief of the Hoⁿ'ga. The fear inspired by the Pole was such that it seemed as though it



FIG. 50. Monchu'no-be (Shu'denaci).

would be impossible to gain this information, but the desired result was finally brought about, and one summer day in September, 1888, old Shu'denaci (Smoked Yellow; refers to the Sacred Tent of the Hoⁿ'ga gens), figure 50, came to the house of Joseph La Flesche to tell the legend of his people treasured with the Sacred Pole. Extracts from this Sacred Legend have already been given.

It was a memorable day. The harvest was ended, and tall sheafs of wheat cast their shadows over the stubble fields that were once covered with buffalo grass. The past was irrevocably gone. The old man had consented to speak but not without misgivings until his former principal chief said that he would "cheerfully accept for himself any penalty that might follow the revealing of these sacred traditions," an act formerly held to be a profanation and punishable by the supernatural. While the old chief talked he continually tapped the floor with a little stick he held in his hand, marking with it the rhythm peculiar to the drumming of a man who is invoking the unseen powers during the performance of certain rites. His eyes were cast down, his speech was deliberate, and his voice low, as if speaking to himself alone. The scene in that little room where sat the four actors in this human drama was solemn, as at the obsequies of a past once so full of human activity and hope. The fear inspired by the Pole was strengthened in its passing away, for by a singular coincidence the touch of fatal disease fell upon Joseph La Flesche almost at the close of this interview, which lasted three days, and in a fortnight he lay dead in the very room in which had been revealed the Sacred Legend connected with the Pole.

The Sacred Pole (pl. 38 and fig. 51) is of cotton wood, $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. in length, and bears marks of great age. It has been subjected to manipulation; the bark has been removed, and the pole shaved and shaped at both ends, the top, or "head," rounded into a cone-shaped knob, and the lower end trimmed to a dull point. Its circumference near the head is 15 cm. 2 mm. The circumference increases in the middle to 19 cm. and diminishes toward the foot to 14 cm. 6 mm. To the lower end is fastened by strips of tanned hide a piece of harder wood, probably ash, 55 cm. $2\frac{1}{2}$ mm. in length, rounded at the top, with a groove cut to prevent the straps from slipping, and with the lower end sharpened so as to be easily driven into the ground. There is a crack in the Pole extending several centimeters above this foot piece, which has probably given rise to a modern idea that the piece was added to strengthen or mend the Pole when it had become worn with long usage. But the Pole itself shows no indication of ever having been in the ground; there is no decay apparent, as is shown on the foot piece, the flattened top of which proves that it was driven into the ground. Moreover, the name of this piece of wood is *zhi'be*, "leg;" as the Pole itself represents a man and as the name *zhi'be* is not applied to a piece of wood spliced on to lengthen a pole, it is probable that this foot or leg was originally attached to the Pole.

Upon this *zhi'be* the Pole rested; it was never placed upright but inclined forward at an angle of about 45° , being held in position by a stick tied to it 1 m. 46 cm. from the "head." The native name of this support is *i'moⁿgthe*, meaning a staff such as old men lean upon.



THE SACRED POLE

Upon the top, or "head," of the Pole was tied a large scalp, *ni'ka noⁿzhiha*. About one end, 14 cm. 5 mm. from the "head" is a piece of hide bound to the Pole by bands of tanned skin. This wrapping covers a basketwork of twigs, now shriveled with age, which is lightly filled with feathers and the down of the crane. The length of this bundle of hide is 44 cm. 5 mm., and its circumference about 50 cm. In 1875 the last ceremony was performed and the wrapping put on as it remains to-day.



FIG. 51. A section of the Sacred Pole showing incrustation from ancient anointings. (The Pole is here represented in its usual position, supported by the *i'mongthe*, or staff.)

The name of this receptacle, *a'xoⁿdepa*, is the word used to designate the leather shield worn on the wrist of an Indian to protect it from the bowstring. This name affords unmistakable evidence that the Pole was intended to symbolize a man, as no other creature could wear the bowstring shield. It indicates also that the man thus symbolized was one who was both a provider for and a protector of his people.

SACRED PACKS AND CONTENTS

The pack (fig. 52; Peabody Museum no. 47834) accompanying the Pole contained a number of articles which were used in the ceremonies of the Sacred Pole. It is an oblong piece of buffalo hide which, when wrapped around its contents, makes a round bundle about 80 cm. long and 60 cm. in circumference, bound together by bands of rawhide. The pack was called *wathi'xabe*, meaning literally "things flayed," referring to the scalps stored within the pack. Nine scalps were found in it when opened at the Museum. Some show signs of considerable wear; they are all very large and on one are the remains of a feather, worn away all but the quill.

The pipe belonging to the Pole and used in its rites was kept in this pack (fig. 53; Peabody Museum no. 47838). The stem is round and 89 cm. in length. It is probably of ash and shows marks of long usage. The bowl is of red catlinite, 12 cm. 5 mm. at its greatest



FIG. 52. Pack belonging to Sacred Pole.

length, and 7 cm. 2 mm. in height. The bowl proper rises 4 cm. 5 mm. from the base. Upon the sides and bottom of the stone certain figures are incised, which are difficult to identify; they may represent a conventionalized bird grasping the pipe. The lines of the figures are filled with a semilustrous black substance composed of vegetable matter, which brings the design into full relief; this substance is also painted on the front and back of the bowl, leaving a band of red showing at the sides. The effect is that of a black and red inlaid pipe. When this pipe was smoked the stone end rested on the ground; it was not lifted but dragged by the stem as it passed from man to man while they sat in the Sacred Tent or inclosure. To prevent the bowl falling off, a mishap which would be disastrous, a hole was drilled through a little flange at the end of the stone pipe where it is fitted to the wooden stem, and through this hole one end of a sinew cord was passed and fastened, the other end

being securely tied about the pipestem 13 cm. above its entrance into the bowl.

The stick used to clean this pipe, *niniu'thubački* (fig. 54), was kept in a case or sheath of reed wound round with a fine rope of human hair,

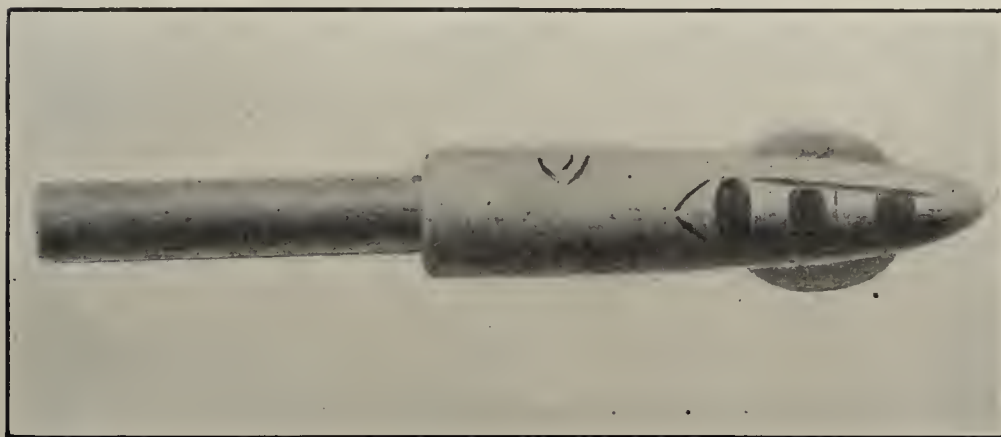
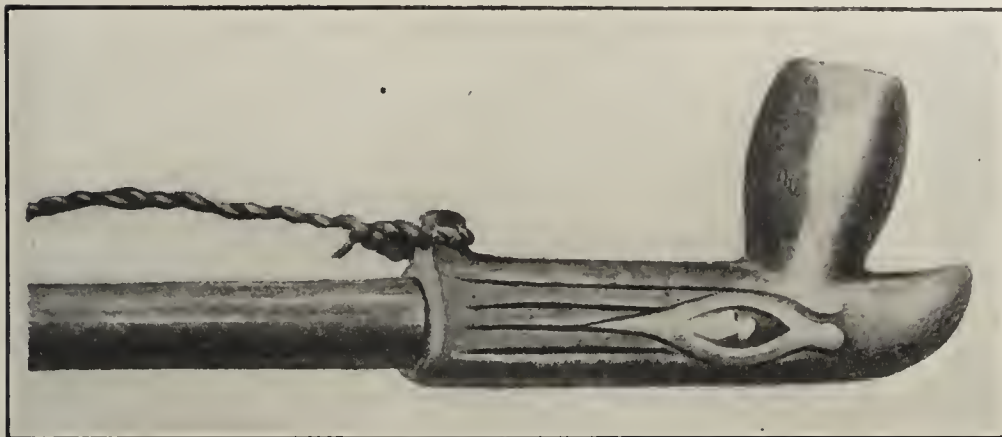


FIG. 53. Pipe belonging to Sacred Pole.

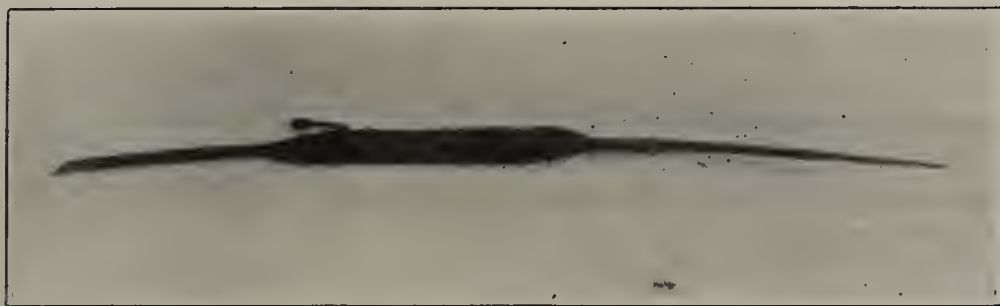


FIG. 54. Pipe-cleaner.

fastened with sinew; a feather, said to be from the crane, was bound to the lower end of this sheath. Only part of the quill remains.

Sweet grass (*pe'zheçonçta*) and cedar (*ma'çi*), broken up and tied in bundles, were in the pack. Bits of the grass and cedar were

spread on the top of the tobacco when the pipe was filled, so that when it was lighted these were first consumed, making an offering of savory smoke. Sweet grass and cedar were used also in consecrating the seven arrows for ceremonial use.

Seven arrows, *mo'n'petho'ba* (fig. 55; Peabody Museum no. 47835) were in the pack. The shafts are much broken; they were origi-

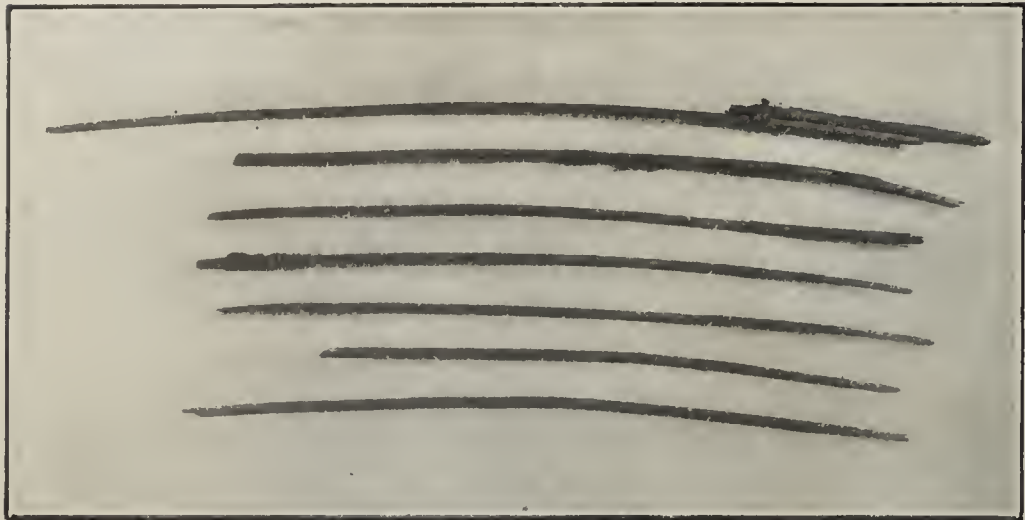


FIG. 55. Divining arrows.

nally 45 cm. 6 mm. long, feathered from the crane, with stone heads. Part of the quills of the feathers remain but the arrowheads are lost.

A curious brush (fig. 56; Peabody Museum no. 47837) made of a piece of hide, having one edge cut into a coarse fringe and the hide rolled together and bound with bands, was the rude utensil with

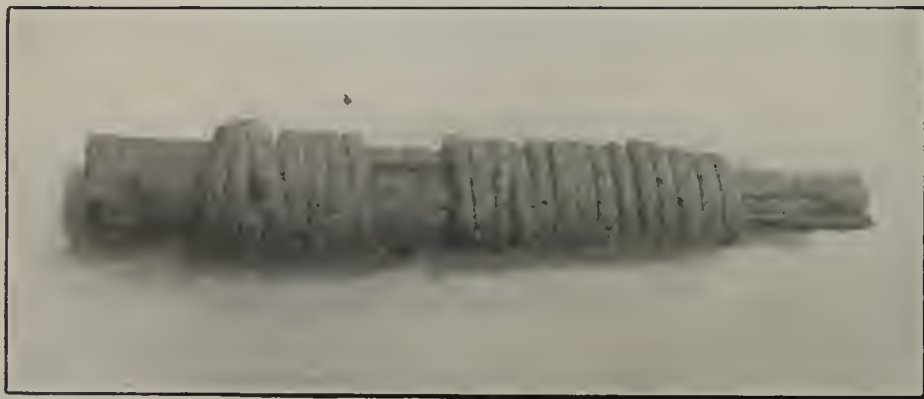


FIG. 56. Brush used in painting Sacred Pole.

which the paint, mixed with buffalo fat, was put on the Pole. A bundle of sinew cord, and of red paint (*waçe'zhide*), used in painting the Pole, complete the contents of the pack.

The ancient Cedar Pole (fig. 57; Peabody Museum no. 37561) preserved in the Tent of War was the prototype of the Sacred Pole. The two had features in common; both simulated something more than a pole, and did not typify a tree, as did the pole in the He'dewachi ceremony, but represented a being; both had the *zhi'be*, or leg; on the body of one was bound a stick like a club, on the other a device called a bow shield. Both poles were associated with Thunder, and any profanation of either was supernaturally punished by death. The cedar tree was a favorite place for the Thunder birds to alight and according to the Legend attention was called to the tree from which the Sacred Pole was shaped by the Thunder birds coming to it from the four directions and the mysterious burning which followed, all of which caused the Sacred Pole to stand in the minds of the people as endowed with supernatural power by the ancient Thunder gods. "As a result," the Legend says, "the people began to pray to the Pole for courage and for trophies in war and their prayers were answered."

Associated with the Pole was the White Buffalo Hide. Its tent stood beside that of the Pole. The ritual and ceremonies relating to the Hide (given on p. 286) show that it was directly connected with hunting the buffalo. The Pole, on the other hand, was a political symbol representative of the authority of the chiefs, and mysteriously associated with Thunder, as cited above; it was related to defensive warfare as a means of protecting the tribe and was also connected with the hunt, the means by which food, clothing, and shelter were secured by the people.

The Pole had its keeper, who was one of the subgens having its rites in charge. When the tribe moved out on the annual hunt the Pole was carried on the back of the keeper by means of a strap passed over his shoulders, the ends of which were fastened near the head and foot of the Pole. As he walked carrying the Pole the keeper had to wear his robe ceremonially, the hair outside. The food, tent, and personal belongings of the keeper could be transported on a horse; the Pole had always to be carried on the back of the man. The presence of the Pole was regarded at all times as of vital importance. "It held the tribe together; without it the people might scatter," was the common expression as to the purpose and needed presence of the Pole.



FIG. 57. Ancient Cedar Pole.

The following incident occurred during the early part of the last century:

The keeper of the Pole had become a very old man, but he still clung to his duties. Misfortune had come to him, and he had no horse when the time came for the tribe to move out on the annual hunt. The old man and his aged wife had no one to help them to carry their tent and provisions, which, added to the Sacred Pole, made a heavy load for the old people. The old man struggled on for some days, his strength gradually failing. At last the time came when he had to choose between carrying food or carrying the Pole. The tribe had started on; he hesitated, then self-preservation decided in favor of the food, so leaving the Pole as it stood the old man slowly walked away. As he neared the tribal camp a young man saw him and asked what had happened that he was without the Pole. The old man told his story. The young man was poor and had only the horse he was riding, but he at once turned back to the deserted camp to rescue the Pole. The ride was a dangerous one, for there were enemies near. He risked his life to save the Pole by turning back. He found it where it had been left by the old man; then mounting his horse with it he made haste to rejoin the tribe. When he came near to where the people were camped he dismounted, took the Pole on his back, and leading his horse made his way to the old keeper, delivered to him the Pole, and at the same time presented his horse to the old man. This was the only time the Pole was ever carried on horseback. The act of the young man was at once known, and he was publicly thanked by the Hoⁿ'ga subgens that had charge of the Pole and its ceremonies. A few days later the Seven Chiefs were called to a council, and they sent for the young man, bidding him to come to them and to wear his robe in the ceremonial manner. He hesitated at what seemed to him must be a mistake in the summons, but he was told he must obey. When he entered the tent where the chiefs were sitting he was motioned to a vacant place beside one of the principal chiefs. The young man was thus made an honorary chief because of his generous act toward the Pole; he could sit with the chiefs, but he had no voice in their deliberations.

ANOINTING THE SACRED POLE

The name of this ceremony was Waxthe'xe xigithe (*Waxthe'xe*, "the Sacred Pole;" *xigithe*, "to tinge with red"). The ceremony of Anointing the Pole was commemorative of the original presentation of the Pole to the people, and the season set for this ceremony made it also a ceremony of thanksgiving for the gifts received through the hunt. The ceremony took place after the fourth tribal chase and the four ceremonies connected with the buffalo tongues and hearts had taken place. Then the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga gens, which had charge of the Pole, called the Seven Chiefs, the governing council, to the Sacred Tent to transact the preliminary business. They sat there with the tent closed tight, clad in their buffalo robes, worn ceremonially, the hair outside and the head falling on the left arm; in a crouching attitude, without a knife or spoon, in imitation of the buffalo's feeding, they ate the food provided and took care not to drop any of it. Should a morsel fall on the ground, however, it was carefully pushed toward the fire; such a morsel was said to be desired by the Pole, and as the Legend says, "No one must take anything claimed by the Pole."

When the council had agreed on the day for the ceremony they smoked the pipe belonging to the Pole, and the herald announced the

decision to the tribe. Runners were sent out to search for a herd of buffalo, and if one was found within four days it was accounted a sacred herd, and the chase that took place provided fresh meat for the coming ceremony. If within four days the runners failed to discover a herd, dried meat was used.

In this preliminary council the number of men to be called on to secure poles for the communal tent was determined; then each chief took a reed from a bundle kept in the Sacred Tent, which constituted the tally of the men of the tribe, and mentioned the name of a man of valorous exploits. When the names of the number of men agreed on had been mentioned, the leader of the subgens gave the representative reeds to the tribal herald to distribute to these designated men. On receiving the reed each man proceeded to the Sacred Tent, and by the act of returning his reed to the leader of the subgens accepted the distinction that had been conferred on him. It was now the duty of these men to visit the lodges of the tribe and select from each tent a pole to be used in the construction of a lodge for the coming ceremonies. This they did by entering the tent and striking a chosen pole, while they recounted the valiant deeds of their past life. These men were followed by other men from the Waxthe'-xeto^a subgens, who, with their wives, withdrew the selected poles and carried them to the vicinity of the Sacred Tent, where they were set up and covered so as to form a semicircular lodge (fig. 58).^a This lodge was erected on the site of the Sacred Tents, which were incorporated in it. The lodge opened toward the center of the tribal circle; as the poles used in its construction were taken from the tents of the tribe the lodge represented all the people and was called *waxu'be*, "holy" or "sacred," because it was erected for a religious ceremony.

Up to this time the tribe may have been moving and camping every day, but now a halt was called until the close of the ceremony. From this time to the close of the rites all the horses had to be kept outside the *hu'thuga*, and the people were not allowed to loiter about or pass to and fro across the entrance. To enforce this regulation two men were stationed as guards at the opening of the tribal circle.

All being in readiness, the leader of the subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga having charge of the Pole summoned the Seven Chiefs and the headmen of the gentes, who, wearing buffalo robes in the ceremonial manner, sedately walked to the communal tent and took their seats.

The Xu'ka, a group belonging to the Tha'tada gens, which in the *hu'thuga* camped next to the Hoⁿ'ga on the left, and whose duty it was to act as prompters in the ceremonies performed by the Hoⁿ'ga, took their places toward the end of the great communal tent on the left. The Xu'ka followed closely the singing of the ritual songs. To aid them in their duty as prompters they used counters—little sticks

^a The four figures in front were made of grass; later in the ceremony these represented enemies.

about 6 inches long. As soon as a song was sung, its counter was laid at one side. If the Hoⁿ'ga had any doubt as to the proper song in the sequence of the ritual, they consulted the Xu'ka.

If by any chance a mistake occurred during the ceremonies connected with the Sacred Pole, and one of the songs was sung out of sequence, then the following ceremony became obligatory: All the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga, they who had charge of the Sacred Pole and its rites, arose, lifted their arms, held their hands with the palms upward, and, standing thus in the attitude of supplication, wept. After a few moments one of the official servers came forward, passed in front of the line of standing singers, and wiped the



FIG. 58. Communal ceremonial structure—grass figures in foreground (native drawing).

tears from each man's face. Then the singers resumed their places, and the ceremony began again from the beginning as though for the first time. This ceremony of contrition took place only when by accident the sequence of the songs of the Sacred Pole was broken.

The Xu'ka also acted as prompters when the Washa'betoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga sang the ritual of the Sacred White Buffalo Hide. If a song of that ritual was sung out of its order the entire ritual had to be begun again, for there must be no break in the parts of the ritual—its course "must be straight."

On the ceremonial occasion here described the herald wore a band of matted buffalo wool about his head, with a downy eagle feather standing in it.

The Sacred Pole was carried by the wife of the keeper of the Pole to the edge of the communal lodge, where the keeper arranged it so as to lean on its "staff" (a crotched stick) toward the center of the *hu'thuga*.

The pipe belonging to the Sacred Pole was first smoked; then the bundle of reeds was brought, which served as a count of the men of the tribe who were able to serve as warriors. Each chief as he drew a reed mentioned the name of a man. He must be one who lived in his own lodge as the head of a family (what we would term a householder), not a man dependent on relatives. As the chief spoke the name, the herald advanced to the Pole and shouted the name so as to be heard by the whole tribe. Should the name given be that of a chief, the herald substituted that of his son. The man called was expected to send by the hand of one of his children his finest and fattest piece of buffalo meat, of a peculiar cut known as the *tezhu'*. (See p. 273.) If the meat was heavy, one of the parents helped to carry it to the communal tent. The little ones were full of dread, fearing particularly the fat which was to be used on the Pole. So they often stopped to wipe their greasy fingers on the grass so as to escape any blame or possible guilt of sacrilege. Anyone refusing to make this offering to the Pole would be struck by lightning, wounded in battle, or lose a limb by a splinter running into his foot. There are well-known instances of such results having followed refusal.

RITUAL SONGS

All the ritual songs relating to the ceremonies of the Sacred Pole were the property of the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga gens, and were sung by them during the performance of the rites.

This song accompanied the placing of the Pole and the cutting of the symbolic design on the ground in front of it:

FIRST SONG

(Sung in octaves)

The-a- ma wa gthi - to^a - bi tho ho..... gthi-to^a..... ba;

Wa-gthi-to^a-bi Wa-gthi-to^a-bi tho ho..... Te - xi e-he... gthi - to^a ba

Wa- gthi-to^a - bi Wa-gthi-to^a - bi te - xi e-he gthi - to^a ba

1

Thea'ma wagthitoⁿbi tho ho! gthitoⁿba
 Wagthitoⁿbi, wagthitoⁿbi, tho ho
 Te'xi ehe gthitoⁿba
 Wagthitoⁿbi, wagthitoⁿbi te'xi ehe gthitoⁿba

Literal translation: *Theama*, here are they (the people); *wagthi-toⁿbi*—the prefix *wa* indicates that the object has power, *gthi-toⁿbi*, touching what is theirs ("touching" here means the touching that is necessary for a preparation of the objects); *tho ho!* is an exclamation here used in the sense of a call to Wakoⁿ'da, to arrest attention, to announce that something is in progress relating to serious matters; *te'xi*, that which is of the most precious or sacred nature; *ehe*, I say.

Free translation

The people cry aloud—tho ho! before thee.
 Here they prepare for sacred rites—tho ho!
 Their Sacred, Sacred Pole.
 With reverent hands, I say, they touch the Sacred Pole before thee.

After the Pole was in place, the one who officiated and represented the keepers of the Pole, the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga, advanced toward the Pole to untie the skin which concealed the wickerwork object bound to the middle of the Pole. As this was being done, the Hoⁿ'ga keepers sang the next stanza:

2

Wagthishkabi, wagthishkabi tho ho! gthishkaba
 Wagthishkabi, wagthishkabi tho ho
 Te'xi ehe gthishkaba
 Wagthishkabi, wagthishkabi, te'xi ehe gthishkaba

Literal translation: *Wagthishkabi*—the prefix *wa* indicates that the object has power; *gthishkabi*, undoing, so as to expose to view that which is covered or encased. The rest of the words have been translated in the first stanza.

Free translation

We now unloose and bring to view, tho ho! before thee,
 We bring to view for sacred rites, tho ho!
 This sacred, sacred thing,
 These sacred rites, this sacred thing comes to view before thee.

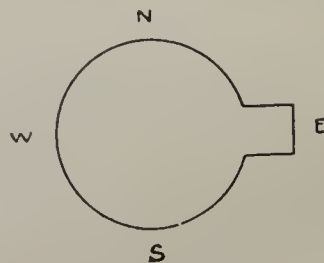


FIG. 59. Uzhi'eti.

In front of the Pole the symbolic figure, called *uzhi'eti*, figure 59 (see p. 241), was then cut on the ground, the sod removed, and the earth loosened, after which the following song was sung:

SECOND SONG

E - he the he gthi - to^a - bi tha ha ha gthi -
to^a - bi E - he the he the wa gthi - to^a - bi
tha ha ha gthi to^a - bi E - he the he
the wa gthi - to^a - bi tha ha ha gthi - to^a - bi

Ehe the he gthito^abi thaha ha
Gthito^abi
Ehe the he the wagthito^abi tha ha ha
Gthito^abi
Ehe the he the wagthito^abi tha ha ha
Gthito^abi

Literal translation: *Ehe*, I say; *the*, this; *he*, vowel prolongation of preceding word; *gthito^abi*, preparing what is theirs; *tha*, a punctuation word indicating the end of the sentence, used in oratory and dignified speech; *ha*, vowel prolongation of preceding word.

Free translation

I here declare our work to be completed,
Done our task!
I here declare that all our work is now completed,
Done our task!
I here declare that all our work is now completed,
Fully completed!

On the following day the culminating rites of the ceremony took place. In these the wife of the officiating priest had a share. He was clothed in his gala shirt and leggings, and red bands were painted across his cheeks from the mouth to the ear. The woman wore over her gala costume a buffalo robe girded about her waist, the skin side out, which was painted red. Across her cheeks and her glossy black hair red bands were painted and to the heel of each moccasin was attached a strip of buffalo hair like a tail.

Early in the morning the following song was sung as the wicker-work object containing the down of the crane, which bore the name

a'xoⁿdepa (wrist shield) was fully opened, to be ready for the ceremonies of the day:

THIRD SONG

A - xoⁿ-de - pa ha ha wiⁿ the thoⁿ A - xoⁿ-de - pa ha

ha wiⁿ the thoⁿ A - xoⁿ-de - pa ha ha wiⁿ the thoⁿ

A - xoⁿ-de - pa ha ha wiⁿ the thoⁿ A - xoⁿ-de - pa ha ha wiⁿ the thoⁿ

Axoⁿdepa ha ha! wiⁿ the thoⁿ
 Axoⁿdepa ha ha! wiⁿ the thoⁿ
 Axoⁿdepa ha ha! wiⁿ the thoⁿ
 Axoⁿdepa ha ha! wiⁿ the thoⁿ
 Axoⁿdepa ha ha! wiⁿ the thoⁿ

Literal translation: *Axoⁿdepa*, the wrist shield worn on the left wrist of a man to prevent it being cut by the bowstring when the latter rebounds from being drawn; *ha ha*, exclamation, behold!; *wiⁿ*, one; *the*, here this; *thoⁿ*, round, referring to the shape of the wrist shield.

The reiteration of the words makes it difficult to present a translation of the song literally, for to the Indian mind the repeated words brought up the varied aspects of the Pole. It represented the unity of the tribe; the unity of the Council of Seven Chiefs, which made them "as one heart, as one voice;" the authority of the Thunder. It was a being—a man; it was a bow, the weapon of a man which was used for the defense of life and to secure the game that gave food, shelter, and clothing. As this song (which referred to the shield—the article that protected the wrist of the man when he pulled the bow string) was sung, the wickerwork containing the down was fully opened, preparatory to the ceremonies in which it had a part. The full meaning of the lines of the song does not appear from the literal words, but must be found in the symbolism of the ceremonial acts connected with this "round object."

The fourth song was sung as the officiating priest arranged on the ground in front of the Pole, side by side, four of the best *tezhu'* pieces of buffalo meat. These represented four buffaloes, also the four hunts and the four ceremonial offerings of hearts and tongues which had preceded this ceremony. The other pieces were laid along the front of the communal tent. Sometimes there were four parallel

rows of this meat. From these offerings the officiating priest was later to cut ceremonially the fat that was to be mixed with the paint and used to anoint the Pole. As this action was a preparatory one, it was accompanied by the same song as when the Sacred Pole was put in place and prepared for the ceremony. The song was repeated eight times.

FOURTH SONG—SAME AS THE FIRST

When the meat was finally arranged, the completion of the task was announced by again singing the second ritual song.

FIFTH SONG—SAME AS THE SECOND

The next song embodied the command of the Hoⁿ'ga in charge of these ceremonies to the officiating priest, bidding him to advance toward the meat with his knife and hold the latter aloft preparatory to the movements which accompanied the ceremonial cutting of the meat.

SIXTH SONG

(Sung in octaves)

Thi-shti ba-ha-ha noⁿ zhiⁿ - ga Thi-shti ba-ha-ha noⁿ-zhiⁿ ga-ha

Thi-shti ba - ha - ha noⁿ zhiⁿ - ga Thi-shti ba - ha - ha

noⁿ-zhiⁿ ga-ha a- ha Thi-shti ba - ha - ha noⁿ-zhiⁿ - ga

Thi-shti ba - ha - ha noⁿ-zhiⁿ - ga ha Thi-shti ba - ha - ha noⁿ-zhiⁿ - ga

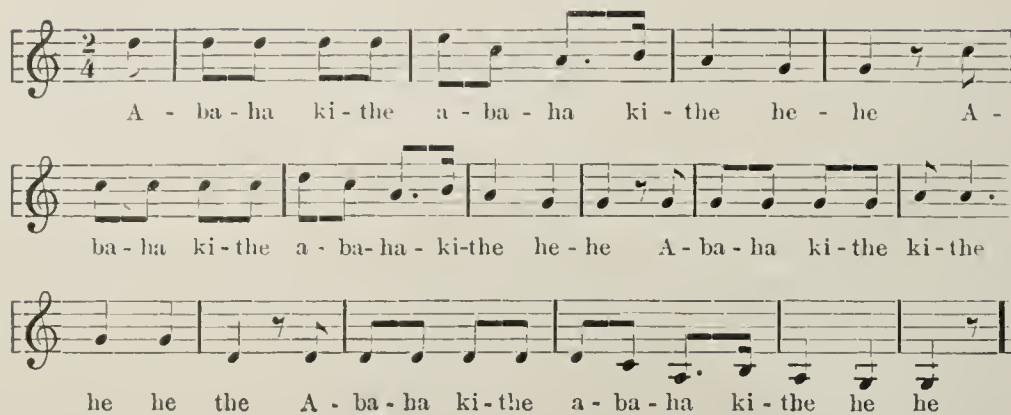
Thi-shti ba-ha-ha noⁿ-zhiⁿ ga-ha a- ha Thi-shti ba-ha-ha noⁿ-zhiⁿ-ga

Thishti bahaha noⁿzhiⁿga

These words were repeated nine times.

Literal translation: *Thishti*, thou, too—addressed to the officiating priest; *bahaha*, to show, meaning that the priest shall grasp the knife with which he is to cut the fat and hold it up to view; *noⁿzhiⁿ*, to stand; *ga*, word of command. “Do thou show thy knife, standing there!”

SEVENTH SONG



1

Abaha kithe, abaha kithe hehe

These words were repeated four times.

Literal translation: *Abaha*, to hold toward or over; *kithe*, I make him (the Hoⁿga, who have charge of the rites speak, authorizing the action of the priest, who is their representative); *hehe*, vocables used as vowel prolongations. At the conclusion of the fourth repetition of the words the priest lowered the knife preparatory to the act authorized in the second stanza, and then sang:

2

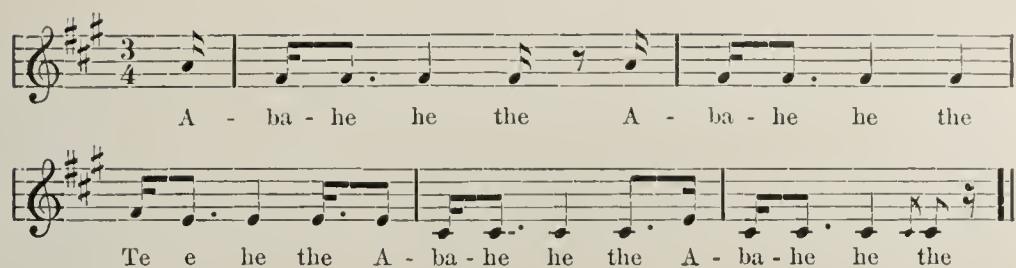
Ma'xoⁿ akithe, Ma'xoⁿ akithe, hehe

These words also were repeated four times.

Literal translation: *Ma'xoⁿ*, to cut; *akithe*, I make or authorize him.

During the singing of the second stanza the priest cut the fat from the four *tezhu'* lying in front of the Pole, and dropped it into a wooden bowl held by his wife for its reception. The fat cut from the meat offerings was pounded to a sort of paste and mixed with red paint. While this was being done the pipe belonging to the Pole was ceremonially smoked by the chiefs and leading men gathered in the communal tent. The act of smoking was a prayer of consecration and the asking of a blessing on the anointing of the Pole about to take place. When the ceremony of smoking was completed and the fat and paint were made ready, the eighth ritual song was sung.

EIGHTH SONG



1

Abahe he the abahe he the
 Te che the
 Abahe he the abahe he the

Literal translation: *Abahe*, to hold toward; *he*, vowel prolongation; *the*, this; *te*, buffalo; *ehe*, I say; *the*, this.

During the singing of this song the priest took the brush (see p. 228) with which he was to anoint the Pole and made a ceremonial approach toward the Pole, holding the brush near it, while the woman at the same time presented the bowl. Fat was the emblem of abundance; red, the color of life. The mixture therefore symbolized abundant life. The line *Te ehe the* was explained to mean that the buffalo was here declared to be a life-giving gift from Wakoⁿ'da, and that the buffalo yielded itself to man for his abundant food and also to provide him with shelter and clothing. The ceremony of anointing was one of recognition of the gift by Wakoⁿ'da of the buffalo and of thanksgiving for it.

The second stanza of this song was now sung. The words are:

2

Ite he ehe the ite he ehe the
 Te ehe the
 Ite he ehe the ite he ehe!

Literal translation: *Ite*, to touch; *he*, vowel prolongation; *ehe*, I say; *the*, this; *te*, buffalo; *ehe*, I say; *the*, this.

The brush, on which was some of the sacred paint, was then brought close to the Pole and permitted to touch it. As all of the movements related to the care of Wakoⁿ'da for man, they were religious in character and consequently were very deliberate. The brush ceremonially touched the Pole and four lines were made down its length. The anointing followed as the next song was sung.

NINTH SONG

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Solemnly Moderato ♩ = 60

A - tha - ha ki - the a - tha - ha ki - the he he A -

m *f* *m*

Trem. *Con Ped.*

tha - ha ki - the a - tha - ha ki - the he he A -

f *p*

tha - ha ki - the ki - the he he A -

tha - ha ki - the a - tha - ha ki - the he he

1

Athaha kithe, athaha kithe he he

These words were repeated four times.

Translation: *Athaha*, to adhere; *kithe*, I make or cause; *he he*, vowel prolongation. "I cause [the paint] to adhere."

More than one application of the paint was made. As the Pole began to assume a ruddy hue the second stanza was sung.

2

Zhide akithe, zhide akithe he he

These words were repeated four times.

Translation: *Zhide*, red; *akithe*, I make or cause it; *he he*, vowel prolongation. "I make it to be red."

By the end of the fourth repetition of the second stanza the anointing was completed. Then the third stanza was sung.

3

Koⁿpi akithe, Koⁿ akithe he he

Translation: *Koⁿpi*, an abbreviation of *uthukoⁿpi*, comely or handsome to look upon; *akithe*, I cause or make it; *he he*, vowel prolongation. "I make it beautiful." The word *koⁿpi*, it was explained, here refers to man, the most comely of all creatures endowed with life, to whom Wakoⁿ'da has given the promise of abundance. The people, who had gathered from their tents and were watching the ceremony and listening to these sacred songs, as this stanza was sung nudged one another and laughed, enjoying the complimentary reference to themselves and the promise given.

When the anointing was completed that part of the ceremony began in which the woman officiated.

In this portion of the ceremonial the Pole lost something of its political significance and became the representative of man as the protector and provider of the family. The figure cut in the ground in front of the Pole then had a share in the rites. This figure (see p. 234) was called *uzhiⁿ'eti* (*uzhiⁿ*, the wistfulness of a child, as when it stands before its parent waiting to share in some good thing; *ti*, house). The design was said to signify the wistful attitude of the people, looking for the good that Wakoⁿ'da was to send to them in the house, the dwelling of the family, and in a larger sense, the *hu'thuga*, the dwelling of the tribe; it also brought to mind the fathers who established these ceremonies that opened the way for the reception of good gifts from Wakoⁿ'da. An old man said, "As I stand before the *uzhiⁿ'eti* I seem to be listening for the words of the venerable ones who gave us these rites." It was a prayer symbol. In the center of this symbolic figure, where the fireplace would be in the

lodge, a buffalo chip was placed; when it was kindled, sweet grass used in peaceful ceremonies and sprays of cedar sacred to thunder were laid on it and through the aromatic smoke arising therefrom the seven arrows were passed. These represented the Seven Chiefs, who held the tribe together in peaceful unity, and also the means by which man secured for his family Wakoⁿ'da's gift of the buffalo, whence came food and clothing. The woman stood for the mother of the race and her share in the rites was a prayer for its continuance and prosperity.

As the woman, in her representative capacity, held the arrows over the consecrating smoke which arose from the burning of fragrant offerings sacred to war and to peace, the following song was sung:

TENTH SONG

Music the same as for the eighth song (p. 239) and the words the same as those of the first stanza of the song.

After consecrating the arrows by passing them through the smoke, the woman advanced toward the Pole and stood holding an arrow aloft while the following song was sung:

ELEVENTH SONG

The same as the sixth song (p. 237). The words of the song were repeated nine times. A number multiplied by itself, as 3 times 3 or 4 times 4, as not infrequently occurs in ceremonials, indicates completed action.

TWELFTH SONG

The music of the twelfth song, which accompanied the shooting by the woman of the arrows through the basketwork, is the same as that of the ninth ritual song (p. 240), sung when the Pole was painted; the words are as follows:

Baxoⁿ akithe, baxoⁿ akithe, he he

Literal translation: *Baxoⁿ*, to thrust; *akithe*, I cause it.

These words were repeated four times to fill out the measure of the song that was sung seven times, once to each of the arrows.

In this act the Pole became the bow, and the basketwork the wrist shield on the arm of the man who grasped the bow. The woman shot the arrow along the bow, simulating the shooting of the buffalo, to secure the gift of abundance. When the arrow was not checked by the wickerwork or down, but passed clear through the bundle with sufficient force to stand in the ground on the other side, a shout of joy arose from the people, for this was an augury of victory over enemies and of success in hunting. After this divination ceremony with the arrows the wickerwork on the Pole was folded together and tied in its skin covering until the next year, when the ceremony would be repeated.

CEREMONY OF THE SACRED POLE—CONCLUSION

It will be noted that the ceremony of the Sacred Pole is divided into two parts and that the significance of the Pole is twofold. In the first part the Pole stands for the authority that governed the tribe, an authority granted and guarded by the supernatural powers; in the second part the Pole stands for the men of the tribe, the defenders and the providers of the home. The same songs are used for both parts, but in the first part the ceremonial acts are performed by a man; in the second part the ceremonial acts are performed by a woman. In this two-part ceremony and its performance are reflected the fundamental ideas on which the tribal organization is based, the union of the masculine and the feminine.

All the buffalo meat laid before the Pole was now gathered up and laid away and four images made of grass and hair were set up before the Pole. These represented enemies of the tribe. The tribal herald then went forth and shouted: "Pity me [an expression of courtesy], my young men, and let me [he speaks for the keepers of the Pole] complete my ceremonies!" In response to this summons all those men who had won honors in defensive warfare put on the regalia that represented those honors and made ready to act their part in the drama about to be performed; for only men whose honors had been gained in defensive warfare could have a share in this drama. Meanwhile all the young men of the tribe mounted their horses and rode off outside the camp. Suddenly some one of them turned, and crying, "They have come! they have come!" the whole company charged on the camp. (This was once done in so realistic a manner as to deceive the people into the belief of an actual onslaught of an enemy, to the temporary confusion of the whole tribe.) After this charge the young men dismounted, turned loose their horses, and mingled with the spectators, who gathered at both ends of the communal tent as a vantage point whence to view the spectacle. The warriors acted out their warlike experiences in defending the tribe and charged on the grass images, while the chiefs and leaders remained in the "holy" tent, in front of which stood the Pole. In later days guns were shot off, adding to the noise and commotion. Those who had been wounded in defensive battles rolled about as if struck; those who had speared or scalped enemies thrust their spears into an image or scalped it. Four of these charges were made on the images, which were finally captured and treated as if conquered, and this ended the scene called "shooting the Pole," an act intended to do public honor to the defenders of the home and the tribe.

On the day following, preparations for the He'dewachi ceremony (see p. 251) began, at the close of which the ceremonial camp broke up and each family followed its own inclination, either to return to

the village or to continue to hunt. All rules and regulations as to hunting the buffalo were now at an end for the season.

The visitor to the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, will notice upon the upper portion of the Pole an encrustation resembling pieces of thick bark; this is the dried paint that remains from the numerous anointings of the Pole. (Fig. 51.) The old chief told the writers in 1888 that long ago, beyond the memory of the eldest, it was the custom to anoint the Pole twice a year—after the summer hunt and after the winter hunt; but within his own memory and that of his father the anointing had taken place only in the summer.

The rapid destruction of the herds of buffalo in the decade following 1870 caused the Indian not only sore physical discomfort but also great mental distress. His religious ceremonies needed the buffalo for their observance, and its disappearance, which in its suddenness seemed to him supernatural, had done much to demoralize him morally as well as socially.

After several unsuccessful buffalo hunts poverty took the place of former plenty and in distress of mind and of body, seeing no other way of relief, the people urged on the Ho^{n'}ga the performance of the ceremony of Anointing the Pole, although misfortune in hunting through the diminution of the buffalo made it impossible to perform this act in its integrity. A plan was suggested by which the ceremony could be accomplished and, as they fondly hoped, the blessing of plenty be restored to the people. The tribe had certain moneys due from the United States in payment for ceded lands, and through their Agent they asked that such a sum as was needful to purchase 30 head of cattle should be paid them. Little understanding the trouble of mind among the Indians under his charge or the motive of their request, the Agent wrote to the Interior Department, at Washington, that "The Omahas have a tradition that when they do not go on the buffalo hunt they should at least once a year take the lives of some cattle and make a feast." This interpretation of the Indian's desire to spend his money for the purchase of the means by which he hoped to perform rites that might bring back the buffalo and save him from an unknown and dreaded future is a significant gauge of the extent to which the Indian's real life had been comprehended by those appointed to lead him along new lines of living and thinking. The cattle were bought at a cost of about a thousand dollars. The ceremony took place; but, alas! conditions did not change. A second and third time the tribe spent its money, but to no avail. New influences and interests grew stronger every year. The old customs could not be made to bend to the new ways forced on the people. Opposition to further outlay for cattle to hold the old ceremony arose from the Government and also from some of the tribe; so years

passed while the Pole stood untouched in its tent, dreaded as a thing that was powerful for harm but seemingly powerless to bring back the old-time prosperity to the people.

The following is the boy memory of these ancient ceremonies of the Sacred Pole, now forever gone, by one of the present writers, the only living witness who is able to picture in English those far-away scenes:

One bright summer afternoon the Omahas were traveling along the valley of one of the streams of western Kansas on their annual buffalo hunt. The mass of moving people and horses extended for nearly half a mile in width and some 2 miles in length. There was an old man walking in a space in the midst of this moving host. The day was sultry and everybody around me was in the lightest clothing possible; but the solitary old man wore a heavy buffalo robe wrapped about his body. Around his shoulders was a leather strap the width of my hand, to the ends of which was attached a dark object that looked like a long black pole. From one end hung a thing resembling a scalp with long hair. One of my playmates was with me, and we talked in low tones about the old man and the curious burden on his back. He looked weary, and the perspiration dropped in profusion from his face, as with measured steps he kept apace with the cavalcade.

The horses that I was driving stopped to nibble the grass, when, partly from impatience and partly out of mischief, I jerked the lariat I was dragging with all the force I could muster in the direction of the horses, and the end of it came with a resounding whack against the sleek side of the gray. Startled at the sound, all of the five horses broke into a swift gallop through the open space, and the gray and the black, one after the other, ran against the old man, nearly knocking him over. My friend turned pale; suddenly he became anxious to leave me, but I finally persuaded him to remain with me until camp was pitched. He stayed to help me to water the horses and drive them to pasture and I invited him to dinner, which he seemed to expect.

While we were eating, the boy asked me if he should tell my father of the incident. I consented, for I thought that would relieve him from any fears of the consequences. As he was telling of what happened I watched the expression of my father's face with some trepidation, and felt greatly relieved when he smiled. We finished our dinner, but as we started to go out my father stopped us and said: "Now, boys, you must go to the Sacred Tent. Take both horses with you, the gray and the black, and this piece of scarlet cloth; when you reach the entrance you must say, 'Venerable man! we have, without any intention of disrespect, touched you and we have come to ask to be cleansed from the wrong that we have done.'"

We did as we were instructed and appeared before the Sacred Tent in which was kept the "Venerable Man," as the Sacred Pole was called, and repeated our prayer. The old man who had been so rudely jostled by our horses came out in response to our entreaty. He took from me the scarlet cloth, said a few words of thanks, and reentered the tent; soon he returned carrying in his hand a wooden bowl filled with warm water. He lifted his right hand to the sky and wept, then sprinkled us and the horses with the water, using a spray of artemisia. This act washed away the anger of the "Venerable Man," which we had brought down upon ourselves.

A few weeks later we were moving from the high hills down to the valley of the Platte river, returning from the hunt, our horses heavily laden with buffalo skins and dried meat. A beautiful spot was selected for our camp, and the crier gave in a loud voice the order of the chiefs that the camp be pitched in ceremonial form. This was done.

In the evening my playmate came and we ate fried bread and drank black coffee together. When we had finished the little boy snapped his black eyes at me and said: "Friend, let us go and play in the Holy (communal) Tent; the boys will be there and we will have fun." We went, and there was the Holy Tent, 60 or 70 feet in length. The two Sacred Tents of the Hoⁿ'ga gens had been united and a dozen or more other skin tents were added to them on either side, making a tent that could easily hold two or three hundred people. No grown people were there, so we youngsters had no end of fun playing hide and seek in the folds of the great tent, while the serious sages were taking the census of the people elsewhere, using small sticks to count with, preparatory to calling upon each family to contribute to the coming ceremony.

The next night we youngsters had again our fun in the Holy Tent. On the third night, when we went to play as usual, we found at the Tent two officers with whips, who told us that boys would not be permitted to play in the Tent that night. Still we lingered around and saw that even older persons were not allowed to come near, but were told to make a wide detour in passing, so as not to disturb the fresh grass in front of the Tent. Dogs were fired at with shotguns if they approached too near. The ceremony was to begin the next day, so the chiefs and priests, through the crier, requested the people to conduct themselves in such manner as the dignity of the occasion required.

Early in the morning I was wakened by my mother and told to sit up and listen. I did so and soon heard the voice of an old man calling the names of boys. Most of them I recognized as my playmates. Suddenly I heard my own name distinctly called. I arose to make answer but was held back by my mother, who put in my arms a large piece of meat, with no wrapping whatever, regardless of my clean calico shirt, while she bade me go to where I was called. When I emerged from the tent with my burden the crier stopped calling my name, and called the boy in the next tent. As I neared the Holy Tent to which I had been summoned, an old man, wearing a band of buffalo skin around his head and a buffalo robe about his body, came forward to meet me. He put both his hands on my head and passed them down my sides; then he took from me the meat and laid it down on the grass in front of a dark pole standing aslant in the middle of the Holy Tent, a scalp dangling on the end of it. I recognized this pole as the one that was carried by the old man whom my horses ran against only a few weeks before. The calling of the names still went on; a man sat immediately back of the pole with two piles of small sticks before him; he would pick up a stick from one pile and give a name to the crier, who, leaning on a staff, called it out at the top of his voice; when this was done the stick was placed on the other pile.

When every family in the tribe excepting those of the Hoⁿ'ga gens had thus been called upon to make an offering, the priests began to sing the songs pertaining to this peculiar ceremony. I was now very much interested and watched every movement of the men who officiated. Four of the fattest pieces of meat were selected and placed just at the foot of the Sacred Pole. A song was sung and a man stood ready with a knife near the meat; when the last note died out the man made a feint at cutting and then resumed his position. Three times the song was repeated with its accompanying act, when on the fourth time the man in great haste carved out all of the fat from the four pieces of choice meat and put it in a wooden bowl. After the fat had been mixed with burnt red clay and kneaded into a paste, another song was sung, and the same priest stood ready with bowl and brush in hand beside the Pole. At the close of the song he made a feint at the Pole with the brush and resumed his former position. Four times this song was sung, each time followed by a feint. Then a new stanza was sung, at the end of which the priest touched the Pole lightly with his brush the entire length. This song and act were repeated four times. Then a different song was sung, the words of which I can remember even to this day: "I make him

beautiful! I make him beautiful!" Then the priest with great haste dipped his brush into the bowl and daubed the Pole with the paste while the singing was going on. Four times the song was sung, the anointing was finished, and the Pole stood shining in fresh paint. Then many of the people cried: "Oh! how beautiful he is!" and then laughed, but the priests never for an instant changed the expression of their faces. I did not know whether to join in the merriment or to imitate the priests and maintain a serious countenance; but while I stood thus puzzled the ceremony went on.

A woman dressed in a peculiar fashion took the place of the priest who had painted the Pole. She wore on her head a band of buffalo skin and the down of the eagle, around her body a buffalo robe with the fur outside and to her ankles were tied strips of buffalo skin with the hair on. In her left hand she held six arrows and stood ready with one poised in her right. A song was sung and at the close she made a feint with the arrow at the bundle of feathers in the middle of the Pole. Four times this was done; then other songs were sung and at the close of each song, with a quick movement the woman thrust an arrow through the bundle containing down tied to the middle of the Pole with such force that it passed entirely through and as it dropped stuck in the ground, and the people shouted as with great joy. I joined in the shouting, although at the time I did not know why the people cheered. There were seven arrows in all; on this occasion every one of the arrows went successfully through the downy bundle. It is said that if an arrow failed to go through and bounded back, the gens which it represented would meet with misfortune; some member would be slain by the enemy.

After the singing of the songs and the anointing of the Pole, the meat was distributed among the families of the Hoⁿgagens, the keepers of the Sacred Pole. The moment that this was done a man was seen coming over the hill running at full speed, waving his blanket in the air in an excited manner, and shouting the cry of alarm: "The enemy are upon us!" The horses were familiar with this cry and the moment they heard it they stampeded into the camp circle, making a noise like thunder. Men rushed to their tents for their bows and arrows and guns and were soon mounted on their best horses. Warriors sang the death song, and women sang songs to give the men courage. The excitement in camp was at its height, but the singing of the priests in the Holy Tent went on. Instead of going out to meet the enemy, the warriors gathered at one side of the camp circle opposite the Holy Tent and at the firing of a gun came charging toward it. It was a grand sight—four or five hundred warriors rushing on us at full speed. There was no enemy; the man who gave the alarm was only acting his part of a great drama to be performed before the Sacred Pole. The warriors fired their guns and shot their arrows at a number of figures made of bundles of tall grass and arranged before the Holy Tent. Shouts of defiance went from the tent and were returned by the charging warriors. This play of battles lasted nearly the whole day.

Years passed, and with them passed many of the brave men who told the tale of their battles before the Sacred Pole. So also passed the buffalo, the game upon which the life of this and other tribes depended. During these years I was placed in school, where I learned to speak the English language and to read and write.

Through a curious chain of circumstances, which I need not here relate, I found myself employed in the Indian Bureau at Washington. The Omaha had given up the chase and were putting all their energies into agriculture. They had abandoned their villages and were scattered over their reservation upon separate farms, knowing that their former mode of living was a thing of the past and that henceforth their livelihood must come from the tilling of the soil. To secure themselves in the individual ownership of the farms they had opened, the people petitioned the Government to survey their reservation and to allot the land to them in sev-

eralty. Their petition was granted by an act of Congress and the work of apportioning the lands was assigned to a lady who is now known among the scientists of this and other countries. I was detailed to assist her in this work, and together we went to the reservation to complete the task.

While driving over the reservation one day we came to a small frame house with a porch in front. Around this dwelling were patches of corn and other vegetables and near by was an orchard of apple trees with ripening fruit. In strange contrast with all this there stood in the back yard an Indian tent, carefully pitched, and the ground around it scrupulously clean. My companion asked, "What is that?" "It is the Holy Tent of the Omahas," I replied. "What is inside of it?" "The Sacred Pole," I answered. "I want to see it." "You can not enter the Tent unless you get permission from the Keeper." The Keeper was not at home, but his wife kindly conducted us to the entrance of the Tent, and we entered. There in the place of honor stood my friend, the "Venerable Man," leaning aslant as I saw him years before when I carried to him the large offering of choice meat. He had served a great purpose; although lacking the power of speech, or any of the faculties with which man is gifted, he had kept closely cemented the Seven Chiefs and the gentes of the tribe for hundreds of years. He was the object of reverence of young and old. When the United States Government became indebted to the tribe for lands sold, he, too, was accounted as one of the creditors and was paid the same as a man of flesh and blood. He now stood before us, abandoned by all save his last Keeper, who was now bowed with age. The Keeper seemed even to be a part of him, bearing the name "Smoked Yellow," a name referring both to the age and to the accumulation of smoke upon the Pole. Silently we stood gazing upon him, we three, the white woman in the middle. Almost in a whisper, and with a sigh, the Keeper's wife said, "I am the only one now who takes care of him. When it rains I come to close the flaps of the Tent, at all hours of the night. Many were the offerings once brought to him, but now he is left all alone. The end has come!" [For portrait of the wife of the keeper of the Pole, see pl. 26.]

A few years later I went to the house of Smoked Yellow and was hospitably entertained by him and his kind wife. After dinner, as we sat smoking in the shade of the trees, we spoke of the past life of the tribe and from time to time in our conversation I pleasantly reminded him of important events within my own knowledge, and of others of which I had heard, where his knowledge guided the actions of the people. This seemed to please him very much and he spoke more freely of the peculiar customs of the Omaha. He was an important man in his younger days and quite an orator. I have heard him deliver an address on the spur of the moment that would have done credit to almost any speaker in either branch of our Congress. He was one of the signers of the treaty entered into between the Omaha and the United States.

As my visit was drawing to a close, without any remarks leading thereto, I suddenly swooped down upon the old chief with the audacious question: "Why don't you send the 'Venerable Man' to some eastern city where he could dwell in a great brick house instead of a ragged tent?" A smile crept over the face of the chieftain as he softly whistled a tune and tapped the ground with his pipe stick before he replied, while I sat breathlessly awaiting the answer, for I greatly desired the preservation of this ancient and unique relic. The pipe had cooled and he proceeded to clean it. He blew through it now and then as he gave me this answer: "My son, I have thought about this myself but no one whom I could trust has hitherto approached me upon this subject. I shall think about it, and will give you a definite answer when I see you again."

The next time I was at his house he conducted me to the Sacred Tent and delivered to me the Pole and its belongings. [See fig. 50 for portrait of the last keeper of the Sacred Pole.] This was the first time that it was purposely touched by anyone outside

of its hereditary Keepers. It had always been regarded with superstitious awe and anyone touching even its Tent must at once be cleansed by the priest. Even little children shared in this feeling and left unclaimed a ball or other plaything that chanced to touch the Tent made sacred by its presence.

Thus it was that the Sacred Pole of the Omaha found its way into the Peabody Museum in 1888 but leaving its ritual songs behind. During these years I have searched for men in the Hoⁿ'ga gens who would be likely to know these songs but without success. The old priest, Tenu'ga, whose office it was to sing them, died before I came in touch with him.

By the use of the graphophone I was enabled in 1897 to secure the ritual songs of the Sacred White Buffalo from Wakoⁿ'moⁿthiⁿ, the last keeper; and when the record was finished I said to him: "Grandfather, years ago I saw you officiating at the ceremonies of the Sacred Pole and from this I judge that you are familiar with its songs. May I ask if you would be willing to sing them for me?" The old priest shook his head and replied: "Eldest son, I am forced to deny your request. These songs belong to the opposite side of the house and are not mine to give. You are right as to my knowledge of them and you did see me officiating at the ceremony you referred to; but I was acting as a substitute. The man whose place I took was newly inducted into his office and was not familiar with its various forms; he feared the results of any mistakes he might make, on account of his children, for it meant the loss of one of them by death should an error occur. You must consult the keepers of the Pole."

Knowing that it would be useless even with bribes to attempt to persuade the priest to become a plagiarist, I refrained from pushing the matter further, trusting that circumstances in the future might take such a turn as to relieve him from his obligations to recognize any individual's ownership in the ritual songs.

In the latter part of June, 1898, I happened to be on the Omaha reservation, and while there I drove over to Wakoⁿ'moⁿthiⁿ's house. (Figs. 60, 61.) He was at home and after the exchange of greetings I addressed him as follows:

"Grandfather, last summer, after you had taught me the songs connected with the ceremony of the Sacred Buffalo, I asked you to teach me the songs of the Sacred Pole. You replied that you knew the songs, but could not sing them for me, because they belonged to the other side of the house and were not yours to give. I respected your purpose to keep inviolate your obligations to maintain the respective rights and offices of the two houses that were so closely allied in the preservation of order among our people, so I did not press my quest for the knowledge of the songs at that time, believing that you would soon see that the object for which that Sacred Tree and its accompanying rites were instituted had vanished, never to return. Our people no longer flock to these sacred houses as in times past, bringing their children laden with offerings that they might receive a blessing from hallowed hands; new conditions have arisen, and from force of circumstances they have had to accede to them and to abandon the old. I have been here and there among the members of the opposite side of the house, to which you referred, to find some one who knew the songs of the Sacred Pole, so that I might preserve them before they were utterly lost; but to my inquiries the invariable answer was: 'I do not know them. Wakoⁿ'moⁿthiⁿ is the only man who has a full knowledge of them.' Therefore I have made bold to come to you again."

After holding the pipe he had been filling during my speech, up to the sky, and muttering a few words of prayer, the old man lit the pipe and smoked in silence for a time, then passed the pipe to me and made his reply, speaking in low tones:

"My eldest son, all the words that you have just spoken are true. Customs that governed and suited the life of our people have undergone a radical change and the new generation has entered a new life utterly unlike the old. The men with whom I have associated in the keeping and teaching of the two sacred houses have

turned into spirits and have departed, leaving me to dwell in solitude the rest of my life. All that gave me comfort in this lonely travel was the possession and care of the Sacred Buffalo, one of the consecrated objects that once kept our people firmly,

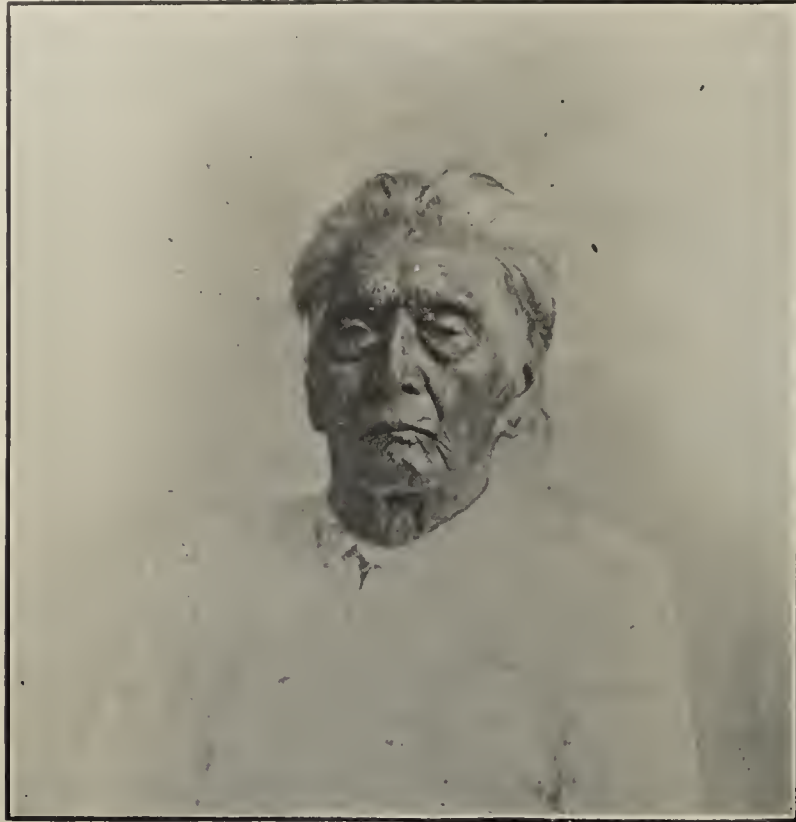


FIG. 60. Wakon'monthin.



FIG. 61. Wakon'monthin's house.

united; but, as though to add to my sadness, rude hands have taken from me, by stealth, this one solace, and I now sit empty handed, awaiting the call of those who have gone before me. For a while I wept for this loss, morning and evening, as though for the death of a relative dear to me, but as time passed by tears ceased to flow and I can now speak of it with some composure."

At this point I passed the pipe back to the priest and he smoked, keeping his eyes fixed upon the ground as if in deep meditation. When he had finished smoking, he resumed his address, cleaning the pipe as he spoke:

"I have been thinking of the change that has come over our people and their departure from the time-honored customs, and have abandoned all hope of their ever returning to the two sacred houses. No one can now with reason take offense at my giving you the songs of the Sacred Pole, and I am prepared to give them to you. As I sit speaking with you, my eldest son, it seems as though the spirits of the old men have returned and are hovering about me. I feel their courage and strength in me, and the memory of the songs revives. Make ready, and I shall once more sing the songs of my fathers."

It took but a few moments to adjust the graphophone to record the songs for which I had waited so long. As I listened to the old priest his voice seemed as full and resonant as when I heard him years ago, in the days when the singing of these very songs in the Holy Tent meant so much to each gens and to every man, woman, and child in the tribe. Now, the old man sang with his eyes closed and watching him there was like watching the last embers of the religious rites of a vanishing people.

THE HE'DEWACHI

In speaking of the development of political unity, attention has been called to the dangers arising from groups parting company when the people were hunting and the enfeebled separated bands becoming a prey to active enemies. These dangers were sometimes fomented by the rivalry of ambitious leaders. To quote from the old Sacred Legend: "The wise old men thought how they might devise some plans by which all might live and move together and there be no danger of quarrels." It seems probable that the He'dewachi ceremony may have grown out of such experiences and was one of the plans of the "wise old men" by which they sought to avert these dangers and to hold the tribe together. There are indications that the He'dewachi ceremony is older than the Sacred Pole; it is said to have been instituted at a time when the people depended on the maize for their food supply and were not dominated by ideas definitely connected with hunting the buffalo. It may be significant to this contention that this ceremony was the only rite in which the two Sacred Tribal Pipes appeared as leader; these pipes were antecedent in authority to the Sacred Pole, and, on the occasion of the He'dewachi, they led the people in their rhythmic advance by gentes toward the central symbolic tree or pole.

The He'dewachi took place in the summer, "when the plum and cherry trees were full of fruit" and "all creatures were awake and out." Abundant life and food to sustain that life were typified in the season. The choice of the tree from which the pole, the central object of the ceremony, was cut, was significant and allied to the same thought. It was either the cottonwood or the willow, both of which are remarkably tenacious of life. It is said that this ceremony "grew up with the corn." It was under the charge of the

subgens of the Iⁿke'çabe gens that had as tabu the red ear of corn. This fact and the symbolism of the ceremony indicate that the He'dewachi was connected with the cultivation of corn and that the influence of the care of the fields tended to develop an appreciation of peace and tribal unity. The duties of this Iⁿke'çabe subgens in reference to the distribution of the sacred corn to the tribe have already been mentioned (p. 147). In later days the He'dewachi took place at the conclusion of the ceremony of Anointing the Sacred Pole but was distinct from it in every respect except that permission for its performance had to be obtained from the Hoⁿ'ga gens as a matter of courtesy.

The He'dewachi was related to the cosmic forces, as revealed in the succession of night and day and the life and growth of living things. When the time came for the ceremony, some man, ambitious to have the honor and to "count" it, went to the hereditary keepers of this rite in the Nini'batoⁿ subgens of the Iⁿke'çabe, and said: "Let the people waken themselves by dancing." This form of speech used when making the request for the performance of the ceremony referred to the passing of night into day. On receiving this formal request, which was accompanied by a gift, the keepers returned their thanks. That night those who had hereditary charge of the He'dewachi held a council and chose a man of their gens who had won many war honors to go and select a tree to be cut for the ceremony. Early the next morning he went forth, picked out a tall, straight cottonwood tree and then came back, returning as would a victorious warrior. If he represented one who had secured booty, he dragged a rope, and carried a long stick with which he ran from side to side as though he were driving horses; or he carried a pole having a bunch of grass tied at the top, to picture a return with the scalp of an enemy. On entering the *hu'thuga* he went at once to the lodge in which the hereditary keepers sat awaiting him. At the door he thrust his stick into the ground, and said, "I have found the enemy." The keepers then arose, put on their robes in the ceremonial manner—the hair outside—and prepared to make their ceremonial thanks to the people and to indicate to the tribe that the ceremony would take place in two days. They were accompanied by a woman, who had to be of the Iⁿke'çabe gens and who bore on her the tattooed "mark of honor." She also wore her robe with the hair side out, carried an ax and a burden strap, and followed the men as they passed around the *hu'thuga* and publicly proclaimed their thanks for the request to have the ceremony take place.

Meanwhile the warrior who had selected the tree gathered the men of the gens together to await the return of the hereditary keepers.

At this time those women of the gens who had recently lost children or other dear ones wailed, being reminded of their loss by the contrast afforded by this ceremony, which was typical of abounding life. Other women brought forth gifts, which were to benefit their husbands or brothers by adding to their "count." All gifts made during this ceremony could be "counted" by a man who was seeking eligibility to membership in the Hoⁿ'hewachi. The words of one of the songs sung at the dance refer to these gifts, which were not only exchanged between members of the tribe but were bestowed on the keepers of the ceremony—a custom resulting in a common feeling of pleasure. Moreover, these acts, being remembered and "counted" as steps toward a man's attaining tribal honors, tended to foster in the minds of the people the value of tribal unity. The symbolism of the ceremony was illustrative of this idea. Four young men were chosen to cut willow wands, strip them of all leaves except a bunch at the end, and paint the stem red. These wands were distributed to the leading men of each gens in the tribe. After the wands had been received, the men and boys of each gens went out to cut similar wands, for at the coming ceremony every man, woman, and child must carry one of these painted wands, which symbolized the people of the tribe.

After making the round of the *hu'thuga* the keepers and the "honor" woman entered their tent, in which was smoked the pipe belonging to the ceremony. It was passed around four times. At the close of the smoking they arose as before and, led by the warrior who had selected the tree, went to the place where the tree stood. Meanwhile young men had been dispatched to simulate scouts, guarding against the danger of a surprise. When the tree was in sight the warriors charged on it and struck it as an enemy. Then the men counted their war honors, standing before the tree, while the keepers sat in a circle around it and smoked, passing the pipe four times. Then the woman bearing the "mark of honor," taking her ax, made four feints, one on each side of the tree toward one of the four directions, after which she gave four strokes, one on each of the four sides of the tree. Then the young men cut it down. As it was about to fall it was caught and held so that it would incline and fall toward the east.

In this ceremony in which war was so simulated the recognition of the authority of Thunder was manifest, for no man could become a warrior or count his honors except through his consecration to Thunder and the approval of his acts by that god of war. Moreover, it was believed that no man fell in battle through human agency alone; he fell because Thunder had designated him to fall, as is shown in the ritual songs of cutting the hair and in the songs

of the warrior societies. So the tree that had been struck as a warrior foe fell because Thunder had so decreed.

The leader now approached the fallen tree and said: "I have come for you that you may see the people, who are beautiful to behold!" The young men cut the branches from the trees, leaving a tuft of twigs and leaves at the top, stripped off the bark, then tied the tuft at the top together with a black covering. Latterly a black silk handkerchief was used, but formerly a piece of soft dressed skin, dyed black, was employed.

All the branches, bark, and chips were made into a pile and deposited at the stump of the tree.

In early days it was the duty of the woman to carry the pole; but in recent times she walked, with her burden strap, beside the young men, who bore it on their left shoulders, care being taken to choose men of equal height so that the pole would be carried in a level position. Four halts were made on the way to the *hu'thuga*. On reaching the camp, the pole was taken to the tent of the leader and the butt end was thrust in the door until it reached the fireplace.

Two men from the Noⁿxthe'bitube subdivision now performed their hereditary duty of mixing the red and black paint with which they were to decorate the pole. This group had, besides the red corn, a tabu of charcoal, as this substance was used in making the black paint. The painting was done in bands of red and black; one man painted the black bands, the other the red. (Fig.



FIG. 62. He'dewachi pole (native drawing).

62.) These bands signified night and day; they also referred to thunder and death and to the earth and sky, the vivifying and conserving powers.

Young men dug the hole for the pole, which had to be in the center of a level place. Sometimes the hole was made in the center of the *hu'thuga*; at other times it was outside the camp. The dirt taken from the excavation was heaped at the east, and between this heap and the hole the symbolic figure (*uzhiⁿ'eti*; see fig. 59) was incised on the earth.

The keepers sat in a circle around the hole and again smoked the pipe, passing it four times. Down of swan, a water bird (the significance of water as connecting the Above and the Below has been given), and tobacco, the offering to Wakoⁿ'da, were sprinkled in the hole, which was thus made ready to receive the symbolically decorated pole. The leader said, "It is finished; raise him, that your grandfather may see him!" And the pole was set in the hole and made steady by tamping the earth about it.

These preparatory ceremonies occupied three days. The dance and public festival took place on the fourth day.

The pole simulated a man; the black covering on the top, his head. The decorations referred to the cosmic forces which gave and maintained life. As a tree it symbolized the tribe; the wands of the people were its branches, parts of the whole. Thus was the idea of unity symbolically set forth.

It was explained that seven kinds of wood were sacred to this ceremony—the hard and the soft willow, the birch, the box elder, the ironwood, the ash, and the cottonwood. Of these the cottonwood furnished the pole; the elder, the charcoal for the black paint; the ash, the stem of the pipe; the seeds of the ironwood were used for the rattles; and the willow for the wands distributed to the people. The birch seems to have dropped out, though its former use survives in a personal name belonging to the subgens having the rite in charge. The significance of this lies in the fact that male personal names always referred to rites and their paraphernalia. The omission of the birch may refer to a change in environment. It will be recalled that the Sacred Legend states that the Omaha once used birch-bark canoes.

On the day of the ceremony the people were astir early. The women put on their gala costume; the men were barefoot and naked except for the breechcloth. They wore the decoration of their war honors, and depicted their war experiences by the manner of painting their faces and bodies. The place of a wound was painted red; if a man had been struck a hand was painted on his body or face (fig. 63). Some painted black bands on their arms and legs, indicating that they had been in danger of death; others bore white spots scattered over their bodies, to show that they had been where the birds of prey dropped their excrement on the bodies of the slain enemies. The man who had cut the neck of an enemy drew an inflated bladder by a string, to set forth his act. Those warriors who had taken scalps tied to the wands they carried in the dance bits of buffalo hide with the hair on.

Meanwhile, the keepers of the ceremony selected from their gens the young men who were to sing. These men received pay for their

services. Four rattles, struck on pillows, and two drums were used to accompany the singers, who took their places at the foot of the pole. The men who were going to give away horses were the only riders. They dashed about among the people, who became more and more



FIG. 63. Painting on warrior's face.

impatient waiting for the signal—four strokes on the drums—to announce the beginning of the ceremony. After the four drum beats had been given, the following “call” was sung:^a

^a The upper music staff gives simply the aria; the two lower staves translate the same aria for the piano by harmonization, giving the tremolo of the drum, the echoing cadences, the dying away of the voices of the singers, and their rising again with the call to “Rejoice.”

HE'DEWACHI CALL

(Aria as sung) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

The musical score is written for voice, piano, and drum. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The vocal line consists of two staves of music with lyrics underneath. The piano accompaniment is written for the right and left hands. The drum part is labeled 'Drum Tremolo' and uses a series of horizontal lines to represent the sound.

Lyrics:
 Zha - wa i ba i..... ba ha e - he.....
 Zha - wa i ba i - ba ha..... e he.....
 Zhawa iba iba ha ehe
 Zhawa iba iba ha ehe

Translation: *Zhawa*, from *uzhawa*, to rejoice; *iba*, to come; *ha*, musical prolongation of the vowel; *ehe*, I bid or command. "I bid ye come, and rejoice!"

The people of each gens gathered, standing before their tents, the men and boys in front, each holding his wand; behind them the women and girls, with their wands. Two men from the Nini'bato^a subdivision^a then stepped forth and took their place in front of the rest of the I^uke'çabe gens, and held aloft the Sacred Tribal Pipes as the singers at the foot of the pole sang the following:

The musical score is written for a single melodic line. It begins in 3/4 time and changes to 4/4 time. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The piece ends with a double bar line and the marking 'D.C.' (Da Capo).

Lyrics:
 Hio i yo

^a There is a personal name in the Nini'bato^a which refers to the bearers of the two Pipes in this ceremony—*Ton'thinonba*, "the two who run."

There are no words to this song—only vocables. The song is a prayer expressed not by words but in musical phrases. The tribe presented a spectacle that must have been impressive—the great circle of people, with their branches, standing like a living grove on the prairie, as the singers voiced their prayer to Wakoⁿ'da.

At the conclusion of the song the warriors who had charged the tree sounded the war cry, and all the people standing in their places, gave an answering shout and waved their branches in the air. Then the two bearers of the Sacred Tribal Pipes moved forward rapidly a few steps toward the pole and the people by gentes moved forward in the same way while the song given below was sung. At its conclusion a halt was made. Four times there was a forward movement as the song was sung and a halt made at its close.



Ya duda ea ha ehe tha ehe he
 Shethiⁿ duda a ea ha ehe tha
 Ehe he ehe he tha ea ha ehe tha
 Ehe he ehe he tha ea ha ehe tha

Literal translation: *Ya*, come; *duda*, hither; *ea*, come; *ha*, vowel prolongation; *ehe*, I bid; *shethiⁿ*, ye walking yonder; *duda*, hither; *a*, vowel prolongation; *ea*, come; *e*, vocable; *ehe*, I bid; *he*, vocable; *tha*, end of sentence.

Free translation

Come hither, I bid you!
 Ye who walk yonder, come hither!
 I bid you, I bid you to come!
 I bid you, I bid you, come hither!

At the conclusion of the fourth repetition the people had moved up toward the pole, the men being the nearer and the women behind. There they all halted for the fourth and last time.

As the singers struck up the next song (the fourth) the two pipe bearers turned to the left, having their right side to the pole, and all the men of the different gentes turned also; the Iⁿke'çabe followed the pipe bearers, next came the We'zhiⁿshte, then the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda,

and so on, around to the Hoⁿ'ga, who were last, and all began to dance around the pole. The women also turned, but to the right, their left side being next to the circle of men and the pole, and danced in the opposite direction from the men. The tribe thus divided into two concentric circles, revolved in opposite directions about the pole while the choir at its foot sang the following song:

HE'DEWACHI DANCE

M. M. $\text{♩} = 108$

Wie he he wa-noⁿ - she a he wa-noⁿ - she a he wa-noⁿ -

D. C.

she wie he he wa-noⁿ - she a he wa-noⁿ - she a he wa-noⁿ - she

Wie he he wanoⁿshe a he
 Wanoⁿshe a he wanoⁿshe
 Wie he he wanoⁿshe a he
 Wanoⁿshe a he wanoⁿshe

Literal translation: *Wie*, I; *he he*, vocables; *wanoⁿshe*, take from them. The meaning of this song can not be gathered from a literal translation of the few words used. It has been explained to mean that the pole here speaks as embodying the meaning and spirit of the ceremony and refers to the gifts made, which are an important part of the ceremony. They not only contribute to happiness and good feeling in the tribe but they redound to the credit of the giver. It was during this song that the people danced in the two concentric circles around the pole, everyone carrying his branch, with its leaves. When at any time a person made a gift the dancers halted while the gift was proclaimed. At each halt, if any of the gentes became mixed up, the person out of place returned to his proper gens before the dance was resumed. The song was repeated four times, or four times four.

Finally, the last song was given. During the singing of this rapid song the people continued to dance in the two circles. The young people made merry as they danced and the warrior acted out dramatic scenes in his career. It was a hilarious time for all.

Hie de hie de e e de a hie de hie de hie de e e de a

D. C.

he de hie de hie de e e de a he de

There are no words to this song, only vocables. The song was repeated an indefinite number of times. At the conclusion of this song everyone threw his branch at the foot of the tree, as though it were returned to the parent stem from which it had been broken. The small boy, however, sometimes amused himself by aiming his wand at the singers rather than at the tree. These pranks were all taken in good part. The branches carried by the people were tied to the pole and left for the sun and wind to dispose of.

The manner in which the tree was cut and also the approach to the pole by the people in their tribal order, with war cry and charge, were in recognition of the victories gained by the favor of the war god, Thunder. The ceremony was a dramatic teaching of the vital force in union not only for defense but for the maintenance of internal peace and order. The He'dewachi^a was a festival of joy consonant with the words of the opening song, "Come and rejoice." The whole scene vibrated with color and cheer around the Thunder-selected tree as a symbol of life and tribal unity.

^a Years ago the Osage had a somewhat similar ceremony long since abandoned.

VII

THE QUEST OF FOOD

THE RITUAL OF THE MAIZE

The various environments in which the Omaha people lingered as they moved westward left their impress on the ceremonials of the tribe. Some of these, as has been shown, were lost and the relation of others to the welfare of the people suffered change. Among the latter were the ceremonies connected with the maize.

The facts that the tabu of the subgens of the Iⁿke'çabe, which had charge of the two Sacred Tribal Pipes, was the red ear of corn and that it was the duty of this subgens to provide the sacred corn for distribution at the time of planting, indicate that the rites of the maize and those of the Pipes were once closely connected. In the political development of the tribe the Pipes, through their significance, kept an important place; while, owing to the environment of the people, the maize, as the sustainer of life, became subordinated to the buffalo, which yielded not only food but also raiment. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the maize did not wholly lose prestige but continued to be treated ceremonially.

The ancient Sacred Legend already cited, besides speaking of the discovery of maize, adds later on, evidently referring to the ceremony and ritual observed when distributing the grain for planting:

The maize being one of the greatest of means to give us life, in honor of it we sing. We sing even of the growth of its roots, of its clinging to the earth, of its shooting forth from the ground, of its springing from joint to joint, of its sending forth the ear, of its putting a covering on its head, of its ornamenting its head with a feather, of its invitation to men to come and feel of it, to open and see its fruit, of its invitation to man to taste of the fruit.

When maize was discovered the grain was distributed among the people that they might plant and eat of the fruit of their labor, and from that time on it has been the custom to sing the song of the maize and to repeat the distribution of the corn every year at the time of planting.

The songs [stanzas] are many. They begin with the gathering of the kernels. The people talk of where they shall plant. Then the men select the land and wherever each man selects he thrusts a pole in the ground to show that now the corn shall be planted.

The stanzas last referred to have been lost, as well as the ceremony of selecting the planting plot and the thrusting of the pole into the ground. It is also impossible to give an accurate account of the ceremonies attending the distribution of the sacred corn for plant-

ing. The rites have long been disused, their abandonment being largely due to the influence of the Government. It is said that formerly when spring came the Hoⁿ'ga subgens, whose duty it was to keep the sacred ears of red corn, met with the subgens of the Iⁿke'çabe, whose right it was to provide them, and after the prescribed rites had been performed and the ritual sung, the Iⁿke'çabe men acted as servers to the Hoⁿ'ga and distributed four kernels to each family. The women received the sacred corn and mixed it with their seed corn, which they preserved from year to year. It was believed that the sacred corn was able to vivify the seed and cause it to fructify and yield a good harvest. Only the red corn was used for this sacred purpose. Its color was indicative of its office.

Even after the discontinuance of these rites of distributing the maize its ritual was still sung just before the ritual of the White Buffalo Hide was given in connection with the hunting ceremonies. (See p. 286.)

MAIZE RITUAL SONG

Yo ko ho the he he wi - aⁿ - doⁿ - ba ga!

Koⁿ du - ba ha - noⁿ-zhiⁿ hi, wi - aⁿ . doⁿ - ba ga!

1

- 1 Yo ko ho the he he
- 2 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
- 3 Koⁿ duba ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
- 4 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

2

- 5 Yo ko ho the he he
- 6 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
- 7 Abe he wiⁿaxchi ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
- 8 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

3

- 9 Yo ko ho the he he
- 10 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
- 11 Abe he noⁿba ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
- 12 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

4

- 13 Yo ko ho the he he
- 14 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
- 15 Abe he thaⁿbthiⁿ ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
- 16 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

5

- 17 Yo ko ho the he he
 18 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 19 Abe he duba ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 20 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

6

- 21 Yo ko ho the he he
 22 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 23 Abe he ɟa'toⁿ ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 24 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

7

- 25 Yo ko ho the he he
 26 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 27 Abe he sha'pe ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 28 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

8

- 29 Yo ko ho the he he
 30 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 31 Abe he pe'thoⁿba ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 32 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

9

- 33 Yo ko ho the he he
 34 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 35 'Kite he wiⁿaxchi ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 36 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

10

- 37 Yo ko ho the he he
 38 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 39 'Kite he noⁿ'ba ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 40 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

11

- 41 Yo ko ho the he he
 42 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 43 'Kite he tha'bthiⁿ ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 44 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

12

- 45 Yo ko ho the he he
 46 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 47 'Kite he duba ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 48 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

13

- 49 Yo ko ho the he he
 50 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 51 'Kite he ɟa'toⁿ ha noⁿzhiⁿ **hi**
 52 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

14

- 53 Yo ko ho the he he
 54 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 55 'Kite he shape ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 56 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

15

- 57 Yo ko ho the he he
 58 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 59 'Kite he pe'thoⁿba ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 60 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

16

- 61 Yo ko ho the he he
 62 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 63 Hathe he toⁿ ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 64 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

17

- 65 Yo ko ho the he he
 66 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 67 Pahi hi kugthi ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 68 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

18

- 69 Yo ko ho the he he
 70 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 71 Pahi hi zi ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 72 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

19

- 73 Yo ko ho the he he
 74 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 75 Pahi hi shabe ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 76 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

20

- 77 Yo ko ho the he he
 78 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 79 Xtha kugthi ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 80 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

21

- 81 Yo ko ho the he he
 82 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 83 Xtha ŋka ha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 84 W iaⁿdoⁿba ga

22

- 85 Yo ko ho the he he
 86 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 87 Xtha ziha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 88 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

23

- 89 Yo ko ho the he he
 90 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga
 91 Zhu 'toⁿha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 92 Wi aⁿdoⁿba ga

24

- 93 Yo ko ho the he he
 94 Wi aⁿthiçpoⁿ a
 95 Zhu 'toⁿha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 96 Wi aⁿthizha

25

- 97 Yo ko ho the he he
 98 Wi aⁿbaçnoⁿ a
 99 Zhu 'toⁿha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 100 Wi aⁿbaçnoⁿ a

26

- 101 Yo ko ho the he he
 102 Wi aⁿthigtha
 103 Zhu 'toⁿha noⁿzhiⁿ hi
 104 Wi aⁿthata

Literal translation

First stanza. 1. *yo ko ho the he he* is probably a corruption of *thikuthe*, meaning "to hasten." The process of change in singing the word was from *thikuthe* to *thekothe*, and then on to *yokothe*, the first syllable being dropped to give the free vowel sound of the *o* in beginning the song. In view of this probable change the line would read: 'yokohothe *he he*, *yokoho* representing the vowel sound of the second syllable of the word *thekuthe*, and the syllables *he he* the vowel prolongation of the last syllable, *the*. The line would thus mean "Hasten!"

2. *wi*, I. In this song it is the Maize that speaks. *aⁿdoⁿba*, behold me (*aⁿ*, me; *doⁿba*, see or behold); *ga*, the sign of a command. 3. *koⁿ*, root; *duba*, four; *ha noⁿzhiⁿ*, I stand (the "h" is added to the *a* in singing); *hi*, vowel prolongation.

Second stanza. 7. *abe*, leaves—a general term; *he*, vowel continued; *wiⁿaxchi*, one.

Third stanza. 11. *noⁿba*, two.

Fourth stanza. 15. *tha'bthiⁿ*, three.

Fifth stanza. 19. *du'ba*, four.

Sixth stanza. 23. *ça'toⁿ*, five.

Seventh stanza. 27. *sha'pe*, six.

Eighth stanza. 31. *pe'thoⁿba*, seven.

Ninth stanza. 35. *'kite, u'kite*, the joint of the stalk, the node—a general term for joint, in an animal or vegetable growth; *he*, vowel prolongation.

Sixteenth stanza. 63. *hathe*, clothing—a general term (the word here refers to the husk around the ear of the maize); *'toⁿ*, *atoⁿ*, I have, or possess.

Seventeenth stanza. 67. *'pahi*, hair (*'pa*, head; *hi*, hair); *hi*, vowel continued; *kugthi*, light, shining.

Eighteenth stanza. 71. *zi*, yellow.

Nineteenth stanza. 75. *sha'ba*, *sha'be*, dark colored.

Twentieth stanza. 79. *xtha*, the tassel of the maize.

Twenty-first stanza. 83. *cka*, white.

Twenty-third stanza. 91. *zhu*, flesh, as of fruit; *toⁿ*, to possess.

Twenty-fourth stanza. 94. *aⁿthiçpoⁿ*, feels me (*aⁿ*, me; *thiçpoⁿ*, to feel of); *a*, *ha*, the end of the sentence. 96. *aⁿthizha*, to pull or push apart, to pluck, as the ear from the stalk.

Twenty-fifth stanza. 98. *aⁿbaçnoⁿ*, roasts (*aⁿ*, me; *baçnoⁿ*, to thrust on a stick and roast before the fire).

Twenty-sixth stanza. 102. *aⁿthigtha*, *aⁿthi gtha*, to push off with a stick, to shell. 104. *aⁿthata* (*thata*, to eat; *aⁿ*, me).

Free translation

1

O hasten!
Behold,
With four roots I stand.
Behold me!

2

O hasten!
Behold,
With one leaf I stand.
Behold me!

3

O hasten!
Behold,
With two leaves I stand.
Behold me!

4

O hasten!
Behold,
With three leaves I stand.
Behold me!

5

O hasten!
Behold,
With four leaves I stand.
Behold me!

6

O hasten!
Behold,
With five leaves I stand.
Behold me!

7

O hasten!
Behold,
With six leaves I stand.
Behold me!

8

O hasten!
Behold,
With seven leaves I stand.
Behold me!

9

O hasten!
Behold,
With one joint I stand.
Behold me!

10

O hasten!
Behold,
With two joints I stand.
Behold me!

11

O hasten!
Behold,
With three joints I stand.
Behold me!

12

O hasten!
Behold,
With four joints I stand.
Behold me!

13

O hasten!
Behold,
With five joints I stand.
Behold me!

14

O hasten!
Behold,
With six joints I stand.
Behold me!

15

O hasten!
Behold,
With seven joints I stand.
Behold me!

16

O hasten!
Behold,
With clothing I stand.
Behold me!

17

O hasten!
Behold,
With light, glossy hair I stand.
Behold me!

18

O hasten!
Behold,
With yellow hair I stand.
Behold me!

19

O hasten!
Behold,
With dark hair I stand.
Behold me!

20

O hasten!
Behold,
With light, glossy tassel I stand.
Behold me!

21

O hasten!
Behold,
With pale tassel I stand.
Behold me!

22

O hasten!
Behold!
With yellow tassel I stand.
Behold me!

23

O hasten!
Behold,
With fruit possessed I stand.
Behold me!

24

O hasten!
Grasp ye,
My fruit as I stand.
Pluck me!

25

O hasten!
Roast by a fire
My fruit as I stand.
Even roast me!

26

O hasten!
Rip from its cob
My fruit as I stand,
And eat me!

In this ritual the maize is anthropomorphized and is conscious of its mission. The poetic feeling of the ritual lies in the call of the maize to man to behold its up-springing life, its increasing growth, and its fruitage. Its final abnegation is almost hidden under the rather matter-of-fact directions of the last stanzas. Still, it is there.

CULTIVATION OF MAIZE

Garden patches were located on the borders of streams. Occupancy constituted ownership and as long as a tract was cultivated by a family no one molested the crops or intruded on the ground; but if a garden patch was abandoned for a season then the ground was considered free for anyone to utilize. Men and women worked together on the garden plots, which ranged from half an acre to two or three acres in extent. Occasionally a good worker had even a larger tract under cultivation. These gardens were mounded in a peculiar manner: The earth was heaped into oblong mounds, their tops flat, about 18 by 24 inches, and so arranged as to slant toward the south. The height on the north side was about 18 inches; on the south the plot was level with the surface of the ground. These mounds were 2 or 3 feet apart on all sides. In one mound seven kernels of corn were scattered; in the next mound squash seeds were placed, and so on alternately. If the family had under cultivation a large garden tract the beans were put into mounds by themselves and willow poles were provided for the vines to climb upon; but if ground space was limited the beans were planted with the corn, the stalk serving the same purpose as poles. Squash and corn were not planted together, nor were corn, beans, and squash grown in the same mound. After the planting the ground was kept free of weeds and when the corn was well sprouted it was hoed with an implement made from the shoulder blade of the elk. The second hoeing took place when the corn was a foot or more high. Up to this time the mounds were carefully weeded by hand and the earth was kept free and loose. After the second hoeing the corn was left to grow and ripen without further cultivation. The mounds containing the squash and those in which the melons were planted were weeded and cared for until the second hoeing of the corn, when they, too, were left, as about this time the tribe started out on the annual buffalo hunt.

NAMES OF PARTS AND OF PREPARATIONS OF MAIZE

The following names refer to the maize or corn and the preparations made of it:

Waton'zi: corn growing in the field; also shelled corn.

Waton'zihi: corn stalk or stalks.

Waha'ba: an ear of corn.

Waha'bahi: a corn cob or cobs.

Wa'xan'ha: corn husk.

Hatu: the green husk.

Wathi'inge: braided corn. The husks were braided, leaving the ear hanging.

Wami'de: seed corn. This word is applied to any seed used for reproduction. Other seed, such as apple seeds, are called *çi*.

Washon'ge: pounded corn. A stiek, *non'xpe*, was thrust into the cob and the corn roasted before a fire; then it was shelled and the chaff blown off; finally it was pounded in a mortar (*uhe*) with a pestle (*wehe*).

Wa'çke: pounded corn mixed with honey and buffalo marrow.

Wani'de: mush or gruel—pounded corn mixed with water.

Um'bagthe: corn boiled with beans, set over night to cool and harden, then served cut in slices. Considered a delicacy.

Wana'xe: parched corn—used by travelers, and carried in skin bags.

Wabi'shnude: corn boiled with ashes and hulled—a sort of coarse hominy.

Wabthu'ga: *wabi'shnude* boiled with meat.

Waton'ziçkithe: sweet corn roasted in the milk, cut off the cob, and dried.

HUNTING

There were various ways of going hunting, each of which had its distinctive name:

Eshnon' monthin, "walking alone," was used to indicate that a single family had gone hunting or trapping.

A'bae, an old, untranslatable term, meaning that a single man, or a man accompanied by a few male companions, leaving their families in camp, had started out on foot in search of game. This word was applied to this form of hunting even after horses had come into use.

U'zhon, "to sleep with them," referring to the game. This term was applied only to the hunting of deer by a small party of men, or to a single person going out and bivouacking among the game.

Shkon'the, "to make to move." The word refers to starting up the game. It was applied to a party of men going to a given locality to hunt deer. Young brothers and sons of the hunters formed this kind of hunting party. The hunters scattered out and advanced abreast, while the lads rushed into the woods, started up the game, and, if they could, secured a shot on their own account.

Tathie'une (*ta*, a part of *taxti*, "deer;" *thie*, a peculiar cut of the deer meat; *une*, "to seek"). A man who was not a good hunter frequently joined a *shkon'the* party and strove to be the first to reach the slain deer and so secure the right to be the first butcher. For his services he was entitled to the cut called *tathie*.

The *eshnon' monthin*, the *a'bae*, and the *shkon'the* hunting parties went out only in the fall and winter; these were the only parties that were not organized and under the direction of a leader. The buffalo and the elk moved in herds and were hunted differently from the deer, antelope, and bear. The latter were sought for by individuals or by small parties, as already described.

During the summer months the annual tribal buffalo hunt took place. At this time the main supply of meat was secured. This hunt was attended with much ceremony and was participated in by the entire tribe; it was called *te'une* (from *te*, "buffalo," and *une*, "to seek"). The summer buffalo hunt was more generally spoken of as *wae'gaxtho* (*wae*, "cultivating the soil;" *gaxtho*, "moving

after"—"going on the hunt after the cultivation of the corn is done") or *nuge'teune* (*nuge*, "summer;" *te*, "buffalo;" *une*, "to seek"). *Ma'theteune* was the name of the winter buffalo hunt (*ma'the*, "winter;" *te'une*, "buffalo hunt"). The buffalo was hunted in winter for pelts. When the herd was found, the act of chasing it was called *wano'ŋe*, the literal meaning of the word being "to intercept." In surrounding a herd the animals were intercepted by the hunters at every turn; this was the usual mode of attacking a herd of any kind. If among a party going out to hunt the buffalo in winter there was a man from the Iⁿke'çabe gens, the right to be the leader of the company was his by virtue of his gens, and his authority was obeyed by all the hunters of the party. The leadership accorded to this gens applied only to chasing the buffalo. The life of the people depended on this animal, as it afforded the principal supply of meat and pelts; therefore the buffalo hunt was inaugurated and conducted with religious rites, which not only recognized a dependence on Wakoⁿ'da, but enforced the observance by the people of certain formalities which secured to each member of the tribe an opportunity to obtain a share in the game.

As neither the elk nor the deer stood in a similar vital relation to the people, hunting these animals was attended with less ceremony. A party going to find elk was spoken of as *oⁿ'poⁿ anoⁿ'ŋe* (*umpoⁿ*, "elk;" *anoⁿ'ŋe* has the same meaning as *wanoⁿ'ŋe*). In such a party an Iⁿke'çabe enjoyed no special privileges but was on the same footing as all the other hunters. There was a leader, however, generally the man who initiated the hunting party. Winter was the season for elk hunting. Deer also were hunted in the winter, as during that season the animals were fat and in good condition. When a man went alone for still hunting he used a whistle that simulated the cry of the fawn, and thus attracted the male and female deer. When a party went out they camped near a place where deer were plentiful; the hunters then went off and returned to the camp. On such expeditions boys were sometimes sent into the brush to beat up the game for the hunters.

While the animals were alive, and in connection with the hunt, each had its distinctive name, but when they were butchered their flesh bore the common name of *ta*. If the meat was fresh it was spoken of as *tanuka*, "wet meat;" when dried it was simply *ta*.

RULES OBSERVED IN BUTCHERING

The following customs were observed in cutting up the carcasses of the deer, antelope, elk, and buffalo:

After a chase anyone could help in butchering the game. The first person to arrive had to set to work at once in order to secure the rights of the first helper. Every animal was cut up into certain portions.

These were graded and assigned by custom to the helpers in the order of their beginning work on the carcass. The man who shot the animal might find, on reaching it, men already engaged in cutting it up. In that case he would go to work on some other man's game. He did not, however, lose his rights in the animal he had shot. As every man's arrows bore the owner's peculiar mark, there could be no dispute as to who fired the fatal shot and so owned the killer's share.

All animals were made ready for butchering by being rolled on the back with the head pulled around backward by the beard until the face lay on the ground; next, the head was pushed under the edge of the side to serve as a support to the body as it lay on its back with feet upward. First, the skin was removed in this way: An incision was made at the lower end of the dewlap and the knife run up to the middle of the underlip; the knife was then again inserted at the starting point and a straight cut was made down to the vent; again the knife was inserted at the starting point and a straight cut made down the inside of each fore leg to the ankle. A straight cut was made down the inner side of each hind leg to the ankle. A cut was then made around the mouth and up the line of the nose to the base of the horns and around the horns, leaving the hide, when taken from the deer, antelope, elk, or buffalo, in one piece. The hide was called *ha*; this belonged to the man who killed the animal. The summer hide of the buffalo was called *teshna'ha*, meaning "hide without hair." From the *teshna'ha* clothing, moccasins, and tent covers were made, as these hides were easily tanned on both sides. The hides taken in winter were called *meha*; these were used for robes and bedding and were tanned on one side only. The hide of an old bull was preferred for bedding. In flaying the animal for this purpose the usual incisions were made on the breast; after this was flayed it was turned thereon, the hind legs were stretched out backward, the fore legs doubled under the body, and a straight cut was made down the back; then the skin was drawn off on each side. Skill was required to make straight cuts and was the result of much practice. One of the most difficult cuts to make was to follow the dewlap. A true outline was the pride of the hunter and added to the value of a skin, as well as to its beauty, particularly when it was to be used as a robe.

After flaying a buffalo, one of the hind legs was disjoined at the hip and cut off. The flesh of the leg was cut lengthwise, following the natural folds of the muscle, and the bone extracted; this portion was called *tezhe'ga*. The next act was to open the body sufficiently to remove the intestines. The large intestine, the stomach, and the bladder were removed and laid to one side. The fore leg was then unjointed and cut off at the shoulder and the bone extracted; this portion was called *tea'*. The breast was next cut; this portion

was called *temoⁿ'ge*. The meat between the ends of ribs and the breast was called *tezhu'*. There were two portions of this cut, which were considered very choice. These were the pieces that were offered at the ceremony of Anointing the Sacred Pole and were tabu to the Waxthe'xetoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga, who had charge of these rites. Next, the ribs were severed from the backbone; the ribs from both sides made one portion, which was called *tethi'ti*. The tongue was last to be taken out; this was secured by making an incision in the middle of the underjaw, pulling the tongue through the slit and then cutting it off at the roots. If it was late in the day, or the hunters were in haste, the tongue was left untouched. When one of the writers commented on the loss of so dainty a part, she was answered: "Men do not pay attention to these little delicacies but when their children ask for them, the men remember."

The following are the portions of the buffalo and their graded values:

1. Tezhu'—side meat; 2 portions.
2. Tezhe'ga—hind quarters; 2 portions.
3. Tethi'ti—ribs; 2 portions.
4. U'gaxetha—includes the stomach, beef tallow, and intestines; 1 portion.
5. Tenoⁿ'xahi—back; includes muscles and sinew; 1 portion.
6. Temoⁿ'ge—the breast; 1 portion.
7. Tea'—forequarters; 2 portions.

To the man who killed the animal belonged the hide and one portion of *tezhu'* and the brains. Whether he had more or not depended on the number of men who were helping. If there were only three helpers, their portions were as follows: To the first helper to arrive, one of the *tezhu'* and a hind-quarter; to the second comer, the *u'gaxetha*; to the third, the ribs. The various portions were adjusted by the owner of the animal. Each helper received something for his services. It sometimes happened that eight or ten men helped, in which case all the cuts were required. If two or more men butchered an animal in the absence of the hunter, when they finished the work each man took his proper portions and left those belonging to the man who had killed the game. When, therefore, the hunter returned to the animal he had shot, he might find it flayed and cut up and his portions lying on the hide awaiting him. Prominent men did not do the butchering. This work was performed by the poor or by young men, who thus secured food or choice bits. Should a chief or the son of a chief appear on the scene when butchering was in progress, he would be allowed the choice of any portion of the animal.

The large intestine was disentangled by the men, stripped between the fingers, and its contents were thrown away. Then it was handed over to the women to be prepared for cooking. They turned it inside out, washed it, and turned it back, being careful not to disturb

the fat that adhered to the outside. A narrow strip of tender meat from the side of the backbone was then cut; one end of the intestine bearing fat on it was turned in and the strip of meat was inserted at this end. As the meat was pushed along, the intestine became reversed—the fatty outside became the inside. After the meat was in, both ends of the intestine were securely tied; it was then boiled, or roasted on coals. This was called *taⁿ'he* and was esteemed a great delicacy. The meat thus cooked was very tender and all the juice was preserved within its close covering. The stomach was turned inside out, carefully washed, and the inner coating removed and thrown away; the remainder was used for food. The heart and lungs were usually left in the carcass. The small intestines of the sucking calf were braided and roasted over coals; these were regarded as a delicacy. Meat was generally boiled, the water, or soup, being taken after the meat had been eaten.

The bones, used for their marrow after roasting, were: *wazhi'be*, "leg bones;" *tenoⁿ'xahi*, "backbone." The *waba'çnoⁿ*, "shoulder blades," were valuable as implements, particularly those of the elk, used as hoes. The other bones were called: *te'pa*, "skull;" *he*, "horns;" *u'gaxoⁿ*, "hip bone;" *wazhi'beuton'ga*, "upper leg bone;" *zhi'beuçni*, "lower leg bone;" *te sha'ge*, "hoofs."

The buffalo meat was brought into camp on ponies. Boys drove these animals out to the hunting field for the purpose of packing the meat on them. The running horses used in hunting were not permitted to carry burdens. Sometimes women went out to help in butchering, particularly widows or childless women, or they drove the pack ponies. It was the woman's part to cut the meat into thin sheets and hang it on the racks for drying. The rib meat was cut into strips, braided, and dried.

The rules for butchering an elk and dividing the meat among the helpers were the same as for the buffalo.

After being flayed a deer was cut in half, one side being cut close to the backbone; this half was called the *tathie'*. This cut became the property of the first man to reach the deer and to begin to butcher the game. The other half of the deer, that to which the backbone and the neck adhered, was divided through the ribs, making two portions. The hind part of this cut belonged to the second person who arrived on the scene and took part in the butchering. To the man who shot the deer belonged the skin and the portion to which the neck was attached. Sometimes a man was alone when he killed a deer. In that case, after he had flayed the animal he cut all the meat from the bones and left the skeleton. If after he had finished a person should come up, the hunter would say, *Bthe'uthi shnude* (*bthe*, "all;" *uthishnude*, "stripped"), that is, "the meat is stripped from the bones."

making but one piece without divisions. Under such circumstances no portion would be given to the newcomer nor would any be demanded. This manner of taking home the deer saved labor to the women, as the meat was nearly ready to hang on the *wa'moⁿ shiha*, or "rack," for jerking.

The rules for butchering and dividing the flesh of the antelope and bear were the same as observed with the deer.

TE'UNE, OR ANNUAL BUFFALO HUNT

When the crops were well advanced and the corn, beans, and melons had been cultivated for the second time, the season was at hand for the tribe to start on its annual buffalo hunt. Preparations for this great event occupied several weeks, as everyone—men, women, and children—moved out on what was often a journey of several hundred miles. Only the very old and the sick and the few who stayed to care for and protect these, remained in the otherwise deserted village. All articles not needed were cached and the entrances to these receptacles concealed for fear of marauding enemies. The earth lodges were left empty, and tent covers and poles were taken along, as during the hunt these portable dwellings were used exclusively. For a century ponies have superseded dogs as burden bearers. The tent poles were fastened to each side of the pony by one end; the other trailed on the ground. The parfleche cases containing clothing, regalia, the food supplies, and the cooking utensils, were packed on the animal. Travois were used, supporting a comfortable nest for the children, some of whom, however, often found places among the household goods on the pony's back. Men and women walked or rode according to the family supply of horses. Between the trailing tent poles, which were fastened to a steady old horse, here and there rode a boy mounted on his own unbroken pony, for the first time given a chance to win his place as an independent rider in the great cavalcade. Many were the droll experiences recounted by older men to their children of adventures when breaking in their pony colts as the tribe moved over the prairies on the hunt. Much bustling activity occupied the households in anticipation of the start. Meanwhile a very different kind of preparation had been going on for months in the thought and actions of the man who had determined to seek the office of *wathoⁿ*, or director of the hunt. He had been gathering together the materials to make the *washa'be*, or staff of that office. These consisted of an ash sapling, two eagles (one black, one golden), a crow, a swan skin, a dressed buffalo skin, two pieces of sinew, a shell disk, a copper kettle (formerly a pottery cooking vessel), and a pipestem. These articles were all more or less difficult to obtain, and represented a determined purpose and labor on the part of the man and his family.

THE WATHON'

The office of *wathon'*, or director of the hunt, was one of grave responsibility and high honor. The man who aspired to fill it needed to possess courage and ability to lead men and command their respect and obedience. During the term of his office the entire tribe was placed under his direction and control; the Council of Seven Chiefs acted only as his counselors and, together with the people, obeyed his instructions. He directed the march of the tribe, selected its camping places, chose and dispatched the runners in search of buffalo herds, and directed the hunt when the game had been found. He became responsible for all occurrences, from the pursuit of the buffalo and the health and welfare of the people down to the quarreling of children and dogs.

When the time drew near for the tribe to go forth on the hunt, the aspirant to the office of *wathon'* took or sent the prescribed articles he had secured for making the *washa'be*, or ceremonial staff of the director, to the Washa'be subgens of the Ho'n'ga gens, to which belonged the hereditary right to make the staff. It was a pole of ash more than 8 feet high, the end bent like a shepherd's crook. The buffalo skin furnished by the aspirant was cut and a case made from it for covering the pole. All the coarse feathers were removed from the swan skin, leaving only the down; the skin was cut in strips and wound about the staff, making it a white object. On one side of the staff was fastened a row of eagle feathers, and a cluster of golden eagle feathers hung at the end of the crook. Crow feathers were arranged at the base about 10 inches from the end of the pole, which was sharpened. (For picture of the *washa'be*, see fig. 27.) To the pipestem which must accompany the *washa'be* was fastened a shell disk. This stem was probably used when smoking the peculiar pipe belonging to the White Buffalo Hide.

After the *washa'be* was made, the Ho'n'ga subgens in charge of the White Buffalo Hide called a council composed of the governing tribal council (p. 208) and the Washa'be subgens, to which was invited the man who desired to be the *wathon'*. This action of the Ho'n'ga subgens constituted the appointment of the man to the office of *wathon'*. This council had also to determine the direction in which the people were to go and the day on which they were to start. This decision was considered one of the most important acts in the welfare of the people; on it depended the food supply and also safety from enemies while securing it. The food eaten at this council was either dried buffalo meat or maize, which had to be cooked before sunrise. At this council the two Sacred Tribal Pipes were ceremonially filled while their ritual was chanted. This was done as the sun rose. Everyone present wore the buffalo robe with the hair outside, the head on the left arm and the tail

on the right, and sat with head bowed and arms crossed on the breast so as to bring the robe around the head like a hood. No feathers or ornaments or any articles pertaining to war could be worn or could be present in the Sacred Tent. The Pipes were smoked in the formal manner; the Iⁿke'cabe and Tha'tada servers passed them to the members. The smoking was in silence. After the Pipes had been cleaned by the officers appointed for this duty and returned to their keeper, one of the principal chiefs opened the proceedings by mentioning the terms of relationship between himself and the others present. Each one responded as he was designated. The chief then spoke of the great importance of the subject before them and called on those present to express their opinions. If since the last similar council any chief or member present had given way to violence in word or act, he must not speak. So long as he took no part in these official proceedings the evil consequences of his words or actions remained with himself, but should he act officially the consequences of his misdeed would be transferred to the people. After all who could rightfully take part in the discussion had spoken with due deliberation, the newly chosen *watho^{n'}* was called on. He generally summed up the views that were acceptable to the majority of those present. If there were differences of opinion, then the men had to remain in council until they came to an agreement. At this council the general route the tribe was to take was laid out. In planning the route two necessary features were always considered—wood and a plentiful supply of water. It was also important to lead the people where they could gather the wild turnip in great quantities. These turnips were peeled, sliced, dried, and sewed up in skin bags for winter use. Only the general direction was determined at this council. The daily camps were selected by the *watho^{n'}* as the people went along. These were usually from 10 to 15 miles apart, wood and water again being important factors in the choice of the camping place. If, owing to the lack of wood or water, the distance between two camping places was greater than could conveniently be made in one journey, the *watho^{n'}* directed the tribal herald to consult the women, on whom devolved much of the labor of the camp as well as the care of the children, and to ascertain their decision in the matter. The herald then reported the wishes of the majority and the *watho^{n'}* issued his order accordingly.

When, at the initial council held by the Washa'be subgens, the governing tribal council, and the *watho^{n'}*, a decision was reached, the official herald was sent to proclaim to the people the day fixed for departure. Meanwhile the council sat in the bowed attitude and the sacred feast was served in seven wooden bowls. These were passed four times around the council, each person taking a mouthful from a black horn spoon. This food could not be touched with the

fingers or any other utensil. The sun must have set before the chiefs could lift their heads and the council break up, and the members return to their homes. The day for the start once fixed, no change could be made, as that would be breaking faith with Wakoⁿ'da, in whose presence the decision had been reached.

No prescribed order was observed in making the start. Those who were ready moved first, but all kept fairly well together. For four days prior to the start the man who was to act as *wathoⁿ'* fasted, and when all were departing he remained behind. After everyone had gone he took off his moccasins and, carrying no weapons, followed slowly with bare feet. He reached the camp after the people had eaten their supper, went to his own tent, and as he entered everyone withdrew and left him alone. The fast, the barefoot march, and the lonely vigil were explained to be "a prayer to Wakoⁿ'da to give courage to the man to direct wisely and to lead successfully the people as they went forth to seek for food and clothing." The old men went on to state that "during all the time the man is *wathoⁿ'* he must be abstemious, eat but little, and live apart from his family; he must continually pray, for on him all the people are depending." This manner of life by the director was called *noⁿ'zhiⁿzhonⁿ*—the same word that was applied to the fast observed by the youth when he went alone to pray to Wakoⁿ'da. (See p. 128.) The idea expressed in this word was explained to be that "the man stands oblivious to the natural world and is in communication only with the unseen and supernatural world which environs him and in which he receives power and direction from Wakoⁿ'da, the great unseen power." Every effort was made by the chiefs and leading men to prevent or to control petty contentions, for if everyone was to secure a share in the products of the chase, there had to be harmony, obedience to authority, and good order throughout the tribe. If, however, disturbances frequently occurred, or if the winds continually blew toward the game, thus revealing the approach of the people and frightening away the buffalo, such ill fortune might necessitate the resignation of the *wathoⁿ'*. To avoid this necessity on the part of the director, a man was appointed by the chiefs who took the name *wathoⁿ'* and was to assume all the blame of quarrels and other mishaps. This official scapegoat took his office good-naturedly and in this humorous way served the tribal director.

On the march the contents of the three Sacred Tents were in charge of their keepers. In late years the White Buffalo Hide was packed on a pony; in early days it was carried on the back of its keeper. The *washa'be* (fig. 27) was carried by a virgin, and as it belonged to the White Buffalo Hide she walked near that sacred article. When in camp this staff of office was kept in the Sacred Tent containing the Hide. The Sacred Pole was carried by its keeper. When the camping place

was reached, each woman knew exactly where to place her tent in the *hu'thuga*, or tribal circle. The Sacred Tents were set up in their respective places and the sacred articles put at once under cover. After the camp was made the daily life went on as usual; the ponies were tethered or hobbled and put where they could feed; wood and water were secured, and soon the smoke betrayed that preparations for the evening meal were going forward.

The beauty of an Indian camp at night deserves a passing word. It can never be forgotten by one who has seen it and it can hardly be pictured to one who has not. The top of each conical tent, stained with smoke, was lost in shadow, but the lower part was aglow from the central fire and on it the moving life inside was pictured in silhouette, while the sound of rippling waters beside which the camp stood accentuated the silence of the overhanging stars.

The signal to move in the morning was the dropping of the cover from the tent of the director. When the poles of his tent were visible every woman began to unfasten her tent cover, and in a short time the camp was a memory and the people were once more on the march, stretched out as a motley colored mass over the green waste.

As the buffalo country was reached—that is, when signs of game were discerned—then the chiefs, the *watho'*, and the Washa'be subgens of the Ho'ga gens met in council and appointed a number of men who were to act as "soldiers" or marshals. These men were chosen from among the bravest and most trusty warriors of the tribe, those who had won the right to wear "the Crow" (see p. 441). They were summoned to the Sacred Tent of the White Buffalo Hide, where they were informed of their duty. It is said that these officers were told: "You are to recognize no relations in performing your duty—neither fathers, brothers, nor sons." Their services began when the camp was within hearing distance of the herd selected for the coming surround. The marshals were to prevent noises, as loud calls and the barking of dogs, and to see that no one slipped away privately. Few, however, ever attempted to act independently, as it meant death to a man to stampede a herd by going out privately to secure game. During the surround the marshals held the hunters back until the signal was given for the attack on the herd. It was in the exercise of this duty that the marshals were sometimes put to the test of keeping true to the obligations of their office.

The *watho'* chose some twenty young men to act as runners to search for a herd suitable for the tribe to surround. If the region was one in which there was danger of encountering enemies, the runners went out in groups; otherwise they might scatter and go singly in search of game. When the runners had been selected the tribal herald stood in front of the Sacred Tent containing the White Buffalo Hide, and intoned the following summons. First he called the name

of a young man and then added: *Monzhoⁿ iⁿthegaçoⁿga tea ia thiⁿ ho!* (*monzhoⁿ*, "land;" *iⁿthegaçoⁿga*, "explore for me;" *tea*, "may;" *ia*, "come;" *thiⁿ*, "action;" *ho*, "calling attention")—"Come! that you may go and secure knowledge of the land for me."

When the runners (the *wadoⁿ'be*, "those who look") had found a suitable herd, they made a speedy run back to where the tribe was camped; when they were near they paused on some prominent point where they could be seen and signaled their report by running from side to side; if there were two young men, both ran, one from right to left and the other from left to right, thus crossing each other as they ran. (See picture of I'shibazhi, pl. 39, a runner on the last tribal buffalo hunt.) This signal was called *waba'ha*. As soon as they were seen, word was taken to the Sacred Tents and to the *wathoⁿ'*. The Sacred Pole and the pack containing the White Buffalo Hide were carried to the edge of the camp in the direction of the returning runners, followed by the Seven Chiefs. There a halt was made while the runners approached to deliver their message. The White Buffalo Hide was taken out and arranged over a frame so as to resemble somewhat a buffalo lying down. The Sacred Pole was set up, leaning on its staff, the erotted stick. The chiefs, the keepers, and the herald were grouped in the rear of these sacred objects. The first runner approached and in a low tone delivered his message, telling of the whereabouts and the size of the herd, being careful not to exaggerate its numbers. He was followed by the second runner, who repeated the same message. The herald was then dispatched by the chiefs to notify the people. He returned to the camp and shouted: "It is reported that smoke (dust) is rising from the earth as far as the eye can reach!"

Meanwhile, as soon as signs of the returning runners were seen the director went to his own tent and remained alone until he heard the voice of the herald shouting to the people. Then he went at once to the Sacred Tent of the White Buffalo, where were the Seven Chiefs and the subgens of the *Hoⁿ'ga*, who had charge of the tent and its belongings. The *wathoⁿ'* now became the leader of the council, and gave commands to the herald. Two men were selected by him to lead in the surround, one to carry the *washa'be* and the other the pipestem. Two boys were also selected to secure the twenty tongues and one heart for the sacred feast. Then the herald went out, and turning to the left passed around the tribal circle, calling as he went the command in the name of the director:

You are to go upon the chase, bring in your horses.

Braves of the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda*, *Hoⁿ'gashenu*, pity me who belong to you!

Soldiers of the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda*, *Hoⁿ'gashenu*, pity me who belong to you!

Women of the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda*, *Hoⁿ'gashenu*, pity me who belong to you!

The tribe was always addressed by the names of its two divisions, and the words "Pity me who belong to you" constituted an appeal by



I'SHIBAZHI

the *watho^{n'}* to the honor and the compassion of the people to avoid all dissensions and imprudence which might bring about trouble or misfortune, since any misdeed or mishap would fall heavily on the director, who was responsible for every action, fortunate or unfortunate, and who must suffer for the acts of the tribe, as through his office he belonged to them, was in a sense a part of them, "as," an Omaha explained "a man's hand belongs to his body."

If the herd was at such a distance that the tribe must move on and camp again before the chase took place then the Pole and the Hide remained where the message of the runners had been received, until the people were ready to go to the new camping place. On that journey the two sacred objects, with the Seven Chiefs, led the advance, while the marshals rode on the sides of the great cavalcade and kept the people in order. Once arrived at the camping place, the camp was made silently, for fear of any sound frightening the herd, and strict silence was maintained until the hunters were ready to start. If, however, the herd was discovered near the camp, then after the message from the runners had been delivered the two sacred objects, the Sacred Pole and the White Buffalo Hide, were returned to their tents and the marshals at once enforced silence, killing any barking dogs if necessary. All preparations were made as quietly as possible. Each hunter was attended by one or two mounted boys who led the fast running horses to be used in the chase: later his own mount would be used to bring in the meat from the field. Once again the herald circled the camp. His return to the tent of the White Buffalo Hide was the signal for the hunters to move. The two young men bearing the *washa'be* and the pipestem were the first to start; these led the procession of hunters, headed by the *watho^{n'}* and the Seven Chiefs. The advance to the herd was by four stages. At the close of each stage the chiefs and the director sat and smoked. This slow approach to the herd was for definite purposes: First, to afford opportunity to make prayer offerings of smoke to *Wako^{n'}da*, to secure success; second, to check haste and excitement among the hunters; third, to insure an orderly progress toward the buffalo so that each person might take part in the chase and obtain his share of the food supply. As the four stops partook of a religious character they could not be disregarded with impunity. The following incident occurred during a tribal hunt early in the last century: At the third halt a man galloped up to where the *watho^{n'}* and the chiefs sat smoking and spoke impatiently of the slow progress, declaring that the herd was moving and might escape because of the delay. The *watho^{n'}* said quietly, "If your way is the better, follow it!" The man dashed off, followed by the hunters, who rushed on the herd; in the confusion several of the hunters were injured and the man who led the people to disobey the rites was crippled for life by his horse falling on him. This dis-

aster was regarded as a supernatural punishment of his irreverent action in interrupting the prescribed order of procedure.

When the designated place for the attack was reached the two youths paused while the hunters divided into two parties. One was to follow the youth with the *washa'be*; the other the youth with the pipestem. At the command of the *watho'* the two young men started and ran at full speed to circle the entire herd, followed by the horsemen. The marshals with their whips held the riders back and in order, for no one was allowed to break into the herd or advance beyond the *washa'be* or the pipestem. Whosoever attempted to do so or who failed to control his horse and keep in line was flogged, the rawhide thong of the marshal falling on the bare body of the hunter with all the force of the strong arm of the officer. These officers were the only men to wear ornaments on the hunts. They were decorated with the highly prized insignia, "the Crow." All of the hunters were nude except for moccasins and breechcloths. When the two youths bearing the *washa'be* and the pipestem met, the *washa'be* was thrust into the ground and the pipestem tied to it. This was the signal at which the marshals gave the word of command to charge on the herd. The hunters responded with shouts and yells, driving the bewildered buffalo in confused circles toward the camp. When the two youths started with the emblems of authority to circle the herd their places were immediately taken by the two boys who had been selected to secure the tongues and heart for the sacred feast. As soon as the hunters rushed on the herd and a buffalo was seen to fall, these boys pushed in, dodging in and out among the animals and hunters, for they must take the tongue from a buffalo before it had been touched with a knife. They carried their bows unstrung and thrust the tongues on them. They had been instructed as to the manner in which the tongues must be taken. An opening was made in the throat of the buffalo and the tongue pulled through and taken out; then the end of the tongue was bent over and the fold cut. It was thought that if a knife was thrust through the tongue to make a hole, it would bring bad luck. Through the slit thus made the unstrung bow was thrust. Ten tongues were carried on one bow. When the twenty tongues and the heart were secured, the boys returned with these articles to the Sacred Tent of the White Buffalo Hide. Meanwhile the slaughter of the game went on. The Omaha were expert hunters and many a man could boast of sending his arrow clear through a buffalo and wounding a second one beyond with the same missile. (Pl. 40.) At the conclusion of the hunt the *washa'be* and the pipestem were brought back and delivered to the *watho'*. The meat was packed on the horses and taken to camp, where it was jerked by the women. On the night of the surround the feast of tongues and heart was held in the



ARROW RELEASE

Tent of the White Buffalo Hide. The Seven Chiefs, the *watho^{n'}*, the Washa'be subgens of the Ho^{n'}ga, and sometimes a few of the leading men, were present. All wore the buffalo robe in ceremonial fashion. On this occasion, though the subgens prepared the food they could not partake of it—the buffalo tongue was their tabu. Their position was that of host; they were acting for the White Buffalo, of which they were the keepers, and tribal etiquette demanded that at a feast the host should not eat any of the food offered his guests. Those who were permitted to eat at this feast took their food in the crouching attitude observed at the initial council when the *watho^{n'}* was authorized and the route to be taken on the hunt determined. Sometimes the boys gathered more than the twenty tongues required and if the supply was more than sufficient for the feast they received a portion, as did other persons. The feast being a sacred one, the consecrated food was prized, as it was believed to bring health and long life. A share was sometimes begged and the portion received was divided among a number of people, who ate of it in the hope that they might thereby secure to themselves the promised benefits. The tongues and heart were boiled; only the chiefs and the *watho^{n'}* were present during the cooking.

After the feast the Washa'betoⁿ subgens of the Ho^{n'}ga sang the ritual of the White Buffalo Hide. The Hide was mounted on its frame and occupied the place of honor in the back of the tent facing the east, while the chiefs and the *watho^{n'}* muffled in their robes sat with bowed heads and smoked the peculiarly shaped pipe belonging to the Hide.

THE WHITE BUFFALO HIDE

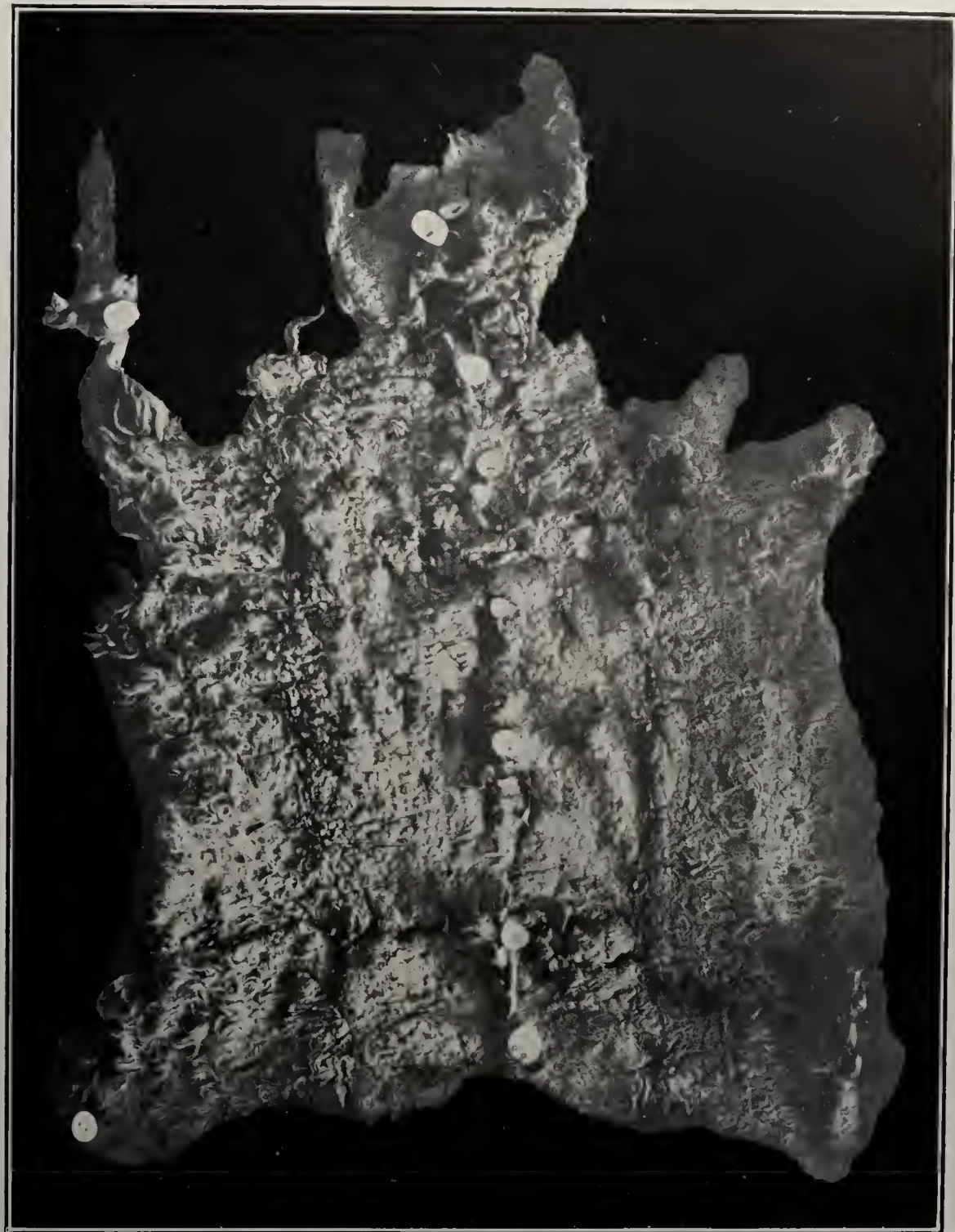
The manner in which the ritual of the White Buffalo Hide was obtained, as well as that of the Sacred Pole, has been recounted (pp. 247-250). When the old man Wako^{n'}mo^{n'}thiⁿ (fig. 60) had completed the rituals, he agreed to deliver the White Buffalo Hide to the writers the following spring or summer. He desired to have this sacred object, which had been so long his care, with him during one more winter and until "the grass should grow again." He kept the Hide in a tent set apart for its use that was pitched near his little cabin. He used to go and sit near it as it hung on a pole tied up as a bundle. There he would muse on the memory of the days when it presided over the hunt and its ritual was sung by him and his companions while the chiefs smoked its sacred pipe and the people feasted on the product of the chase, enjoying peace and plenty. It was hard for the old man to adjust himself to the great changes that had taken place. He realized that his years were few, that the other sacred articles belonging to the tribe were in safe keeping, and he said: "It is right that the Hide should go and be with the Pole, as it always used

to be, and it shall go there when the grass comes again." Pitying the old man, the writers acceded to his request, although a large sum of money had been given him for the Hide, and they left it with him. In February, 1898, came the tidings that while the old man was at the Agency (whither he had been called to transact some business), thieves had broken into his tent and had stolen the White Buffalo Hide. The grief of the old keeper was most pathetic. For months every morning he went out and while yet the morning star hung in the eastern sky he wailed as for the dead. His sorrow shortened his days, for he survived only a season or two. He bitterly lamented not putting the Hide where no irreverent hands could reach it—but it was too late. After months of search the writers traced the Hide, which had been sold to a man in Chicago, and learned the name of the thief. Efforts were made to buy back the stolen relic and place it where the old keeper had wished it to go, beside the Sacred Pole, but the purchaser would not accede to any plan looking to that end. The Hide is now deposited with the Academy of Sciences, Lincoln Park, Chicago.

It is the skin of a small, whitish^a buffalo, with hoofs and horns intact. A row of shell disks are fastened down the back. (Pl. 41.) The exact measurements the writers have been unable to obtain. The pipe is peculiar. It is of red catlinite, nearly circular in shape, and represents the hoof of the buffalo. (Fig. 64). The significance of this pipe is indicated in the last stanza of the first song of Part II of the ritual belonging to the Hide. (See p. 290.)

According to Moⁿxe'wathe, who was hereditarily one of the keepers of the Tent of the Sacred Hide, there were formerly two Sacred White Buffalo Hides, one male, the other female. The male hide was buried with its keeper many years ago, so that it was the female that was in the charge of Wakoⁿmoⁿthiⁿ. The same authority stated that on the first or second camp, when the tribe was on the annual buffalo hunt, any man who desired to make a present to the Sacred Tent, so as to "count" the gifts, could do so in the following manner: He would send to the keeper and ask him to "untie the buffalo." The keeper made a sort of frame of withes and spread over it the Hide, so as to give it the appearance of a live buffalo. The man who wished to make gifts, took them and with a little girl stood before the tent but at a distance from it. Then he sent his presents one by one by the hand of the little girl to the keeper, who received them. When he had finished, some other ambitious man would advance with presents and send them by a little girl in the same manner. These presents

^a The albino buffalo was sacred among all the close cognates of the Omaha and also among the Dakota tribes. Catlin mentions that the Mandan gave the Blackfeet the value of eight horses for a white buffalo skin, which they placed with great ceremony in their medicine lodge. Personal names referring to the white buffalo occur in all the cognates. (For an account of a "White Buffalo Ceremony" among the Dakota, see Peabody Museum Reports, III, 260-275, 1880-86, Cambridge, 1887.)

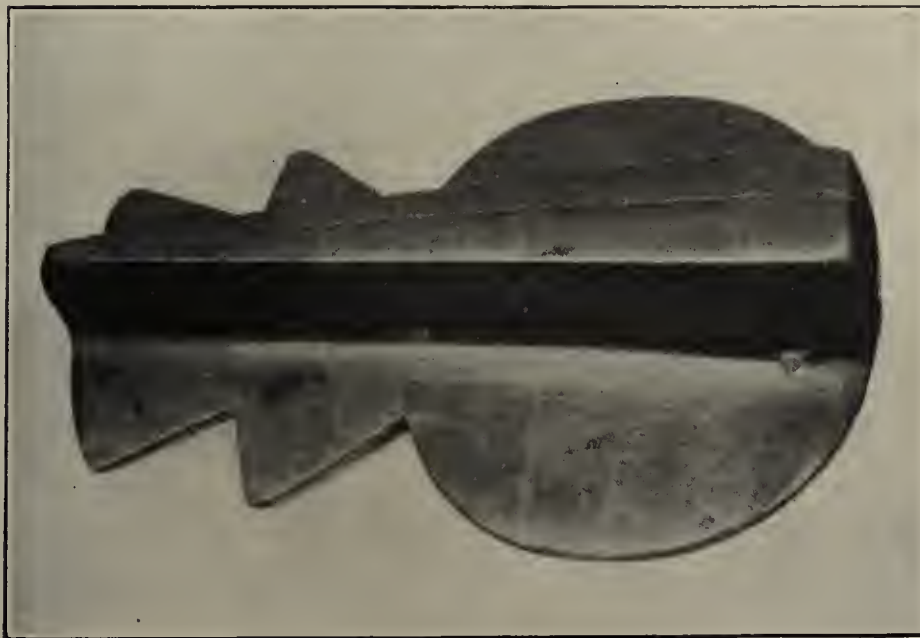


THE WHITE BUFFALO HIDE

could all be "counted" toward the one hundred which would entitle a man to entrance into the Hoⁿ'hewachi and to put the "mark of honor" on his daughter. The reason the presents were sent one at a



Upper surface



Under surface

FIG. 64. Pipe belonging to White Buffalo Hide.

time was to give the man the ability to say, "I have been to the Sacred Tent so many times." If he had sent all his presents at once, they would have counted as only one gift.

When the tribe was near the buffalo herds the people moved abreast and not in a file. As the Sacred Tent was then always in advance, when the Tent stopped and the buffalo was untied all the people had to stop, so the man was then seen by all the tribe as he made his presents to the Sacred Hide.

THE RITUAL OF THE WHITE BUFFALO HIDE

The ritual of the White Buffalo Hide is dramatic in character but hardly a drama in form. It is composed of nineteen songs, divided into four groups. The ritual deals with the gift of the buffalo to man and although it pictures in a realistic way man's efforts to secure this gift provided for him, yet a supernatural presence more or less pervades the ritual from its opening song to the close. The belief in the supernatural presence was emphasized by the muffled figures of the chiefs and the *watho^{n'}* as they sat with bowed heads and smoked the peculiar pipe sacred to the Hide while the ritual was sung.

The argument of the ritual is briefly as follows:

Part I.—The Pipe

(TWO SONGS)

(1) The pipe "appears." (2) Man is commanded to take it, that he may supplicate *Wako^{n'}da*.

Part II.—The Supplication

(FOUR SONGS)

(1) Creation recalled; the species buffalo created. (2) The buffalo's growth and its perpetuation are provided for. (3) The buffaloes converge toward man. (4) They come from every direction and cover the face of the earth.

Part III.—Assurance of Wako^{n'}da

(ONE SONG)

(1) The animals are to grow and perpetuate themselves that they may benefit man.

Part IV.—The Hunt

(TWELVE SONGS)

(1) The chiefs' song; refers to the council when the route for the hunt was decided upon. (2) The people start "toward the lowing herds." (3) The herds retreat but are seen at a distance. (4) Runners go in search of the herds, aided by the birds. (5) Return of the runners; joyful murmurs among the people at the good news. (6) The herald tells of the council's decision to move on the herd and repeats the director's admonition. (7) The herald proclaims the signal for the start. (8) Depicts the field of the hunt; the men seek the animals they have shot. (9) Refers to the custom of cutting up the meat. (10) The song of plenty and teaching of economy. (11) Re-

turn to camp of the hunters, when the boys carry the meat for the sacred feast. (12) The plentifulness of the game causes some hunters to camp on the field.

Each song was repeated four times. There was a pause after each part, for all ceremonials had to be performed with deliberation. The singing of this ritual occupied the greater part of the night. And the same rule applied to these songs as to those belonging to the Sacred Pole. An error made it necessary to begin at the first song again, for the ritual must go straight through without any break in the order of the songs.

It is a question with the writers whether the ritual as here given is entire. The old keeper-priest gave the songs as a whole and the few old men who remembered them declared them correct and complete. Still, there may be unintentional omissions. To sing these songs into a graphophone was very different for the old man from giving them in their order during the ceremonial, when any omission would have been rectified at once by aid of the *xu'ka*, or prompters. The ritual as it here stands is at least fairly complete, and if any songs are lacking they would seem to be unimportant to the general outline.

Part I.—The Pipe

FIRST SONG

WHITE BUFFALO HIDE

(Sung in octaves)

Tha - ni - ba - ha!..... Xu - be he - he.....

Tha ni - ba-ha e - tho^ be tha - ni - ba - ha, Do^ - ba?

1. Thani'baha
2. Xu'be hehe
3. Thani'ba ha, e'tho^be
4. Thani'ba ha. Do^ba

. Literal translation

1. *Thani'ba*, an old form of *nini'ba*, pipe. The Osage use this form in daily speech. *Ha*, vowel prolongation of preceding syllable.

2. *Xu'be*, part of *waxu'be*, an object set apart from ordinary usage and made holy; some consecrated thing that is used as a medium of communication with the supernatural, with *Wako^da*. *Hehe*, *ehe*, I say; the added *h* is for euphony in singing.

3. *E'tho^be*, appears, comes into view, of its own volition, from a covered place, so as to be seen by all.

4. *Doⁿ'ba*, to see; the word as here used is a part of the phrase *doⁿ'ba iga* (*doⁿ'ba*, to see; *i*, plural sign, a number addressed; *ga*, command). The phrase is equivalent to "Behold ye!"

Free translation

The holy Pipe!
Holy, I say.
Now it appears before you,
The holy Pipe, behold ye!

In this song the pipe is not addressed, but speaks through its keeper-priest, first by its proper name, then by a term indicative of its function; it is then asserted that it "appears" not by any agency of man, but by its own power, and commands men to behold. The use of the word *ethoⁿbe* gives the key to the meaning of the song—the Pipe acts, "appears;" it is not acted upon or made to appear. Although so simple and concrete, this song throws more light on the native thought and belief in the use of the pipe than any single song the writers have found. The pipe is here represented as infused with "movement," that special attribute of life, and "appears" to become the bearer of man's supplication to *Wakoⁿ'da*. The music fittingly clothes the thought expressed in the words and makes a majestic opening to the ritual.

SECOND SONG

M.M. ♩ = 54 (Sung in octaves)

Ni - ni - ba xu - ba he thoⁿ thoⁿ - ba ha he thoⁿ - be

Ha e - he the I - u - gthe he - thoⁿ - thoⁿ - ba ha

he - thoⁿ be Tha - ni - ni - ba ha he - thoⁿ - thoⁿ - ba ha he tha

Ha e - he the I - u - gthe he - thoⁿ - thoⁿ ba ha he thoⁿ be

Tha - ni - ni - ba ha he - thoⁿ - thoⁿ - ba ha he tha

1. Niniba, xuba, he thoⁿthoⁿba ha hethoⁿbe
2. Ha ehe the
3. Iugthe, he thoⁿthoⁿba ha he thoⁿbe
4. Thaniniba ha, he thoⁿthoⁿba ha he tha
5. Ha ehe the
6. Iugthe he thoⁿthoⁿba ha, he thoⁿbe
7. Thaniniba ha he' thoⁿthoⁿba ha, he tha

Literal translation

1. *Nini'ba*, pipe; *xuba*, part of *waxu'be*, holy object. The change of the final vowel to *a* is for euphony in singing; *hethoⁿthoⁿba*, the same as *e'thoⁿbe*—prefixing of *h*, doubling of syllable *thoⁿ*, and change of final vowel to *a* are for euphony and to bend the word to the music, and to convey the sound of the breath; *ha*, vowel prolongation.

2. *Ha*, modified form of *ho*, now, at this time; *ehe*, I say; *the*, this.

3. *Iugthe*—*i*, mouth; *ugthe*, to insert.

4. *He*, a part of *ehe*, I say; *tha*, an oratorical sign at the close of the sentence, implying something of a command.

Free translation

Holy Pipe, most holy, appears; it appears before you.

Now I bid ye

Within your lips take this holy Pipe, holy Pipe.

The Pipe, it appears, appears before you, I say.

Now I bid ye

Within your lips take this holy Pipe, holy Pipe.

The Pipe it appears, appears before you, I say.

In this song the chiefs, the representatives of the people, are bidden to accept the holy Pipe, take it within their lips, that the fragrant smoke may carry upward their supplication. This song precedes the actual smoking of the Pipe. The music is interesting, as in it the motive of the first song is echoed, but it is treated in a way to suggest the movement toward the Pipe, which in the first song stood apart, clothed with mysterious power. It now comes near and in touch with the supplicants and lends itself to service. These two songs complement each other and show both dramatic and musical form.

Part II.—The Supplication

FIRST SONG

Recitative

(Sung in octaves)

Ki - noⁿ shkoⁿ ha I ba - ha - doⁿ ha e - he e - he

thi - shtoⁿ a - doⁿ pa te shkoⁿ e he - a - ha

last phrase
Ci gthi!

1. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ, adoⁿ Pa te shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
2. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿadoⁿ, Iⁿde shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
3. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿadoⁿ, Iⁿshta shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
4. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿadoⁿ, He te shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
5. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿadoⁿ, Nitateshkoⁿ, ehe a ha
6. Kinoⁿshkon ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿadoⁿ, Noⁿshki shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
7. Kinoⁿshkon ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿadoⁿ, Noⁿka shkoⁿ, ehe a ha

8. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Tea shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
9. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Moⁿge shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
10. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Thiti shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
11. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Zhuga shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
12. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Nixa shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
13. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Ćiⁿde shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
14. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Imbe shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
15. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Zhiⁿga shkoⁿ, ehe a ha
16. Kinoⁿshkoⁿ ha, I bahadoⁿ ha, ehe ehe, thishtoⁿ adoⁿ, Ćite shkoⁿ, ehe a ha, Ći gthe

Literal translation

1. *Ki*, himself or itself; *noⁿshkoⁿ*, movement, action—it moves itself; *ha*, end of the sentence; *I bahadoⁿ*, conscious, having knowledge; *ha*, behold; *ehe*, I say; *thishtoⁿ*, it is done, it is finished, accomplished; *adoⁿ*, *badoⁿ*, because; *pa te*, nose (*te*, suffix, standing); *shkoⁿ*, moves; *a ha*, behold.

2. *Iⁿde'*, face.
3. *Iⁿsh^ta'*, eyes.
4. *I^e*, horns; *te* (suffix), standing.
5. *Ni^ta'*, ears; *te*, standing.
6. *Noⁿsh^ki'*, head.
7. *Noⁿ'ka*, back.
8. *Te^a'*, arm (buffalo arm).
9. *Moⁿ'ge*, breast.
10. *Thi^ti'*, ribs.
11. *Zhu[']ga*, body.
12. *Ni[']xa*, stomach.
13. *Ćiⁿ'de*, tail.
14. *Im[']be*, hind quarters.
15. *Zhiⁿ'ga*, little one, the calf.
16. *Ćite*, feet; *Ći gthe*, tracks, footprints.

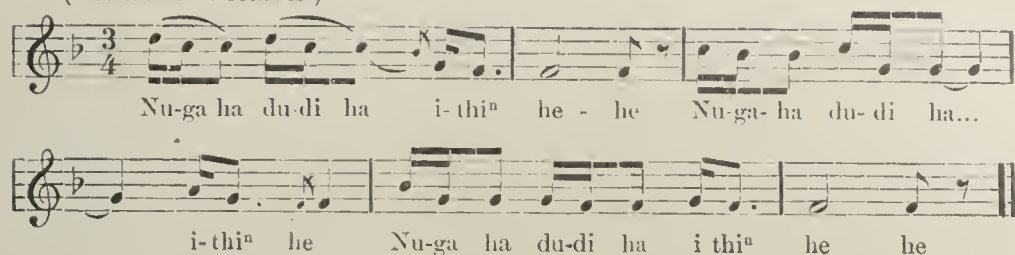
In this song the creation of the buffalo is depicted. "Movement" is synonymous with life. The living embryo moves of itself. According to native reasoning it moves because it is endowed with consciousness. As breath is the sign of life, the nose, whence the breath issues, is the first to "move." Next the face moves, then the eyes, and so on until all the parts of the body "move" because of conscious life. Then the little one, the calf, is born. Finally as the feet move they leave on the earth a sign of life—"tracks."^a

The music is recitative and in a minor key. The emphasis on the keynote, of the last word, *Ćigthe*, "tracks," indicates the finality of the creation.

^a Observe in this connection the peculiar pipe belonging to the Hidle (fig. 64), in the shape of a track of a buffalo hoof.

SECOND SONG

(Recitative in octaves)



1

Nu'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he
 Nu'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he
 Nu'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he

2

Zha'wa ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he
 Zha'wa ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he
 Zha'wa ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he

3

Mi'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he
 Mi'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he
 Mi'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he

4

Zhiⁿ'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he
 Zhiⁿ'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he
 Zhiⁿ'ga ha! du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he

5

Texi he du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he
 Texi he du'di ha i thiⁿ! he
 Texi he du'di ha i thiⁿ! he he

Literal translation

1. Nu'ga, male, bull. The word is here used in a generic sense. Ha, sign showing that the male is addressed; du'di ha, nearer this way; i, come; thiⁿ, sign showing that the object spoken of is moving; he he, ehe, I say—the h is added for euphony in singing.

2. Zha'wa, large, majestic, imposing; zha'wa ha!, O majestic one!

3. Mi'ga, cow, female. The word is here generic and not specific. Mi'ga ha!, O mother one!

4. Zhiⁿ'ga, little—the word refers to the young of the buffalo; zhiⁿ'ga ha!, O little one!

5. Texi, difficult to accomplish; he, ha, the sign of address.

This song is closely related to the preceding. In the first stanza of this supplicating song the newborn male moving yonder is addressed and asked to come nearer this way—that is, toward man, for whose benefit he was created. In the second stanza the male has grown, has reached maturity, and presents the imposing appear-

ance of the buffalo bull. He is asked to come nearer with all his powers, that man may be helped to live. In the third stanza, the female, the mother with all her potency, is addressed, and bidden to come nearer toward waiting mankind to yield him food. The fourth stanza addresses the calf, with its promise of growth and of a future supply of food. The calf is bidden, as were its progenitors, to come nearer and give food to man. In the fifth stanza the word *teri* is used as a trope. It refers to the great power of Wakoⁿda as shown in the vast herds brought about by the multiplication of single pairs. These moving herds are asked, supplicated, to come nearer to man, to yield him food and life.

The music is the five-tone scale of F major. Although divided into three phases it is recitative in character and the motive is similar to the preceding song, to which it is related.

THIRD SONG

(Sung in octaves)

In-toⁿ a-i ba-doⁿ ha - i bi hi the zhoⁿ-ge he she-noⁿ-ha ge thoⁿ

In - toⁿ a - i ba - doⁿ ha - i bi hi the

toⁿ - a-i ba-doⁿ ha - i - bi hi the Yo yo du - da!

1. I ⁿtoⁿ ai badoⁿ ha ibiⁿhi the, zhoⁿge he shenoⁿha ge thoⁿ
2. I ⁿtoⁿ ai badoⁿ ha ibiⁿhi the, 'toⁿ ai badoⁿ ha ibiⁿhi the
3. Yo, yo, duda

Literal translation

1. Iⁿtoⁿ, now, at the present time; ai badoⁿ, they coming; ha, end of sentence; ibiⁿhe, they are coming; the, tha, oratorical close of sentence; zhoⁿge, uzhoⁿ'ge, path or paths; he, vowel prolongation; sheⁿnoⁿha, all; ge, many; thoⁿ, the.

2. 'Toⁿ, iⁿ'toⁿ, now.

3. Yo, come—a form of call; duda, this way.

In this supplicatory song the “moving herds” spoken of in the previous song are now drawing near, converging by many paths toward man. Such was the motive of their birth, to benefit man, to respond to his supplications and yield their life when he reverently calls them: *Yo, yo, duda!*—“this way, hither come!” The music is in the five-tone scale of F sharp minor. The call is on the key-note an octave and a fifth below the opening of the song, which is recitative in form, and follows the motive of the two preceding songs, to which it is related.

FOURTH SONG

(Sung in octaves)

Wi-ax-chi ha ha - i bi hi the wi-ax-chi ha ha a - i bi hi the

Wi - ax-chi-ha ha - i bi hi the wi - ax - chi - ha ha-i bi hi

wi-ax-chi ha- ha - i bi - hi the wi - ax - chi ha - i bi hi

1

Wiaxchi ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Wiaxchi ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Wiaxchi ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Wiaxchi ha, hai bi 'hi the

2

Noⁿba ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Noⁿba ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Noⁿba ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Noⁿba ha, hai bi 'hi

3

Thabthiⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Thabthiⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Thabthiⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Thabthiⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi

4

Duba ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Duba ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Duba ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Duba ha, hai bi 'hi

5

Çatoⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Çatoⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Çatoⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Çatoⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi

6

Shape ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Shape ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Shape ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Shape ha, hai bi 'hi

7

Pethoⁿba ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Pethoⁿba ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Pethoⁿba ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Pethoⁿba ha, 'i bi 'hi

8

Pethabthiⁿ ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Pethabthiⁿ ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Pethabthiⁿ ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Pethabthiⁿ ha, 'i bi 'hi

9

Shoⁿka ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Shoⁿka ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Shoⁿka ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Shoⁿka ha, hai bi 'hi

10

Gtheboⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Gtheboⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Gtheboⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi the
 Gtheboⁿ ha, hai bi 'hi

11

Oⁿgeda ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Oⁿgeda ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Oⁿgeda ha, 'i bi 'hi the
 Oⁿgeda ha, 'i bi 'hi

Literal translation

1. *Wiaxchi*, one; *ha* added to the word makes it to mean "in one direction;" *hai*, *ai*, they are coming—the *h* is added for euphony in singing; *bi*, are; *'hi*, a part of *ehe*, I say—the final vowel is changed for euphony; *the*, the same as *tha*, the oratorical end of the sentence.

2. *Noⁿba ha*, two directions.

3. *Thabthiⁿ ha*, three directions.

4. *Duba ha*, four directions.

5. *Çatoⁿ ha*, five directions.

6. *Shape ha*, six directions.

7. *Pethoⁿba ha*, seven directions; *'i*, contraction of *ai*, they are coming.

8. *Pethabthiⁿ ha*, eight directions.

9. *Shoⁿka ha*, nine directions.

10. *Gtheboⁿ ha*, ten directions.

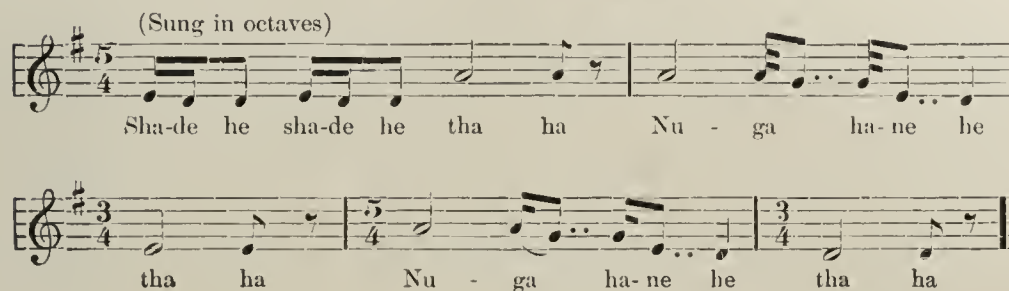
11. *Oⁿgeda ha*, from every direction.

In this song the "moving herds" are depicted as coming wherever man can turn; they cover the face of the earth; they approach him from every direction. Oⁿ'geda is one of the *ni'kie* names in the Hoⁿ'ga gens and was taken from this ritual. The old priest shook his head as he sang this stanza and in a broken voice he repeated the

word *on'geda*, meaning the buffalo are coming from everywhere, and added: "Not now! not now!" Wakoⁿ'da's promises seemed to him to have been swept away. He could not face what appeared to be a fact nor could he understand it.

The music follows the five-tone scale of E major; the movement of the phrase is dignified and lends itself well to unison singing.

Part III.—Assurance of Wakoⁿ'da



1

Shade he shade he tha ha
Nuga hane 'he tha ha
Nuga hane 'he tha ha

2

Shade he shade 'he tha ha
Zhawa hane 'he tha ha
Zhawa hane 'he tha ha

3

Shade he shade he tha ha
Miga hane 'he tha ha
Miga hane 'he tha ha

4

Shade he shade he tha ha
Zhiⁿga hane 'he tha ha
Zhiⁿga hane 'he tha ha

5

Shade he shade he tha ha
Texi hane 'he tha ha
Texi hane 'he tha ha

Literat translation

1. *Shade*, it is done—a declaration of something accomplished; *he*, part of *ehe*, I say; *tha ha*, oratorical close of the sentence, calling attention to an important declaration; *nuga*, male; *hane*, you have; 'he, *ehe*, I say.

2. *Zhawa*, majestic one.

3. *Miga*, female, mother one.

4. *Zhiⁿga*, little one, calf.

5. *Texi*, difficult to accomplish.

In this song Wakoⁿ'da gives assurance that man's supplication for the animals desired for his food has been heard. In it the form of the second song of Part II is repeated, both as to words and music, with the difference that the act supplicated by man in the first song is here stated authoritatively as accomplished. The change in the motive of the music after the second *he* in the first measure is marked and emphasizes the meaning of the words of the entire song, which was explained to be the emphatic assertion, *ehe*, "I say," of Wakoⁿ'da that the provision for the perpetuation of the buffalo and the creation of the "moving herds" was because of the needs of man, and to give him food in abundance. The music is in D minor and is recitative in character.

Part IV.—The Hunt

FIRST SONG—THE CHIEFS AND THE COUNCIL

M. M. ♩ = 58 (Sung in octaves)

Be - toⁿ thiⁿ hi i - e te doⁿ . Be toⁿ thiⁿ hi

i - e te doⁿ moⁿ zhoⁿ hoⁿ tho e tho - e te - doⁿ

Wi - e toⁿ thiⁿ hi tha - e. te doⁿ a - me toⁿ- thiⁿ hi

i - e te doⁿ Be toⁿ thiⁿ hi i - e te - doⁿ

moⁿ-zhoⁿ-hoⁿ tho - e tho e te doⁿ Wi - e toⁿ-thiⁿ

hi tha e te doⁿ a - me toⁿ thiⁿ hi i - e te doⁿ

1. 'Be toⁿthiⁿ hi ie te doⁿ
2. 'Be 'toⁿthiⁿ hi ie te doⁿ
3. Moⁿzhoⁿ hoⁿ 'thoe' thoe te doⁿ
4. Wi etoⁿthiⁿ hithae te doⁿ ame, toⁿthiⁿ hi te te doⁿ
5. 'Be 'toⁿthiⁿ hi ie te doⁿ
6. Moⁿzhoⁿ hoⁿ 'thoe'thoe te doⁿ
7. Wi etoⁿthiⁿ hithae te doⁿ ame, toⁿthiⁿ hi ie te doⁿ

Literal translation

1. 'Be, ebe, who; 'toⁿthiⁿ, etoⁿthiⁿ, first; hi, the prolongation of the last vowel sound; ie, speak; te, must; doⁿ, a terminal word or syllable to indicate a question.

3. Moⁿzhoⁿ, land or country; hoⁿ, prolongation of vowel sound; 'thoe, uthue, to speak of.

4. Wi, I (the chiefs); etoⁿthiⁿ, first; hithae, I speak—the chiefs must speak with one mind and voice; ame, they say (the people).

The above song refers to the preliminary council held by the Seven Chiefs with the Washa'betoⁿ subgens of the Hoⁿ'ga, which had charge of the hunt, at which the route to be taken by the tribe when going after the buffalo was determined. The responsibility thrown on this council was regarded as very grave. This responsibility is indicated by the question in the first line: "Who must be the first to speak," speak of the land (the route to be taken)? The fourth line gives the answer: "I" (the chiefs), "I speak" (the chiefs must speak as with one mind, as one person); ame, they say (i. e. the people, the words implying the authority placed on the chiefs by the people; see definition of ni'kagahi, p. 136). The song not only refers to the council and its deliberations in reference to the hunt but it voices the loyalty of the people to their chiefs and also the recognition by the chiefs of their responsibility for the welfare of the tribe. While the words refer only to the "land," the route to be traveled by the tribe, the music fills out the picture of the purpose of the journey. The motive is similar to that of the second song of Part II, that deals with the perpetuation of the buffalo and the moving herds, and also recalls the Song of Assurance in Part III. The song is divided into seven phrases and is in the five-tone scale of D major.

SECOND SONG—THE PEOPLE MOVE TOWARD THE LOWING HERDS

(Sung in octaves)



Hu - to^u - ma - di Wa - pi e - he tha Hu - to^u - ma di

wa - pi e - he tha Hu - to^u - ma di wa - pi e - he tha.....

Hu - to^u ma di wa - pi e - he tha Hu - to^u ma di

wa - pi e - he tha Hu - to^u ma - di wa - pi e - he a.....

..... Hu - to^u - ma di wa - pi e - he tha

1

Huto^uma 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Huto^uma 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Huto^uma 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Huto^uma 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Huto^uma 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Huto^uma 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Huto^uma 'di wapi, ehe tha

2

Xthazhe ama 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Xthazhe ama 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Xthazhe ama 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Xthazhe ama 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Xthazhe ama 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Xthazhe ama 'di wapi, ehe tha
 Xthazhe ama 'di wapi, ehe tha

Literal translation

1. *Huto^u*, the noise—of the animals, as the lowing of the herds; *ma*, *ama*, they; '*di*', a part of the word *edi*, there; *wapi*, to bring (*bthe*, I go, is understood, although the word *bthe* is not present in the song)—“I go to the lowing herds to bring back the product of the hunt,” is the meaning of the line: *ehe*, I say; *tha*, the oratorical close of the sentence.

2. *Xthazhe*, the bellowing of the bulls.

The music of this song is spirited and suggests movement, not merely the moving of the lowing herds but the orderly progression of the people going over the prairies to bring back the spoils of the hunting field. It is in the five-tone scale of F minor, and is divided into seven phrases.

THIRD SONG—THE HERDS RETREAT

(Sung in octaves)

Shu - de a - ki a - ma di bthe na he he the he tha shu -
 de a - ki a - ma di bthe na he he the he tha shu -
 de a - ki a - ma di bthe na he he the he tha He he he bthe-na
 he he the he na shu - de a - ki a - ma di bthe na
 he he the he tha Shu de a - ki a - ma di the tha

Shu'de aki ama 'di bthe na, hehe the he tha
 Shu'de aki ama 'di bthe na, hehe the he tha
 Shu'de aki ama 'di bthe na, hehe the he tha
 Hehe he bthe na, hehe the he na
 Shu'de aki ama 'di bthe na, hehe the he tha
 Shu'de aki ama 'di bthe na, hehe the he tha

Literal translation

Shu'de, smoke; *aki*, retreating; *ama*, they; '*di*, a part of *edi*, there; *bthe*, I go; *na*, a vocable introduced to accommodate the music; *hehe*, *ehe*, I say; *the* and *he*, vowel prolongations; *tha*, the oratorical termination of the sentence. "Where yonder retreating herds enveloped as in smoke, there I go."

The song recounts the vicissitudes of the hunt; herds sometimes scent the people and scatter; they are seen in the distance, the dust raised by their trampling rising and covering them as if enveloped in smoke.

The music, in B flat major, is rather rapid and partakes of the recitative character.

FOURTH SONG—THE RUNNERS GO FORTH

(Sung in octaves)

Wa - zhi^a - ga ça - be ga-wi^a - xa a - hi^a u - ne the

Ga - wi^a - xa a - hi^a u - ne the Ga - wi^a - xa a -

hi^a u-ne the he Ga-wi^a - xa a - hi^a u-ne the he Ga-wi^a - xa

Wazhi^aga çabe gawi^axa
 Ahi^a une the he gawi^axa
 Ahi^a une the he gawi^axa
 Ahi^a une the he gawi^axa
 Ahi^a une the he gawi^axa

Literal translation

Wazhi^aga, bird; *çabe*, black—the word is used as a trope and means the crow; *gawi^axe*, soaring; *ahi^a*, wings; *une*, to search; *the*, to go, or goes; *he*, vowel prolongation.

The crow follows the herds—"He is a buffalo hunter," the old man explained. "He watches to find his chance for carrion." So, when the runners go out to search for herds, they scan the sky to catch sight of the crow and other birds of prey, that they may direct their steps in the direction of the soaring birds. When the herds are found, credit is given to the guiding birds who thus lend their assistance to man when searching for the game. (Note the ritual in which the crow promises to help man, p. 311.)

The music, in A major, is recitative in form, but resembles the motive of the buffalo songs already referred to in Part II.

FIFTH SONG—RETURN OF THE RUNNERS

Recitative

(Sung in octaves)

E-thon-be a-ke-da ha ha ha ça-e ti-the a-wa-the

E-thon-be a-ke-da ha ha ha ça-e ti-the a-wa-the

E-thon-be a-ke-da ha ha ha ça-e ti-the a-wa-the

E-thon-be a-ke-da ha ha ha ça-e ti-the a-wa-the

E-thon-be a-ke-da ha ha ha ça-e ti-the a-wa-the

1

Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, çae tithe awa the
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, çae tithe awa the
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, çae tithe awa the
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, çae tithe awa the
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, çae tithe awa the

2

Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, wezhnoⁿ tithe awathe
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, wezhnoⁿ tithe awathe
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, wezhnoⁿ tithe awathe
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, wezhnoⁿ tithe awathe
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, wezhnoⁿ tithe awathe

3

Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, gthoⁿgthoⁿ tithe awathe
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, gthoⁿgthoⁿ tithe awathe
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, gthoⁿgthoⁿ tithe awathe
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, gthoⁿgthoⁿ tithe awathe
 Ethoⁿbe ake da ha ha ha, gthoⁿgthoⁿ tithe awathe

Literal translation

1. *Ethoⁿbe*, appear; *ake*, *aki*, I return; *e*, vowel prolonged; *da*, *doⁿ*, when; *ha*, end of sentence; *ha ha*, vowel prolonged; *çae*, noise, as made by voices; *tithe*, suddenly; *awathe*, I make them.

2. *Wezhnoⁿ*, grateful.

3. *Gthoⁿgthoⁿ*, murmur, as many people talking in low tones.

The runner speaks in the song, telling that when he appears on the eminence near the camp and signals his tidings, then suddenly the sound of many voices is heard, the people talking of the good news he brings. The second stanza speaks of the gratitude voiced by the people over the word he brings to them. The third stanza refers to the restraint that is put on the camp—no loud talking permitted, nor any noise, for fear of frightening the herd.

The music is in E major and is recitative and subdued in character. Even the song is repressed in conformity with the scene to which it is related.

SIXTH SONG—THE HERALD TELLS OF THE DECREE AND ADMONITIONS OF THE COUNCIL

Recitative

(Sung in octaves)

Wa - ni - ta a - noⁿ ċe e ta a - ma ha E - di shne

te e - a thoⁿ - ka a tha ha E - di shne te e - a thoⁿ - ka a tha ha

Wa - toⁿ tho he tha ha E - di shne te e - a

thoⁿ - ka a tha ha E - di shne te e - a thoⁿ - ka a tha ha

Wa - ni - ta a - noⁿ - ċe e - ta a - ma ha

E - di shne te e - a thoⁿ ka a tha ha

1

Wanita a'noⁿċe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

Watoⁿ 'thohe tha ha; edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha wani ta a'noⁿċe e ta ama ha edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha .

2

Wanita a'noⁿċe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

Çabe uthohe tha ha; edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha wani'ta a'noⁿċe e ta ama ha, edi shne t'e ea thoⁿka a tha ha

3

Wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

Gthezhe uthohe tha ha; edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha
wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

4

Wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

Gani uthohe tha ha; edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha
wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

5

Wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

Gashpe uthuhe tha ha; edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha
wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

6

Wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

Texi uthohe tha ha; edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha
wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

7

Wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

Çani uthuhe tha ha; edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha
wani'ta a'noⁿçe e ta ama ha, edi shne te ea thoⁿka a tha ha

Literal translation

1. *Wani'ta*, animals, game; *anoⁿçe*, surround, inclose: *e*, vowel prolongation; *ta*, will, intention; *ama*, they; *ha*, the sign of the end of the sentence; *edi*, there; *shne*, you go; *te*, must; *ea thoⁿka*, say they, who are sitting (refers to council in the White Buffalo Tent); *a*, vowel prolongation; *ha*, modification of *tha*, the oratorical close of a sentence; *watoⁿ*, possessions; *'thohe*, part of *uthohe*, a collection of sacred articles (refers particularly to all the materials used in making the *washa'be*, the staff or badge of the office of the leader of the hunt).

2. *Çabe*, black (used as a trope, meaning the crow, one of the birds used in making the *washa'be*).

3. *Gthezhe*, spotted or brown eagle (used in making the *washa'be*).

4. *Gani*, the golden eagle (the feathers are tied on the *washa'be*).

5. *Gashpe*, broken (a trope, meaning the shell disk fastened on the pipestem. These disks were presented to the White Buffalo Hide and fastened in a row down the back).

6. *Texi*, difficult to perform (the word refers to the labor involved in securing the materials used in making the *washa'be*).

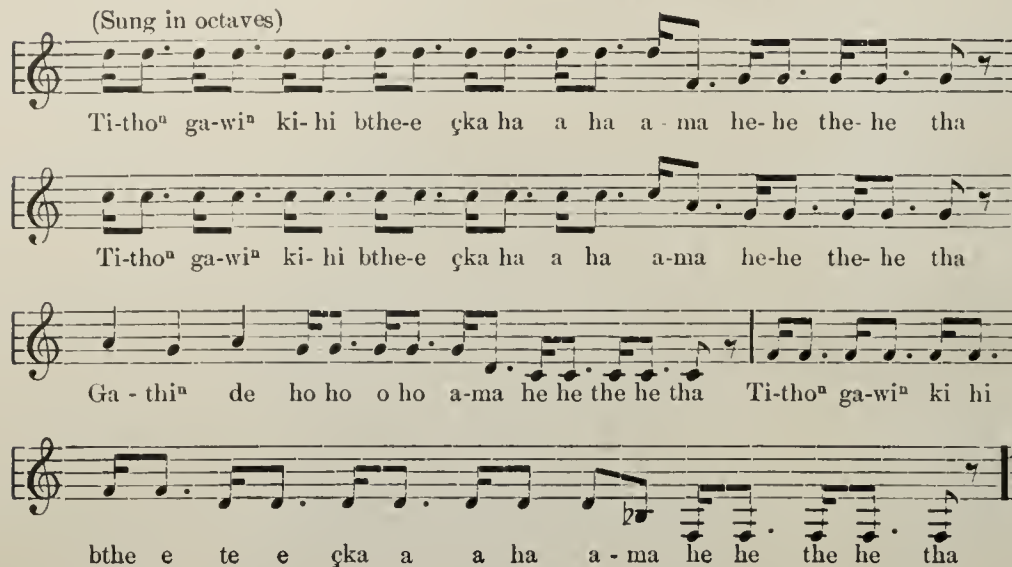
7. *Çani*, all—that is, not only the “possessions,” but what they in their collective form stand for officially.

In this song of the herald the people are notified that the council has ordered the hunters to make ready to surround the herd. They are to follow the *washa'be*, and to remember all that it signifies and the help given by the birds—the crow, the eagle—and the elements, represented by the shell. All these things, difficult to bring together, are now united to lead the people toward the herd and to help them in securing food wherewith to sustain the life of the people, both young and old.

The music, in E flat major, is recitative.

SEVENTH SONG—THE HERALD PROCLAIMS THE TIME TO START

(Sung in octaves)



Ti-tho^a ga-wi^a ki-hi bthe-e çka ha a ha a-ma he-he the-he tha

'Ti-tho^a ga-wi^a ki-hi bthe-e çka ha a ha a-ma he-he the-he tha

Ga-thi^a de ho ho o ho a-ma he he the he tha Ti-tho^a ga-wi^a ki hi

bthe e te e çka a a ha a-ma he he the he tha

Tithoⁿ gawiⁿ ki hi bthe e çka ha a ha ama hehe the he tha

Tithoⁿ gawiⁿ ki hi bthe e çka ha a ha ama hehe the he tha

Gathiⁿ 'deho' ho o ho ama hehe the he tha

Tithoⁿ gawiⁿ ki hi bthe e te e çka a a ha ama hehe the he tha

Literal translation

1. *Tithoⁿ*, village, camp; *gawiⁿ*, part of *gawiⁿxe*, to circle, as a bird soars; *ki*, when; *hi*, vowel prolongation; *bthe*, I go; *e*, vowel prolongation; *çka*, may; *ha a ha*, vowel prolongation; *ama*, they; *hehe*, *ehe*, I say; *e he*, vowel prolongation; *tha*, oratorical close of the sentence.

3. *Gathiⁿ*, yonder walking; *'deho*, *edea*, what does he say? (the final vowel changed); *ho o ho*, vowel prolongation.

4. *Te*, must.

In this song the figure of speech, which likens the herald going around the camp to the soaring and circling of a bird, recalls the song of the runner when the birds by their soaring guided to the game. The herald left the Sacred Tent of the White Buffalo Hide and passed around the tribal circle by the left; the completion of his round by his return to the Sacred Tent was the signal that the tribe had been notified and the people were to start. The song refers to the questioning of the people as he walked giving the order of the leader.

The music, in G minor, is recitative.

EIGHTH SONG—THE HUNTING FIELD

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano
Spirited, with marked rhythm

Wi^a-u the thi^a ga thu hi-thi^a he Wi^a-u the thi^a ga thu hi thi^a

he he Wi^a-u the i wa mi hi-thi^a he Wi^a-u

the-thi^a ga thu hi thi^a he he wi^a-u the thi^a ga thu hi thi^a he he

1

Wi^a au the thi^a gathu hi thi^a he
 Wi^a au the thi^a gathu hi thi^a he he
 Wi^a au the i wami hi thi^a he
 Wi^a au the thi^a gathu hi thi^a he he
 Wi^a au the thi^a gathu hi thi^a he

2

Wi^a au the thi^a gathu hi thi^a he
 Wi^a au the thi^a gathu hi thi^a he he
 Wi^a au the takiki^a hi thi^a he
 Wi^a au the thi^a gathu hi thi^a he
 Wi^a au the thi^a gathu hi thi^a he

3

Wiⁿ au the ke gathu hi ke he
 Wiⁿ au the ke gathu hi ke he he
 Wiⁿ au the xiatha hi ke he
 Wiⁿ au the ke gathu hi ke he he
 Wiⁿ au the ke gathu hi ke he

Literal translation

1. Wiⁿ, one; au, I wounded; the, there; thiⁿ, moving; gathu, yonder, in a definite place; hi, has reached or arrived at; thiⁿ, moving; he, ha, the end of the sentence; i, mouth; wami, blood or bleeding.

2. Takikiⁿ, staggering.

3. Ke, lying; xiatha, fallen.

In this song, the wounded, bleeding, staggering, and fallen game is referred to.

The music, in C major, is vigorous, virile, and suggestive of action.

NINTH SONG—CUTTING UP THE GAME

Recitative

(Sung in octaves)

In thiⁿ woⁿ-thoⁿ ga in gthoⁿ hoⁿ çi - i - hi in thiⁿ woⁿ-thoⁿ ga ha

In thiⁿ woⁿ-thoⁿ ga in gthoⁿ hoⁿ çi i - hi in thiⁿ woⁿ-thoⁿ ga ha

In thiⁿ woⁿ-thoⁿ ga in gthoⁿ hoⁿ çi - i - hi in thiⁿ woⁿ-thoⁿ ga ha

1

In thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ çiⁱhi in thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga ha
 In thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ çiⁱhi in thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga ha
 In thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ çiⁱhi in thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga ha

2

In thiⁿ bahoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ pa thoⁿ hoⁿ in thiⁿ bahoⁿ ga ha
 In thiⁿ bahoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ pa thoⁿ hoⁿ in thiⁿ bahoⁿ ga ha
 In thiⁿ bahoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ pa thoⁿ hoⁿ in thiⁿ bahoⁿ ga ha

3

In thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ çiⁿde he in thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga ha
 In thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ çiⁿde he in thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga ha
 In thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga iⁿgthoⁿ hoⁿ çiⁿde he in thiⁿ woⁿthoⁿ ga ha

Literal translation

1. In, mine; thiⁿ, you; woⁿthoⁿ, hold; ga, the sign of command; iⁿgthoⁿ, eldest son; hoⁿ, prolongation of the vowel sound; çiⁱhi, çiⁱhi, ankle (the middle i is to prolong the vowel).

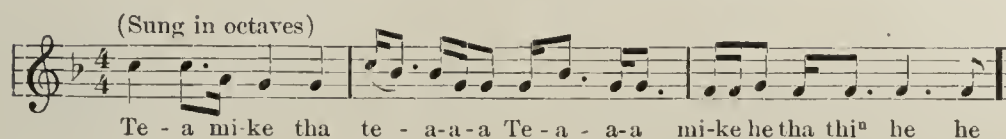
2. Bahoⁿ, to push up, to boost; pa, head; thoⁿ, the roundish shape of the head; hoⁿ, vowel prolongation.

3. Çiⁿde, tail; he, vowel prolongation.

The customs relating to cutting up the game have been given (p. 271). The first stanza of this song refers to the hunter directing his assistants during the butchering, placing the animal on its back; the second stanza, putting the head so as to hold the body in position; the third speaks of the tail, used to lift the carcass in order that the task may be completed.

The music, in E flat, is recitative rather than melodic in character.

TENTH SONG—OF PLENTY AND ECONOMY



Tea miketha, tea a, tea a, mikehetha thi^a he

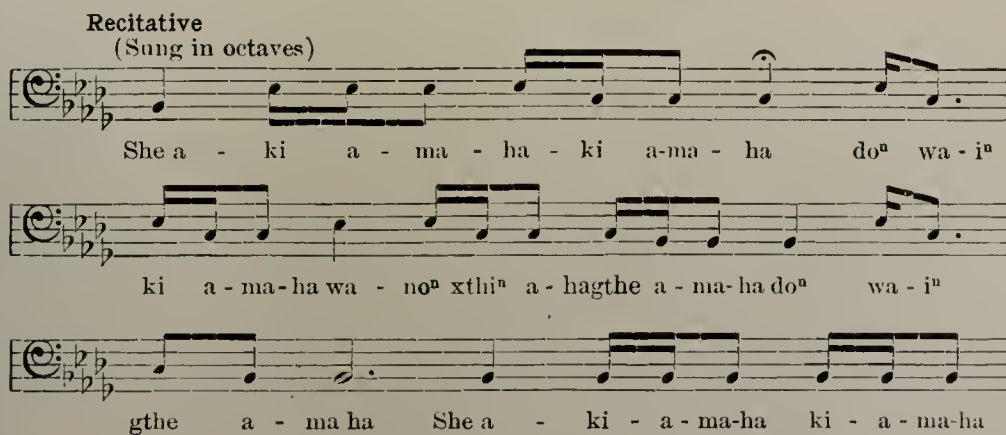
Literal translation

Tea, buffalo arm, the fore quarter; *a*, vowel prolongation; *miketha mikihethe*, to put on the hip; *thi^a*, moving (equivalent in this instance to walking); *he*, end of sentence.

Teaching economy: The fore quarter, being tough, was the least desirable part of the animal for food, and was frequently thrown away. When the hunter took it, he did not carry it with the rest of his load, but on his hip, so he could drop it if it became too burdensome. The meaning of the song could hardly be gathered from the words. It was explained that the song indicated a plentiful supply of meat; but the good hunter, unwilling that anything should be lost, took the fore quarter, the most undesirable piece, and, being heavily laden, he had to carry it on his hip. The song, the old priest said, was one to instill the teaching that even when there is abundance there should never be wastefulness.

The music, in C major, is recitative.

ELEVENTH SONG—RETURN TO THE CAMP



She aki ama, haki ama ha Wai^a 'ki ama ha, wano^axthi^a ahagthe ama ha do^a, wai^a
'gthe ama ha
She aki ama, haki ama ha

Literal translation

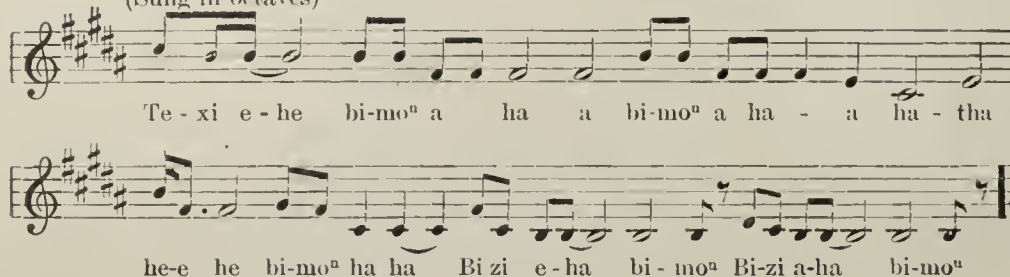
She, yonder; *aki*, a point on the return (to camp); *ama*, one moving; *haki*, *aki*, returning to camp; *ha*, vowel prolongation; *waiⁿ*, carrying a burden; *'ki*, *aki*, returning; *wanoⁿxthiⁿ*, hurrying; *ahagthe*, *agthe*, going home; *'gthe*, *agthe*, going home.

The hunters hasten back to camp, and, as they go, see one hurrying with a burden. This is one of the boys, who is carrying the tongues and heart for the sacred feast. All are going home.

The music is recitative.

TWELFTH SONG—THE BELATED HUNTERS

(Sung in octaves)



1

Texi ehe bimo^{n'} aha, a
Bimo^{n'} aha a e tha
He ehe bimo^{n'} ha ha
Bizi a ha ha bimo^{n'}
Bizi aha ha bimo^{n'}

2

Texi ehe bimo^{n'} aha, a
Bimo^{n'} aha a e tha
He ehe bimo^{n'} ha ha
Shude eha bimo^{n'}
Shude eha bimo^{n'}

3

Texi ehe bimo^{n'} aha, a
Bimo^{n'} aha a e tha
He ehe bimo^{n'} ha ha
Zia ha ha bimo^{n'}
Zia ha ha ha naxthiⁿ

Literal translation

1. *Texi*, difficult; *ehe*, I say; *bimo^{n'}*, rubbing (*bi*, to press; *moⁿ*, rubbing, as between the hands); *aha*, *ehe*, I say (the vowel modified in singing); *a*, *ha*, *tha*, syllables indicating prolonged effort; *bizi*—*bi*, part of *bimo^{n'}*, to rub, *zi*, yellow (the word describes the appearance of the wood when it begins to glow, and is used only to indicate the act of making fire by rubbing).

2. *Shude*, smoke.

3. *Zia*, yellow glow; *naxthiⁿ*, flames

This song refers to *edi'nethe*, building a fire on the hunting field by hunters who have killed so much game they can not get through in time to carry all the meat back to camp. The words mark the progress of kindling fire by friction, twirling one stick in another stick prepared to receive it, by rubbing between the hands—first the glow, then the smoke, and at last the yellow flames. The rhythm of the rubbing can be brought out in the singing of the song, as well as the efforts used in kindling the fire. While this song is realistic, yet the making of fire by friction was always an act more or less fraught with religious sentiment and it probably was esteemed a fitting close to the ritual sacred to the buffalo.

In hunting the buffalo no songs invoking magical help were sung or decoy calls used or disguises worn, success being believed to come through the strict observance of the ritual by the leader, the obedience of the tribe to the prescribed rites, and the skill of the individual hunter. From the detailed description of the Omaha tribal hunt here given, as it was told the writers by those who had taken part in it both as officials and as ordinary hunters, it is evident that the Omaha's hunting was not a sporting adventure but a task undertaken with solemnity and with a recognition of the control of all life by Wakoⁿ'da. The Indian's attitude of mind when slaying animals for food was foreign to that of the white race with which he came into contact and perhaps no one thing has led to greater misunderstandings between the races than the slaughter of game. The bewilderment of the Indian resulting from the destruction of the buffalo will probably never be fully appreciated. His social and religious customs, the outgrowth of centuries, were destroyed almost as with a single blow. The past may have witnessed similar tragedies but of them we have no record.

THE PONCA FEAST OF THE SOLDIERS

An old man, a leader among the Ponca, who died some fifteen years ago, related the following:

When I was a young man I used to see a very old man perform this ceremony and recite the ritual of the Feast of the Soldiers. This feast took place when many buffalo had been killed, when food was plenty, and everyone was happy. The *hu'thuga* was made complete and a large tent pitched, where were gathered all those who were entitled to be present. When the feast was ready, a bowl containing soup and bits of meat was placed near the door of the lodge and the leader said, as the bowl was set down, "It is done!" When the leader said this the old man went to the bowl and took it up and held it as he sat and began to recite the ritual. The ritual is in four parts. There are two names mentioned in the ritual. The name mentioned after the first part was A'thiⁿwashe. This name belonged to the Wazha'zhe gens. The name mentioned after the second part I can not recall; it belonged to the Makoⁿ gens. When the first name was mentioned the old man made a depression in the ground near the edge of the fire with the knuckle of his first finger and into this depression he dropped four drops from the tip of the little spoon which was in the bowl. The offering was to the spirit of this man. At the end of the second part, when he mentioned the name of the second man, he again dropped four drops from the tip of the spoon. At the end

of the third part, which referred to the wolf, he dropped four more drops and at the close of the fourth part, in which the crow is spoken of, he dropped four drops, making four times four—sixteen drops in all.

After this ceremony was completed the servant approached the one who presided and fed him from the bowl. He took the food deliberately and solemnly. He was fed all that was in the bowl. When he finished, those present could begin to eat. Each person who had his bowl could take only four spoonfuls and must then pass his bowl to his next neighbor, who took four spoonfuls and passed the bowl on. In this manner the bowl was kept moving until the feast was consumed.

The following is the ritual recited on this occasion. Of line 2 the old man said: "The teaching implied in these words is that thus the chiefs had spoken, and there is never any variation or change in these words." And of line 9 he said: "It is said that the club as the badge or mark of the chief or leader was older than the pipe." The red clubs mentioned in the ritual represented the chiefs, the black clubs the officers of the hunt. Concerning the dropping of the broth he remarked: "The chiefs, although long dead, are still living and still exercise a care over the people and seek to promote their welfare; so we make the offering of food, the support of our life, in recognition of them as still our chiefs and caring for us."

RITUAL

1

1. He! Ni'kagahi ečka
2. Esha bi a badoⁿ
3. He! Ni'kagahi ečka
4. Ni'to^{nga} athite uthishi ke thoⁿ
5. He! ni uwitha ati thagthiⁿ badoⁿ
6. He! Ni'kagahi ečka

2

7. E noⁿ atho^{nka} bi abadoⁿ ečka
8. He! Ni'kagahi
9. He! wetiⁿ duba ça'be tha badoⁿ
10. Duba zhide tha badoⁿ
11. Çabe the te thoⁿ
12. Thuda the thi^{nge} xti abthiⁿ ta athiⁿ he esha biabadoⁿ ni'kawaça
13. Shi^{nga}zhiⁿga wiwita xti thi^{nke} shti waⁿ
14. Thuda agitha moⁿzhi ta mike esha bi abadoⁿ ečka

3

15. He! ugaxe thi^{nge} xti ni'kawaça
16. Wani'ta toⁿga duba utha agthi badoⁿ
17. Edi ainoⁿzhi badoⁿ
18. Ni'kawaça ečka
19. Wani'ta shukatoⁿ wiⁿ
20. Ushte' thi^{nge} xti gaxa badoⁿ
21. U'zhawa xti agtha badoⁿ
22. Waiⁿ'gi uzhoⁿge ke washiⁿ unoⁿbubude xti moⁿthiⁿ badoⁿ
23. Shoⁿ'toⁿga nuga thathiⁿshe thoⁿ
24. Çiⁿde ke gaathikoⁿ
25. Kigthi'hoⁿhoⁿ xti moⁿbthiⁿ ta athiⁿ he edi eshe abadoⁿ

4

26. He! ni'kawaça eçka
27. Ka'xe nuga thatiⁿsne thoⁿ
28. Ugaxe thiⁿge xti edi uwehe ta athiⁿhe eshe abadoⁿ
29. Xu'ka edi uwehe ta athiⁿhe eshe abadoⁿ
30. He! nikashiga aho! ethabi wathe egoⁿ moⁿthiⁿ' ahoⁿ
31. Baxu wiⁿ thaçtube egoⁿ ithe adoⁿ
32. Goⁿte zhiⁿga egoⁿ moⁿthiⁿ ki
33. Baxu ke ibiu xti ethuⁿbe gthi abadoⁿ
34. He! nikashiga aho! etha bi wathe egoⁿ ethuⁿbe gthia doⁿ
35. Baxu ke thoⁿ ethuⁿbe gthi ki
36. Wani'ta shuka toⁿ wiⁿ te wiki the xti moⁿiyatha ethiⁿ abadoⁿ
37. Xu'ka edi uwihe abadoⁿ
38. Ni'kawaça eçka

Free translation

1

1. O! Chiefs, eçka [eçka, I desire]
2. Thus you have spoken, it is said
3. O! Chiefs, eçka
4. The great water that lay impossible to cross
5. O! you crossed, nevertheless, and sat upon the banks
6. O! Chiefs, eçka

2

7. Thus have you ever spoken, it is said, eçka
8. O! Chiefs
9. Four clubs you have blackened
10. Four you have reddened
11. Those that are black
12. Verily, my people, without fear I shall carry, you have said, so it is said
13. Not even my own child
14. Shall stay my hand, you have said, so it is said, eçka

3

15. Without overconfidence, my people
16. Word has been brought back that great animals have been found
17. Near to them they (the people) approached, and stood
18. My people, eçka
19. A great herd of animals
20. Verily they (the people) shall cause none of them to remain
21. Verily they (the people) shall go toward home rejoicing
22. Along a trail strewn with fat.
23. I, the male gray wolf, shall move
24. With tail blown to one side
25. I shall gallop along the trail, you have said, so it is said

4

26. O! my people, eçka
27. I, the male crow
28. Verily, without overconfidence I shall join (in giving help), you have said, so it is said
29. As instructor I shall join, you have said, so it is said
30. The people, astonished at your coming, cry O-ho!
31. Beyond the ridge you disappear as though piercing the hill
32. After a little you return
33. Sweeping closely the hill
34. The people, astonished at your coming, cry O-ho!
35. As you appear on the ridge
36. Verily, one herd of animals I have killed for you, you have said, so it is said
37. Thus you have instructed, it is said
38. My people, eçka

FISHING

The streams and lakes accessible to the Omaha abounded in fish, which were much liked as food. Men, women, and children engaged in the pursuit of catching fish; while greatly enjoyed, it could hardly be called sport, for it was engaged in for a very practical purpose. The names of fish known to the tribe are given on page 106.

So far as can be learned there were no fishhooks of native manufacture, but small fish were caught by means of a device called *takoⁿ'hoⁿ-tha çni'de*, made as follows: Three or four strings having bait tied at one end were fastened by the other end, about 6 inches apart, to a slender but tough stick; a cord of twisted hair tied to the middle of this stick was attached to a stout pole. This was thrown into the stream, and often as many fish as there were lines were caught and landed. This style of fishing was called *huga'çi*, a name now applied to fishing with hook and line. As the name implies, the bait usually consisted of bits of meat (*hu'tazhu*).

Fish were sometimes shot or speared. The former method of taking them was termed *huki'de* (*hu*, "fish;" *ki'de*, "to shoot"); spearing fish was termed *huzha'he*. Another mode of fishing was by means of a kind of movable weir of willows tied together, taken into deep water by a company of men or women, some holding the ends upright and others the center; all would walk up the stream pushing this fence of willows before them and so drive the fish into shallow water where they were shot, speared, or caught by the hand. The willow weir was called *hu'bigide*, and this manner of fishing, *hu'konⁿtha*.

VIII
SOCIAL LIFE
KINSHIP TERMS

Kinship terms played an important part in all social intercourse. They not only designated the actual relationship between persons but the custom of never addressing anyone—man, woman, or child—by his personal name or of using a person's name when speaking of him, if he chanced to be present, made the use of kinship terms a practical necessity. These terms were also applied to what may be called potential relationships, that is, relationships that would be established through marriage made in accordance with tribal custom. If the wife had sisters, these women held a potential relationship to her husband, as they might become his wives either during his wife's lifetime or at her death. According to tribal usage a man had the potential right to marry his wife's sisters and also her nieces and her aunts. On the other hand, a man was under obligation to marry his brother's widow. Should he fail in this respect, he was liable to suffer in person or property, either by the act of the woman herself or by that of her near of kin, in order to force him to recognize or make good her rights. Because of these potential relationships the children of the wife called all those whom their father might marry "mother" and all their father's brothers "father." Moreover, all the children of such relationships called one another "brother" and "sister." There was no cousinship. All the brothers of the mother were called "uncle" by her children, and the father's sisters were called "aunt."

The regulation of marriage implied in these potential relationships was explained to be for the purpose of "holding the family intact, for should the children be bereft of their own mother they would come under the care of her close kindred and not fall into the hands of a stranger." This interpretation seems borne out by the approval still expressed when a woman weds the brother of her late husband or a man marries the sister of his dead wife or the widow of his brother; even when there is a marked disparity in the ages of the parties, it is said, "The marriage does not make a break in the family and it shows respect for the dead." The interweaving of actual and potential relationships greatly extended the family connection and supplied the proper terms for familiar and ceremonial address. Mention is made of the custom of speaking of the women of the tribe as

"sisters" (p. 474). At meetings of the Council of Seven duty to the tribe was ceremonially recognized by a formal mention of kinship terms between the members. The same practice obtained in several of the societies within the tribe.

In the Omaha language the term for relationship, or the accent on the word, was varied according to the sex of the speaker and according to his or her relation to the person spoken of, as (1) when a father or mother was spoken to by a son, (2) when addressed by a daughter, (3) when spoken of by a male relative, (4) when spoken of by a female relative, and (5) when spoken of by a person not a relative.

The following table sets forth these distinctions:^a

^a The first-born male child was called Ingtho^a; the first-born female, Wihi. Both these names are old and untranslatable terms; they were strictly "baby names" and were "thrown away" at the ceremony of Turning the Child and bestowal of the *ni'kie* name (pp. 117, 136). There were no other special "baby names" in use among the Omaha.

Omaha terms of relationship

	- Spoken of by one not related	Spoken of by son or daughter	Spoken to by son or daughter
1. Father	Itha'di	I ⁿ da'di	Dadi'ha (m.), Da'diha (f.)
2. Mother	Iho ⁿ ʹ	I ⁿ ʹno ⁿ ha	No ⁿ how' (m.), No ⁿ ha' (f.)
3. Grandfather	Iti'go ⁿ	Witi'go ⁿ	Tigo ⁿ ʹha (m.), Ti'go ⁿ ha (f.)
4. Father-in-law	Iti'go ⁿ	Witi'go ⁿ	Tigo ⁿ ʹha (m.), Ti'go ⁿ ha (f.)
5. Grandmother	Iko ⁿ ʹ	Wiko ⁿ ʹ	Ko ⁿ how' (m.), Ko ⁿ ha' (f.)
6. Mother-in-law	Iko ⁿ ʹ	Wiko ⁿ ʹ	Ko ⁿ how' (m.), Ko ⁿ ha' (f.)
7. Uncle (mother's brother)	Ine'gi	Spoken of by nephew or niece Wine'gi	Spoken to by nephew or niece Negi'ha (m.), Negiha (f.)
8. Uncle (father's brother)	No such uncle among the Omaha, the father's brother being the same as the father		
9. Uncle by marriage	No such uncle		
10. Uncle (direct descendant of mother's brother)	The son, grandson, and great-grandson of uncle no. 7 are uncle to all the children who address aunt no. 11 as "mother"		
11. Aunt (father's sister)	Iti'mi	Witi'mi	Timi'ha (m.)
12. Aunt (uncle's wife)	Iti'mi	Witi'mi	Timiha' (f.)
13. Nephew (as spoken of in relation to his uncle)	Ito ⁿ ʹshka	Spoken of by Uncle Wito ⁿ ʹshka	Spoken to by Uncle To ⁿ shka'ha
14. Nephew (as spoken of in relation to his aunt)	Itu'shka		
15. Niece (as spoken of in relation to her uncle)	Iti'zhu ⁿ	Witi'zhu ⁿ	Tizho ⁿ ʹha
16. Niece (as spoken of in relation to her aunt)	Itu'zhu ⁿ ge	Witu'zhu ⁿ ge	Wituzhu ⁿ geha

Omaha terms of relationship—Continued

	Spoken of by one not related	Spoken of by		Spoken to by	
		Father	Mother	Father	Mother
17. Son	Izhi ⁿ 'ge	Wini'çi	Wizhi ⁿ 'ge	Niçi'ha	Wi'zhi ⁿ 'geha
18. Daughter	Izhu ⁿ 'ge	Wini'çi	Wizhu ⁿ 'ge	Niçi'ha	Wi'zhu ⁿ 'geha
19. Grandson	Itu'shpa	Grandfather	Grandmother	Grandfather	Grandmother
20. Granddaughter	Itu'shpa	Witu'shpa	Witu'shpa	Tushpa'ha	Tu'shpaha
		Witu'shpa	Witu'shpa	Tushpa'ha	Tu'shpaha
21. Brother, elder (as spoken of in relation to his younger brother or brothers)	Izhi ⁿ 'the	Younger brother	Younger sister	Younger brother	Younger sister
		Wizhi ⁿ 'the	Witi'nu	Zhi ⁿ 'the'ha	Tinula'
22. Brother, elder (as spoken of in relation to his younger sister or sisters)	Iti'nu				
23. Brother, younger (as spoken of in relation to his elder brother or brothers)	Içu ⁿ 'ga	Elder brother	Elder sister	Elder brother	Elder sister
		Kage'	Kage'	Kage'	Kage'
24. Brother, younger (as spoken of in relation to his elder sister or sisters)	Içu ⁿ 'ga				
25. Sister, elder (as spoken of in relation to her younger brother or brothers)	Ito ⁿ 'ge	Younger brother	Younger sister	Younger brother	Younger sister
		Wito ⁿ 'ge	Wizhu ⁿ 'the	To ⁿ 'ge'ha	Zhu ⁿ 'theha'
26. Sister, elder (as spoken of in relation to her younger sister or sisters)	Izhu ⁿ 'the				
27. Sister, younger (as spoken of in relation to her elder brother or brothers)	Ito ⁿ 'ge	Elder brother	Elder sister	Elder brother	Elder sister
		Wihe'	Wihe'	Wihe'	Wihe'
28. Sister, younger (as spoken of in relation to her elder sister or sisters)	Ito ⁿ 'ge				

Brother-in-law speaking of brother-in-law	Wita'ho ⁿ	Sister-in-law speaking of brother-in-law	Wishi'e	Brother-in-law speaking to brother-in-law	Taho ⁿ 'ha	Sister-in-law speaking to brother-in-law	Wishie'
Father-in-law speaking of son-in-law	Wito ⁿ 'de	Mother-in-law speaking of son-in-law	Wito ⁿ 'de	Father-in-law speaking to son-in-law	To ⁿ 'de'ha	Mother-in-law speaking to son-in-law	To ⁿ 'de'
Father-in-law speaking of daughter-in-law	Witi'ni	Mother-in-law speaking of daughter-in-law	Witi'ni	Father-in-law speaking to daughter-in-law	Tini'ha	Mother-in-law speaking to daughter-in-law	Tini'
Brother-in-law speaking of sister-in-law	Wiho ⁿ 'ga	Sister-in-law speaking of brother-in-law	Wishi'ko ⁿ	Brother-in-law speaking to sister-in-law	Wiho ⁿ 'ga'ha	Sister-in-law speaking to brother-in-law	Shiko ⁿ '
Husband speaking of wife	Wiga'xthu ⁿ	Wife speaking of husband	Wie'gthu ⁿ ge	Husband speaking to wife	Thano ⁿ 'ha	Wife speaking to husband	Thano ⁿ '

- 29. Brother-in-law (as spoken of in relation to his brother-in-law)
- 30. Brother-in-law (as spoken of in relation to his sister-in-law)

31. Son-in-law

32. Daughter-in-law

- 33. Sister-in-law (as spoken of in relation to her brother-in-law)

- 34. Sister-in-law (as spoken of in relation to her sister-in-law)

35. Husband

36. Wife

When the son is grown, the father generally uses the term Iagthoⁿ in addressing him, and the mother Iagthoⁿ (an old term).
When the daughter is grown, the father and the mother address her as Winon' (my eldest).
An aunt usually uses the same term toward her nephew and niece as the mother uses toward her grown son and daughter.
All members of the mother's gens were generally spoken of or to by her children as 'Uele' or "Aunt," but this term of address was changed, if need be, to conform to the near relationship of the mother, actual or potential.

Members of gentes in cognate tribes having a similar tabu generally spoke of one another as kindred and used kinship terms.
A stranger who is making his home among the people is spoken of as U'xhix (an old term).
A bride is spoken of as Mi'wathix (woman married).
A groom is spoken of as Migthoⁿ'tega (newly married).
When a man not a relative makes his home with a family, he is spoken of as Iei'mi (an old term).

The proper modes of address were difficult to master by one not born to their usage and mistakes were regarded as impolite as they were embarrassing; therefore children were carefully trained in these forms. This custom of address facilitated story telling, for the narrative was not broken by such expressions as "he says" or "she says" or by explaining the relation "he" or "she" bore to the hero of the tale, as the form or accent of the terms of relationship used made this clear.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Friendship played an important part in the lives of both men and women and the intimacies begun in childhood often extended



FIG. 65. Playing on the flute.

throughout life. The friendships among the women had seemingly fewer dramatic incidents than those between young men, the lives of the former being less exposed to the stirring incidents of the warpath and the chase. Nevertheless, instances have come to the writers' knowledge of enduring friendships between women under circumstances that would be apt to test the strength of affection and kindness. Friends were apt to be confidants and few secrets appear to have been withheld from one's intimate companion. A man would cleave to his friend, follow him in the face of danger, and if necessary protect him with his life. To be false to a friend in either love or war marked such an individual as without honor and especially to be

shunned. Young men befriended one another in minor matters as well as in the graver affairs of life. A young man would be assisted by his friends to deck himself. Two friends would paint each other's faces, fasten each other's ornaments, and at the close of the toilet they were resplendent in their finery. Not only would a friend help to make his friend look well but he would act as a go-between and secure an interview for his friend with the chosen girl. Such meetings generally took place at the spring, in the early morning. Girls never went alone to get water for the family; two sisters, an aunt and niece, or else two intimate friends and neighbors started off together. The young men haunted these places; they lay hidden in the grass or among the bushes, so that one could suddenly seize a favorable opportunity to speak with the girl of his fancy. These encounters were sometimes accidental but generally the lover made his presence known to the girl by his love song played on the flute (fig. 65). Music was composed especially for this flute, as songs that were sung were not played on the instrument, its compass being too limited. The following is a favorite flute song:

LOVE CALL

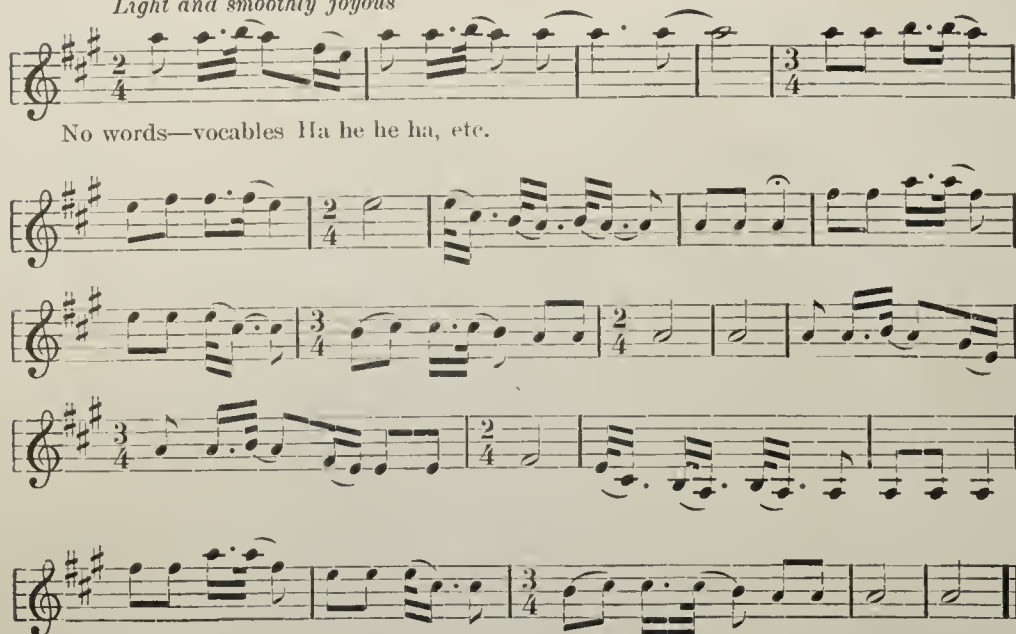


As custom did not permit young men to visit young women in their homes, the opportunities for the young people openly to become acquainted were limited to gatherings for tribal ceremonies and during the confusion incident to breaking up or making camp when the tribe was on the annual hunt. The stream and spring were at all times the favorite trysting places. Men sometimes composed their own love songs and by the song the girl not only identified her lover but became aware of his nearness. There are pathetic as well as humorous stories told which hinge on these individual love songs. It has been stated that a true love song, one that had for its purpose the honorable wooing of a maid, did not exist among peoples living in the stage of development represented by the native tribes of America. This statement does not hold good for the Omaha and their close cognates. The following songs belong to the love-song class. The words are few; soft, breathing vocables float the voice throughout most of the melody. Where there are words, they generally refer to the morning but most of the songs have only vocables. These songs are called *bice'waaⁿ*. The music expresses the purpose

of the song. The songs are all major and generally joyous in feeling, although there are others that express considerable subjective emotion. Sometimes in singing songs of the latter class, of which no. 2 is an example, the hand is waved at a little distance from the mouth to produce a vibrating effect.

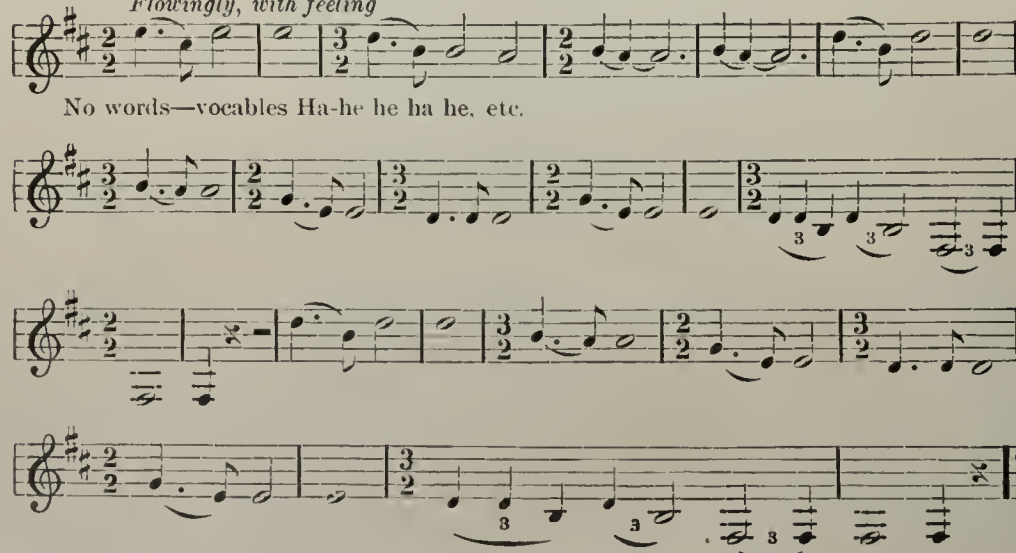
BIQE' WAAN No. 1

Light and smoothly joyous



BIQE' WAAN No. 2

Flowingly, with feeling



There is another class of songs that have been mistaken by some writers for love songs. These songs refer to flirtatious and amorous adventures. They were not sung in the presence of women but by men when by themselves. The existence of this class of songs was

withheld from the knowledge of women of the better class. These songs were called *wau'waaⁿ*, "woman songs." They were composed by men yet they always represent the woman as speaking, betraying her fondness for some one and thus violating social etiquette by speaking of her personal liking for a young man. They sometimes refer to uncongeniality in the marriage relation; the unhappy wife begs her lover to fly with her to another tribe. In most of these songs the act of the man is made to originate with the woman. The following belongs to the *wau'waaⁿ* class of songs. It reveals something of social customs and also fairly well portrays the character of this class of songs, of which few if any are what might be termed ribald.

WAU' WAA^N

Flowingly (Aria as sung)

Da - du^a na i - ba-hu^a bi-a-ke the the Da - du^a-na i - ba-

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

hu^a bi-a - ke the the..... Ha^a-a de u-tha-gtha a-thu^a e-zha-zhe

we - btha de the the..... Da - du^a na i - ba - hu^a, bi - a

ke the the..... hi! ha ha E - be - i^a - te the a - be -

daⁿ e - he ni - ke the the wa - geⁿ - tha ma e - he

mi- ke the the! the! E-zha zhe we-btha-de the the! tha! hi

Daduⁿ na ibahuⁿ biakithe, the
 Daduⁿ na ibahuⁿ biakithe, the
 Hoⁿadi uthagthaa thuⁿ izhazhe wibthade the tha
 Daduⁿ na ibahuⁿ biakithe the; hi
 Ebeiⁿte the! abedaⁿ ehe mike the; the
 Waguⁿtha ma ehe mike the; the
 Izhazhe wibthade the, the hi

Literal translation

Daduⁿ, an exclamation denoting anticipated trouble from fear of consequences; *na*, a part of *ena*, a woman's exclamation indicating surprise; *ibahuⁿ*, known; *biakithe*, I have made myself; *the*, vocable; *hoⁿadi*, last night; *uthagthaa*, you sang; *thuⁿ*, a part of *tethuⁿdi*, when; *izhazhe*, name; *wibthade*, I spoke your; *the*, feminine ending of a sentence; *the*, vocable; *ebeiⁿte*, who is it?; *abedaⁿ*, when they said; *ehe mike*, I said, sitting; *Waguⁿtha*, her lover's name; *ma*, a suffix indi-

eating that he was moving, passing along. The word *the* (the next to the last word in each line) is the feminine termination of a sentence; the final *the* is a vocable which serves as a sort of refrain; *hi*, a punctuation word equivalent to a period.

Free translation

Daduⁿ na—I have made myself known, the!
 Daduⁿ na—I have made myself known, the!
 Last night when you sang I uttered your name, the!
 Daduⁿ na—I have made myself known, the! hi.
 “Who is it that sings?” the! they said, and I sitting there, the!
 “Waguⁿtha is passing,” I said, the!
 It was your name I uttered, the! hi.

As with all Indian songs, both as to words and music, there is no setting or introduction. Nothing is said of the girl or her surroundings. The stanza opens with her lament addressed to her lover, who, having won her affection, has so possessed her thoughts that when he sang without the tent and the family asked “Who is it that sings?” the girl unconsciously lets drop his name. All eyes are turned on her and then she realizes what she has done. When next day she meets her lover she tells him in distress of her betrayal of their secret. The young man responds by making this song, in which he betrays the girl’s confidence to his companions and scores his conquest.

The structure of the song reveals a groping after metrical form. The choice of words and their arrangement are not colloquial and indicate a desire to express the story effectively and not in a commonplace way. The use of the vocable *the* at the end of each musical phrase is of interest, and its introduction into the fifth line after *ebeinte*, “Who is it that sings?,” has the effect of a sigh—it adds to the dramatic expression and gives a touch of pathos to the narrative.

The opening lines present at once the theme of the song, therein resembling the chorus of a ballad, which always sets forth the central thought or feeling around which the circumstances of the story cluster. In this Omaha ballad there is no elaboration in literary form and the music is equally simple; but we find here indications that the Omaha had begun more or less consciously to desire that the rhythm of emotions should have an answering expression in measured language. It is not improbable that the nascent poetic form of this class of songs may account in a measure for their popularity. While all other songs depended largely on vocables for carrying the voice, the “womansongs” were well supplied with words that always told a story.

Men and women were socially on a moral equality. Tribal custom favored chastity and those who practised it stood higher in public esteem than those who did not. In the case of a woman who in her youth committed indiscretions and later led a moral life, while her former acts were remembered, they were not held against her

or her husband or children. Both men and women were allowed to win back by subsequent good conduct their lost position.

When a young man asked the hand of a girl in marriage he observed a certain conventional form of address. The words were not always the same but the aspect put on the proposal was practically uniform. The young man extolled the girl and her relations; he did not vaunt himself; he pleaded his constancy and asked, rather than demanded, that she become his wife, craving it as a boon. There were signals other than songs or flute calls to let a girl know her lover was near. A tent pole might fall or some other noise be made which she would know how to interpret and so be able to meet the young man if a meeting had been agreed on. Marriage was usually by elopement. The claims on a girl by men holding a potential right to marry her almost necessitated her escaping secretly if she would exercise her free choice in the matter of a husband. When a young couple during their courtship determined on taking the final step of marriage, they agreed to meet some evening. The youth generally rode to a place near the lodge of the girl and gave the proper signal; she stepped out and they galloped off to one of his relations. In a day or two the young man took the girl to his father's lodge, where, if she was received as his wife, all claims by other men as to marriage were canceled by this act, but gifts had to be made to the girl's parents and shared with her relatives, in order to ratify the marriage. To bring this about, the father of the young man made a feast and invited the relatives of the girl. When this invitation was accepted and the presents received, the marriage was considered as settled beyond all dispute. In the course of a few months the father of the bride generally presented his daughter with return gifts about equal in value to those he had received and the young husband was expected to work for a year or two for his father-in-law. This latter claim was frequently rigidly exacted and the father-in-law was sometimes a tyrant over his son-in-law's affairs.

The following story is told of a man who was highly respected, industrious, and thrifty. He never married; why, no one knew, for he was an attractive man. He had a brother who for some reason was always unsuccessful in his wooing and as he greatly desired to marry a certain girl the bachelor brother was moved to say: "I will help you to get the girl you want." To the surprise of everyone, the girl included, the bachelor was seen at the spring, where he wooed the girl and planned their elopement. At the appointed hour he signaled her, she came to him, and together they rode to the lodge of one of his near relatives where the brother was in waiting. The bachelor explained to the girl that he had been wooing her for his brother, and the girl, having compromised herself by running away with her sup-



AN ELDERLY BEAU

posed lover, concluded to accept the transfer; the marriage so strangely entered on turned out pleasantly for both parties.

The marriage ceremony as described above depended for its completion on the recognition of the girl as the son's wife by the father of the young man, but should this formal consent be denied by either parent, while this act interrupted the festivity, it did not invalidate the marriage or have any effect on the issue of such marriage; it merely made the lives of the young couple difficult and uncomfortable. There was no tribal usage or tradition which made it possible to deprive a child of its rights to or through its father; according to tribal custom all a man's children had equal claim on him and he was responsible for all his progeny.

Cohabitation constituted marriage whether the relation was of long or short duration, always provided that the woman was not the wife of another man, in which case the relation was a social and punishable offense. Prostitution, as practised in a white community, did not exist in the tribe.

It was obligatory that a man and wife should belong to different gentes and not be of close blood relation through their mothers. It was counted an honor to a man to marry a woman who had tattooed on her the "mark of honor" (fig. 105). Marriage with a man either on or about to go on the warpath was not permitted; such a union was looked on as a defiance of natural law that would bring disaster on the people for the reason, it was explained, that "War means the destruction of life, marriage its perpetuation." The same law was thought to be operative when a hunter failed to kill game; it would be said: "His wife may be giving birth to a child."

In the family the father was recognized as having the highest authority over all the members, although in most matters pertaining to the welfare of the children the mother exercised almost equal authority. In the event of the death of the mother and father, provided the father had no brothers, the uncle (mother's brother) had full control of the children and no relative of the father could dispute the right of the uncle to the children. During the lifetime of the parents the uncle was as alert as their father to defend the children or to avenge a wrong done them. The children always regarded their uncle as their friend, ever ready to help them.

When a marriage was arranged by a girl's parents, with or without her consent, it was apt to be with a man in mature life and established position. The would-be husband made large presents to the girl's parents and relatives. When the time came for the marriage the girl was well dressed, mounted on a pony, and accompanied by four old men she was taken to the lodge of her husband. Young men derided this kind of marriage, saying, "An old man can not win a girl; he can win only her parents." (Pl. 42.)

Polygamy existed, although it was not the rule; in the majority of families there was but one wife. A man rarely had more than two wives and these were generally sisters or aunt and niece. These complex families were usually harmonious and sometimes there seemed to be little difference in the feeling of the children toward the two women who were wives to their father. No special privileges were accorded to the first wife over the others. Polygamy was practised more among the prominent men than among any other class. On the former devolved the public duty of entertaining guests from within and without the tribe. This duty brought a great deal of labor on the household. There was no serving class to render help to man or woman, so that the wife could not hire anyone to assist her in any extra labor or in her daily work or her varied avocations, as in the dressing and tanning of skins, the making of tent covers and clothing, not to mention the embroidery put on garments and regalia. It will be remembered that embroidered garments, robes, pipestems, and other articles were required for gifts that went toward a man's "count," which led to his tribal honors. Looking at the duties and customs of the tribe, it seems that the question of domestic labor had a good deal to do with the practice of polygamy. "I must take another wife. My old wife is not strong enough now to do all her work alone." This remark was made not as if offering an excuse for taking another wife but as stating a condition which must be met and remedied in the only way which custom permitted.

Divorce was not uncommon, although there were many instances in the tribe in which a man and woman lived together throughout a long life in monogamous marriage. If a man abused his wife, she left him and her conduct was justified by her relations and by tribal opinion. As the tent or dwelling always belonged to the woman, the unkind husband found himself homeless. The young children generally remained with the mother, although the father's brothers would be expected to assist the woman in their support. If the woman was immoral, she was put away and sometimes punished by her husband. In that case no one interfered to protect her. These punishments were sometimes very severe. Generally speaking, the family was fairly stable; tribal sentiment did not favor the changing of the marriage relation from mere caprice.

The Omaha woman worked hard. Upon her depended much of the livelihood of the people—the preparation of food, of shelter, of clothing, and the cultivation of the garden patches. In return, she was regarded with esteem, her wishes were respected, and, while she held no public office, many of the movements and ceremonies of the tribe depended on her timely assistance. In the family she was generally the center of much affection. There were many happy Indian families in which affection bound all hearts closely together.

One can sometimes judge of the light by the depth of the shadow cast. An old Omaha man stood beside a husband whose wife lay dead. The mourner sat wailing, holding the woman's cold hand and calling her by the endearing terms that are not uttered to the living. "Where shall I go, now you are gone?" he cried. "My grandson," said the old man, "It is hard to lose one's mother, to see one's children die, but the sorest trial that can come to a man is to see his wife lie dead. My grandson, before she came to you no one was more willing to bring water for you; now that she has gone you will miss her care. If you have ever spoken harshly to her the words will come back to you and bring you tears. The old men who are gone have taught us that no one is so near, no one can ever be so dear, as a wife; when she dies her husband's joy dies with her. I am old; I have felt these things; I know the truth of what I say."

CARE AND TRAINING OF CHILDREN

In the Omaha family the children bore an important part; they were greatly desired and loved. Mention has been made of the belief that women who bore the "mark of honor" would become mothers of many children who would live to grow up. The baby was its mother's constant companion, although other members of the family often helped to take care of it. (Fig. 66.) More than one instance is recalled where the father took considerable care of the little ones and it was not an uncommon sight to see a father or grandfather sooth or amuse a fretful child. Soon after birth the baby was laid in its own little bed. This was a board about 12 or 14 inches wide and 3 feet long. On this was laid a pillow stuffed with feathers or the hair of the deer, over which were spread layers of soft skins. On this bed the baby was fastened by broad bands of soft skin, which in recent years were replaced by similar bands of calico or flannel. There was no headboard to the Omaha cradle-board but the skins that were laid over the pillow were so arranged as to form a shelter and protection for the top of the baby's head. While the child slept its arms were bound under the cover but as soon as it awoke they were released. The cradle-board (*u'thuhe*) was principally used in carrying the baby around and it served as a bed when the little one was asleep. A good portion of the time the baby lay on a soft skin in a safe warm place where it could kick and crow, while the mother sat by with her sewing or at some other employment. If the mother's duties took her out of doors the baby might be laced on its cradle and hung up in the shade of a tree; or, if the mother happened to be going away on horseback the baby in its cradle was hung at her saddle, where it rode safely and comfortably. When the child was old enough to cling to its mother it was thrown over her shoulder, where it hugged her tightly around the neck while she adjusted her robe or blanket. The robe

worn by the women was tied by a girdle around the waist, the upper part was placed over the clinging child, and the ends were crossed in front and tucked into the girdle. Then the mother gave a gentle but decided shrug, when the child loosened its arms and settled itself into its bag-like bed, from out of which it winked and peered at the world or fell fast asleep as the mother trudged about her business.

It is a mistake to suppose that Indian babies never cry. They do cry, most lustily at times, but efforts are always made to soothe a child. No true lullaby songs have ever been heard in the tribe by the writers, but both men and women make a low murmuring that resembles somewhat the sound of the wind in the pines and sleep soon comes to the listener. There was a belief that certain persons were gifted with an understanding of the various sounds made by a baby; so when a little



FIG. 66. Omaha mother and child.

one cried persistently, as if in distress, some one of these knowing people was sent for to ascertain what troubled the child. Sometimes it was said that the baby did not like the name given it and then the name would be changed. Sometimes the difficulty was of a more practical kind, as in the case of a baby whose mother, being particularly desirous of having her son lie on the softest of beds, had put next to him the soft skin of a buffalo calf; whenever the child was laid on its bed its cries kept everyone awake. In her distress the mother sent for a person who understood the talk of a baby. This person was evidently a keen observer, for he at once saw what the trouble was—the fur tickled the child! He turned the skin and the baby was pacified.

The birth of twins was considered a sign that the mother was a kind woman. It was said, "Twins walk hand in hand around the

hu'thuga looking for a kind woman; when they find her, she becomes their mother." When a woman desired to ascertain the sex of her coming child, she took a bow and a burden strap to the tent of a friend who had a child not yet old enough to speak and offered it the articles. If the bow was chosen the unborn would be a boy; if the burden strap, a girl. If a teething child looked at one, at the same time grinding its teeth, stretching out its arms, and clenching its hands, it meant to break friendship with that person. A child who had lost either one or both of its parents was called *wahon'thi'nge* ("no mother"), "orphan."

As soon as a child could walk steadily it passed through the ceremony called Turning the Child, and, if a boy, through the supplemental ceremony of cutting the lock of hair in consecration of its life to the Thunder and to the protection of the tribe as a warrior. (See p. 122.) After this experience home training began in earnest. The child had now its name, marking its *ni'kie* rites, and its gentile relationship. Careful parents, particularly those who belonged to the better class, took great pains in the training of their children. They were taught to treat their elders with respect, to be particular in the use of the proper terms of relationship, to be peaceable with one another, and to obey their parents. Whipping was uncommon and yet there were almost no quarreling and little downright disobedience. Much attention was given to inculcating a grammatical use of the language and the proper pronunciation of the words. There was no "baby talk." Politeness was early instilled. No child would think of interrupting an elder who was speaking, of pestering anyone with questions, of taking anything belonging to an older person without permission, or of staring at anyone, particularly a stranger. Yet the children were bright and had their share of curiosity but they were trained not to be aggressive.

Little girls were subject to restraints that were not put upon the boys. The mother was particular in teaching the girl how to sit and how to rise from a sitting posture. A woman sat sidewise on the left, her legs drawn round closely to the right. (Fig. 67.) No other posture was good form for a woman. Sometimes old women sat with the feet stretched out in front but that was the privilege of age. All other attitudes, as kneeling or squatting, were only for temporary purposes. Concerning this point of etiquette mothers were rigid in the training of their daughters. To rise well, one should spring up lightly, not with the help of both hands; one hand might be placed on the ground for the first movement, to get a purchase. A girl was taught to move about noiselessly as she passed in and out of the lodge. All her errands must be done silently. She must keep her hair neatly braided and her garments in order. At an early age little girls assumed the rôle of caretaker of the younger children. The boys had

to help about the ponies but not much training in etiquette fell to the lot of the boy—he could jump about and sit in any manner he chose, except after the fashion of a girl. Later he had to learn to sit steadily on his heels, to rise quickly, and to be firm on his feet.

When quite small the two sexes played together but the restraints and duties put on girls soon separated them from the boys and when girls were grown there were few recreations shared in common by the



FIG. 67. Sitting posture of women.

sexes. In olden times no girl was considered marriageable until she knew how to dress skins, fashion and sew garments, embroider, and cook. Nor was a young man a desirable husband until he had proved his skill as a hunter and shown himself alert and courageous.

Politeness was observed in the family as well as in the presence of strangers. The etiquette in reference to the fire was always observed and care was taken not to interrupt a speaker, and never to accept

anything from another without recognition by the use of an expression the equivalent of "thank you;" this equivalent was the mention of a term of relationship.

To elucidate further the teachings and training given to children and youths, the insistence with which industry, good manners, and consideration for others were impressed upon the young, the following notes, taken beside a camp fire one evening in early September years ago, are here given. An old man, no longer living, was on that occasion in a reminiscent mood and somewhat inclined to question the advantage of influences that were creeping in among the people. As he talked he sat playing with a little stick, tracing figures on the ground, while the firelight shed a ruddy glow on the faces of those who made the circle. In the distance the tents stood pale and specterlike, overhead the stars were brilliantly white in the clear dark sky and no sound but the snapping of the burning wood broke in on the flow of the old man's words.

The children do not receive the training that we men did from our fathers. Everything is changed. I remember some of the sayings that used to be common in my young days: sayings that were supposed to hold us young people in order and teach us to be mindful of our elders and not become self-indulgent. Write them down; I would like the Omaha to know how children were talked to in the old times—children from 10 to 15 years of age.

When a boy used a knife in cutting meat the old men said: "The knife eats more meat; you should bite it." This saying means, the use of the knife makes one lazy; a man should rely on his own resources; the one who so trains himself is ready for any emergency.

In old times kettles were scarce and the same kettle would often serve several families. It was also customary never to return a borrowed kettle entirely empty but to leave a little of the last portion that was cooked in it. If a lad should help himself to that which came home in the kettle the old men would say: "If you eat what is brought home in the kettle your arrows will twist when you shoot" [will not go straight], adding in explanation: "The youth who thinks first of himself and forgets the old will never prosper, nothing will go straight for him."

There is a part of the intestine of the buffalo, called *washna*, that is very tender, so that the old people who have no teeth, or but few, can eat it, chew and digest it. If the lads want to eat this tender bit the father would say: "You must not eat the *washna*, for if you do, and go with a war party for spoils, the dogs will bark at you." Why the dogs would bark was left a mystery, which fact would make the young people afraid to take the *washna*, and so the old people could enjoy it in peace.

When a young man attempted to drink the broth in the kettle, the old men would say: "A young man must not drink the broth; if he does, his ankles will rattle and his joints become loose."

When the marrowfat was tried out and the lad desired some of it with his meat, the old men would say: "If you eat of the marrowfat you will become quick tempered, your heart will become soft, and you will turn your back to your enemy" [be afraid].

In my day the young men were forbidden to smoke, for smoking, we were told, would make young men short winded and when they went into battle they would be quickly overcome.

The old men used to tell the young men that they must learn to make arrows. They said: "If one does not make arrows he will borrow moccasins, leggings, and robes and

be disliked by the persons from whom he borrows." This meant that one must be industrious in order to have things of one's own. The old men also said: "If you don't make arrows yourself and a young man who is industrious shows you his arrows, you will be tempted to steal from him." Also: "If you are not industrious you will borrow a horse from a young man who may be insignificant [of no position in the tribe], and you may be proud that you ride a horse even if it is not your own; you will borrow a bridle, too, and you will be disliked by the men from whom you borrow." Also: "If you are not industrious, when a herd of buffalo is slaughtered you may come across a young man whom you may consider insignificant but who has killed a buffalo by his energy; you will look longingly at the best portions of the meat, but he will give to another who is known to be thrifty and generous and you will go away disappointed."

Boys used to be made to swallow a turtle's heart so as to make their hearts strong. I was an orphan, and tender hearted and when any woman talked to me I would easily weep. I did not like this, but I could not help it. I swallowed a turtle's heart and since then I can control myself. He [pointing to a man in the group about him] has swallowed three. The turtle is hard to kill; even when the heart is cut out it will still quiver and the turtle's head will be able to bite after it is severed from the body. The heart is flat and about an inch long. The boy took the heart and swallowed it by himself. Only the heart was used.

In eating the rib of the game, if the young man tried to unjoint it the old men say: "You must not do that; if you do, you will sprain your ankles."

Once when I had killed an elk I wanted to eat the marrow in the bone; so I roasted it but when I was ready to eat it some old men saw me, and they said: "If you, a young man, eat that, your leg bone will become sore."

The lad must not pick the bones of the rabbit with his teeth, but must pull off the meat with his fingers. If he used his teeth they would become cracked. He must use his fingers in order that his teeth may be sound.

If a lad desired to eat the turkey's head he was told: "If you eat that, tears will come into your eyes when you hunt. You will have watery eyes." If he should wish to play with the turkey's legs after they had been cut off, the old men said: "If you play with turkeys' legs your fingers will be cold in winter and liable to be frost-bitten; then you can not handle anything."

The fat about the heart of the buffalo was given to children that they might have strong hearts—be courageous.

The liver of the buffalo must be eaten raw. This was said to make a man courageous and to give him a clear voice.

We were taught that when a man wounded a buffalo a lad must not shoot an arrow at it. He would be justly chastised if he did, as the buffalo belonged to the man who first wounded it.

I was told: You must not be envious and maim the horse of another man if it is a fine horse to look at. You must not take another's robe or blanket, or his moccasins, or anything that belongs to another. You will be tempted to do these things if you are not industrious and if you yield to the temptation you will be shunned by all persons. A man must be energetic, industrious—*kiwa'shko*. If you are not industrious your blanket will be ragged, your moccasins will be full of holes, you will have no arrows, no good, straight ones; you will be in poverty and finally you will go to neighboring tribes to avoid meeting the members of your tribe, who should be your friends. If you are lazy, by chance you may have a horse that is stalled and you will think that you own property. You may have a horse that is blind and you will think yourself well off. You may have a horse with a disjointed hip and you will think yourself rich. If you are lazy, your tent skin will be full of holes. You will

wear leggings made out of the top of an old tent that is smoked yellow; for a robe you will wear a buffalo skin pallet pieced with the fore part of a buffalo hide—such is a lazy man's clothing. An industrious man wears leggings of well-dressed deer skin; his robe is of the finest dressed buffalo skin and he wears earrings—such is the dress of the energetic, industrious man. If a man is not industrious and energetic, he will not be able to entertain other people. A lazy man will be envious when he sees men of meaner birth invited to feasts because of their thrift and their ability to entertain other people. If you are lazy, nobody will have pleasure in speaking to you. A man in passing by will give you a word with only a side glance and never stand face to face in talking with you. You will be sullen, hardly speaking to those who address you—that is the temper of the lazy man. The energetic man is happy and pleasant to speak with; he is remembered and visited on his deathbed. But no one mourns for the lazy man; nobody knows where he is buried; he dies unattended. Even when only two or three are gathered to a feast the industrious and energetic man is invited. People in speaking of him say: He is pleasant to talk with, he is easy of approach. Such a man has many to mourn his death and is long remembered. A thrifty man is well spoken of; his generosity, his help are given to those who are weaker than he and all his actions are such as to make others happy. Such are some of the things that used to be said by the old to the young men.

Yes, girls were also talked to by the old men and all this talk to both boys and girls was to prevent their becoming thieves through envy. When they saw valuable things and desired them, they should know that if they were industrious they could have such things for themselves. And these sayings were also to prevent the young men from growing up in laziness so that they would go from house to house in order to live. Girls were required to know how to scrape and to dress skins and to tan them; to cut and make tent covers, garments of all kinds, and moccasins. There were many other things that a woman must know. She had much to do, and upon her work the people depended.

These are some of the sayings to girls: If you do not learn to do these things [mentioned above] and abide by the teachings of the elders [about thrift, honesty, etc.], you shall stop at a stranger's house and your place will be near the kettle pole, your hand shall rest on the kettle pole and without being told to go you shall go for water, and when you have brought the water you shall look wistfully into the door of the lodge, and they will tell you to open a pack so that they may do their cooking. On opening the pack you will take a bit of the dried meat, thrust it slyly into your belt, and take it away with you and eat it stealthily—but it shall not satisfy you. Food eaten in fear satisfies not the hunger.

The thrifty woman has a good tent; all of her tools are of the best; so is her clothing.

Hear what happens to the thriftless woman: She shall stop at a stranger's place; there are holes in her moccasins but she has nothing to patch them with, so she will cut a piece out of her robe to mend her moccasins with; then she will borrow her neighbor's workbag and from it take sinew stealthily and tuck it into her belt.

If you are a thrifty woman, your husband will struggle hard to bring you the best of materials for your tent and clothing and the best of tools. If you have a good tent, men and women will desire to enter it. They will be glad to talk with you and your husband.

If you are willing to remain in ignorance and not learn how to do the things a woman should know how to do, you will ask other women to cut your moccasins and fit them for you. You will go on from bad to worse; you will leave your people, go into a strange tribe, fall into trouble, and die there friendless.

If you are thrifty, build yourself a good tent or house [earth lodge], and people will like you and will assist your husband in all his undertakings.

ETIQUETTE

In the tent and in the earth lodge the fire was always in the center and was the point from which certain lines of etiquette were drawn. The space back of the fire, opposite the entrance, was the place of honor. It was therefore the portion of the tent given to guests, to which they always directed their steps when entering a lodge; it answered to the reception room or parlor of a white man's dwelling. Skin robes were spread here to make the visitor comfortable and welcome. The guest on entering must never pass between his host and the fire. When the guest was seated no one, not even a child, would pass between him and the fire. If by any chance it became necessary to do so, notice was given to the person passed and an apology made. This etiquette applied to the members of the family as well as to guests. When a guest arrived he took his seat quietly and remained quiet for a little time, no one addressing him. This was for the purpose of giving him time to "catch his breath" and "compose his thoughts." When conversation opened it was genial, although formal, and if there was any matter of importance to be discussed it was never hastily or quickly introduced. Deliberation was a marked characteristic of Indian etiquette.

When a guest was ready to leave, he rose and, using the proper term of relationship, added, *Shoⁿpa'xe ha* ("I have finished," i. e., my visit), or he said, *te ha* ("permit me") and without further ceremony departed.

There was a peculiar courtesy practised toward the parents of a man by his wife and toward the parents of a woman by her husband. A man did not directly address his wife's father or mother, nor did any of his brothers do so. If the parents were visiting in the same tent with their son-in-law or any of his brothers, conversation could be carried on but it was generally done indirectly, not directly between these persons. A wife did not directly address her husband's father but this did not apply to his mother. This custom has been explained by old Omaha men to mean that respect was thus shown by the younger to the elder generation. This rule of conduct was not, however, rigidly practised. There are stories told in which a man and his son-in-law were very close friends, living and hunting together.

Mention has been made of the custom of never addressing an individual by his personal name; etiquette demanded also that a person's name should not be mentioned in his presence. It may be recalled that a man's name referred to the rites in charge of his gens or to some personal experience—a dream or a valorous deed. The personal name sustained therefore so intimate a relation to the individual as to render it unsuitable for common use. It is doubtful, however, whether this characteristic was the fundamental motive

for the custom under discussion; it is more likely that the benefits to be derived from the daily emphasis of kinship as a means to hold the people together in peaceable relations had to do with the establishment of the custom, which was strengthened by the sanctity attached to the personal name. This interpretation seems to accord with the comment made by an aged Omaha on the custom of the white people of addressing one another by name, particularly members of the same family: "It sounds as though they do not love one another when they do not use terms of relationship."

While only kinship terms were used in social intercourse, no one, not even children, being called by a personal name, there was a term employed in making a formal address to a stranger: *kage'ha*, "friend;" this term was used also between men not closely related to each other. Its use was confined strictly to men. When a man of distinction was spoken to, etiquette demanded that he be addressed as *iⁿsha'ge*, "aged man;" the term was one of respect and implied his possession of wisdom, dignity, and position. A woman addressed another of her sex as *wihe'*, "younger sister," and when speaking to a boy or a young man she had to use the term *kage'*, "younger brother."

Under no circumstances would politeness permit a person to ask a stranger his name or what business brought him to the tribe. If one was curious he must await the development of events. It is said that men sent on an embassy from another tribe have come, transacted their business, and departed without anyone learning their personal names.

A curious reversal of these social customs is shown in the following sayings about birds:

The whip-poor-will sings its own name, *ha'kugthi* ("translucent skin").

An unidentified bird having a brown back, yellow breast, and a black ring around the neck, says, *Okite dadaⁿ?* ("Of what tribe are you?").

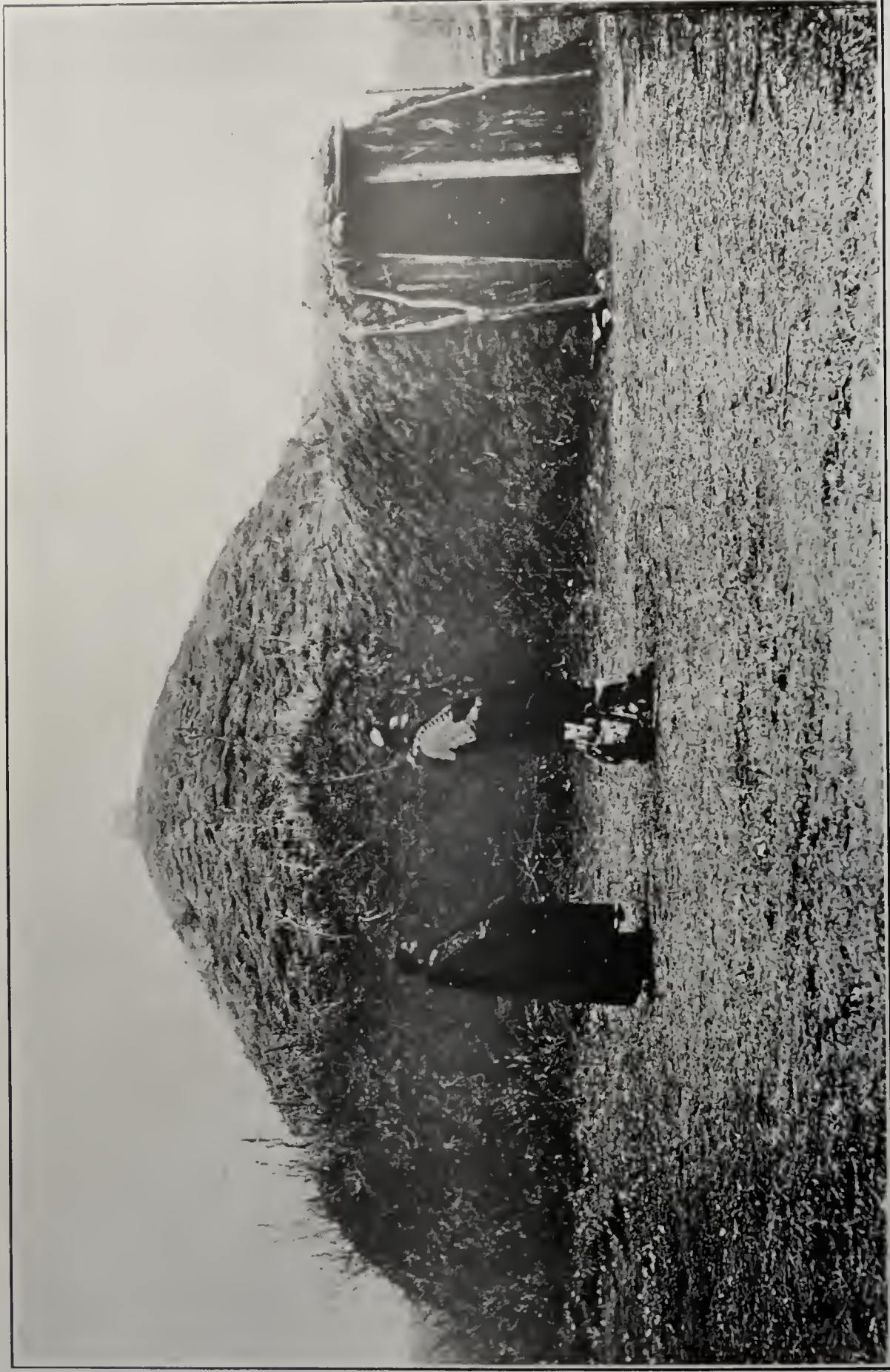
The meadow lark, which heralds the time for the ceremonies connected with the children (see p. 118), sings, *Qni'tethuⁿgthi tegaze* ("winter will not come back").

Generally two meals were taken, one in the morning, the other at night. When the food was cooked it was removed from the fire and the kettles were set near the mother's place in the tent. The family took their places in a circle around the fire. If there were neighbors or informal guests, they sat with the family. The mother apportioned the food into bowls, which she set on a skin spread in front of those who were to eat. In the duty of passing the food she might be assisted by her elder daughter or some near kinswoman or an intimate friend. After all had been served, including herself, the father or the principal guest made the offering of food, lifting a

small portion and dropping it into the fire, in recognition that all food was the gift of Wakoⁿ'da. After this ceremony everyone was at liberty to eat. If for any reason this ceremony was omitted, no one touched his food until everyone had been served. If there were many present the mother would be apt to say, "Eat; do not wait." After that, anyone who had been served would be at liberty to partake of the food. Each person was served separately except in the case of infants or very young children. When the meal was at an end the dishes were handed back to the mother. In returning his dish, each person gave thanks by mentioning a term of relationship. When a child was too young to speak for itself the father or mother offered thanks for it. Should a dish be returned with a portion of the food uneaten, an apology or explanation was made to the mother or hostess. At an informal meal at which guests were present the host and hostess ate with their visitors. When only the family were present, the thanks to the mother were not exacted from the children. The exchange of hospitalities, however, was so frequent that the little ones soon learned what was expected of them in the presence of company. If a child or a guest seemed to be confused as to the right expression of relationship to use, the host or hostess helped the embarrassment by suggesting the proper term. Children were corrected if they made noises or grimaces when eating. Silence with the lips, when eating, was not exacted except from the chiefs when they were taking their soup. This act must be done quietly. It was said there was a religious reason attached to this custom, but just what could not be definitely ascertained.

At a formal feast men served the food. The offering to Wakoⁿ'da was made by the man of highest rank present. Etiquette demanded that after the food was placed before the company a prominent man should say to the servers, "Have you provided for yourselves?" On the occasion of a formal feast the host, the one who gave the feast, never partook of the food. This custom obtained whatever the feast might be; whether it was given by a man to the chiefs, or by a member to a society, or by a group, as a subdivision of the Hoⁿ'ga, on the occasion when the ceremonies in its charge took place.

It was also in accord with etiquette to eat all placed before one; if, however, it was not possible to do so, the untasted food should be carried home. This custom was made practical by the custom of guests bringing their own bowls to use; untasted food was regarded as a reproach to one's host. If a kettle was borrowed for any purpose, on being returned a little of whatever had been cooked in it must remain in the vessel. This remnant was called *the'xuxe*. Anyone disregarding this custom could never borrow again, as the owner must always know how the kettle had been used and what had been cooked in it. An incident is told of a white woman who



PE'DEGAHI AND WIFE

scoured a borrowed kettle before returning it to the owner; the well-meant act was resented as showing a lack of respect and courtesy toward the latter.

Looking into a lodge and seeing all the inmates sitting or lying on the ground, it would hardly occur to one unfamiliar with Indian life that the ground space of a lodge was almost as distinctly marked off as the different rooms in our composite dwellings; yet such was the fact. The father occupied the middle of the space to the left of the fire as one entered. The mother kept all her household belongings on the left, between the father's place and the entrance. It was thus easy for her to slip in and out of the lodge without disturbing any of the inmates when attending to the cooking and getting the wood and water. If there were young men in the family, they generally occupied the space near the door to the right, where they were in a position to protect the family should any danger arise. If there were old people, their place was on the right, opposite the father. The young girls were farther along, more toward the back part. The little ones clung about the mother but were welcome everywhere and seldom made trouble. Each member had his packs in which his fine garments and small personal treasures were kept. These packs were set against the wall back of the place belonging to the owner.

In the earth lodge the compartments were quite commodious. The willow seats were lounges by day and beds by night. There was ample space beneath them for stowing packs, although storage spaces adjoined the lounges. In cold weather skins were sometimes hung between the inner circle of posts, making an inclosed space about the fire where the family gathered—the children to play games or to listen to the stories of the old folk. It was a picturesque scene that can never be forgotten by one who has enjoyed the welcoming cheer and kindly hospitality of an Indian family circle in its earth-lodge home.

Young girls were carefully guarded; they never went to the spring or to visit friends unless accompanied by an older woman—mother, aunt, or relative. Young married women seldom if ever went anywhere alone. Custom permitted only elderly women to go about unattended.

Etiquette demanded that when husband and wife walked abroad, the man precede the woman. (Pl. 43.) This was explained by the old men and women, "The man ought always to go first; it is his duty to see that the path is safe for the woman."

Women held no official position in the tribe but under certain circumstances they were consulted during the annual buffalo hunt (see p. 277); they were respected, the value of their industry was recognized, and their influence was potent in all affairs pertaining to the home.

AVOCATIONS OF MEN

The avocations of men were chiefly those connected with their duties as providers for and protectors of the family. As hunter (p. 270) the man secured the meat and the pelts but the work of transforming these into food, clothing, and shelter did not belong to him. As warrior (p. 474) he was obliged to be on the alert and ever ready to respond at once to the cry of danger. Men made all their own weapons.^a Bows and arrows were used for the hunt as well as for battle (for the method employed in making these see p. 449). The manufacture of stone implements was accomplished in two ways: (1) by flaking by pressure from an elk horn, or (2) by placing the piece of flint between the folds of a strip of rawhide, holding this between the teeth as in a vise and working it sideways so as to break or chip the edge of the flint within the skin without injury to the teeth, a somewhat difficult and hazardous process. Men made all the stone implements used in felling trees, as the stone ax and wedge; these were ground into shape and smoothed, a slow and tedious operation. Disks about four inches in diameter and an inch in thickness were made in the same manner. These disks (*in'thapa*) were used to crush kernels of corn into meal, also wild cherries into pulp for cooking; they were mainly used for grinding corn when traveling, as the large mortar and pestle were inconvenient for transportation.

The making of wooden articles was also the task of the men. The mortar (*u'he*), which was a necessity in every household, was formed from a section of a tree-trunk a foot or so in diameter and about three feet long. One end was chipped to a point so that it could be thrust into the ground to hold the utensil steady when in use; the other end was hollowed out to form the receptacle for the corn, by the following process: Coals were placed on the surface and were kept "alive" by being fanned as they slowly burned their way into the wood, until a sufficiently large cavity had been burned out, when the mortar was smoothed with sandstone and water, inside and outside. The pestle (*we'he*) was between three and four feet long, large and heavy at one end, and smaller and tapering at the other. When in use the small end was inserted into the mortar, the weight of the large end giving added force to the pounding of the corn. Wooden bowls (*zhoⁿu'xpe*) were made from the burrs of the black walnut. These were burned into shape as described and polished with sand and water; experience and skill were needed to make the bowl symmetrical. Some of these bowls were beautiful in the marking and grain of the wood as well as in form. The one shown in the illustration (fig. 68) was made in the eighteenth century and was prized as an heirloom. Each of the several societies had its ceremonial bowl or bowls. Wooden ladles

^a The manufacture of the shield, the war club, and the spear is dealt with on p. 448.

were made with the handle so shaped that it could be hooked on the edge of the bowl so as not to drop into the contents. Smaller bowls for individual use were not uncommon. Spoons were made of wood or of buffalo horn; the latter kind were in general use although tabu to one subdivision of the Tha'tada gens (p. 162).

In clearing the ground for planting, the heavy part of the work was not infrequently done by men as were the cutting and transporting of the large posts needed for building the earth lodge (p. 97). The weaving of the slender ends of the roof poles to form the circular opening over the fireplace was always done by men.



FIG. 68. Bowl made from walnut burr.

All rituals and religious rites were in charge of men; therefore the painting and tattooing of symbols devolved on them.

The life of the man was not an idle one; he could not pass his time in self indulgence, for want and danger were never far distant, and plenty and peace for the family and the tribe depended on his industry, skill, and courage.

AVOCATIONS OF WOMEN

The avocations of women all pertained to the conservation of life. She transmuted the raw material provided by the man into food, raiment, and shelter; the home was the product of her labor and all its duties belonged to her.

Bringing the wood for the fire was a part of the woman's task. For this purpose she used the burden strap; the broad band was worn across the chest and the long thongs were used to tie the wood in a

bundle at her back. The illustration shows a burden strap that had been the lifelong possession of a woman who died at a great age more than twenty years ago. It is made of buffalo hide; on the side of the broad band worn next to the body the wool had been left to make it soft; the other side had been painted red. (Fig. 69; Peabody Museum no. 27578.)

The care of the garden has already been mentioned. This was the principal outdoor work of the women; not that their labors were otherwise confined to the house, for during warm weather everything that could be done out of doors was performed under a shade set up

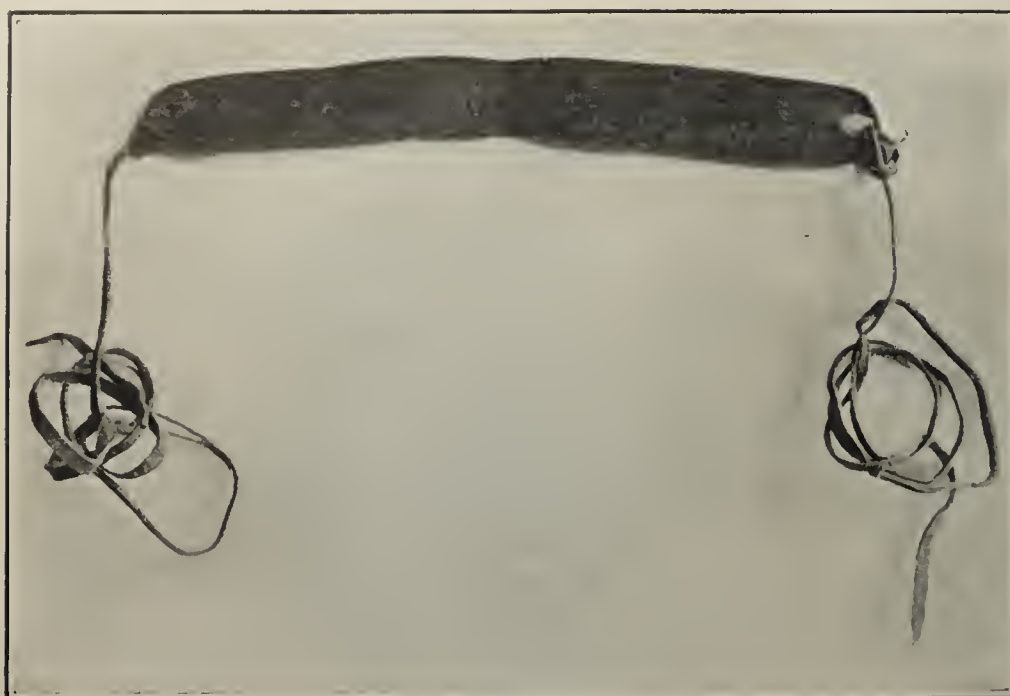
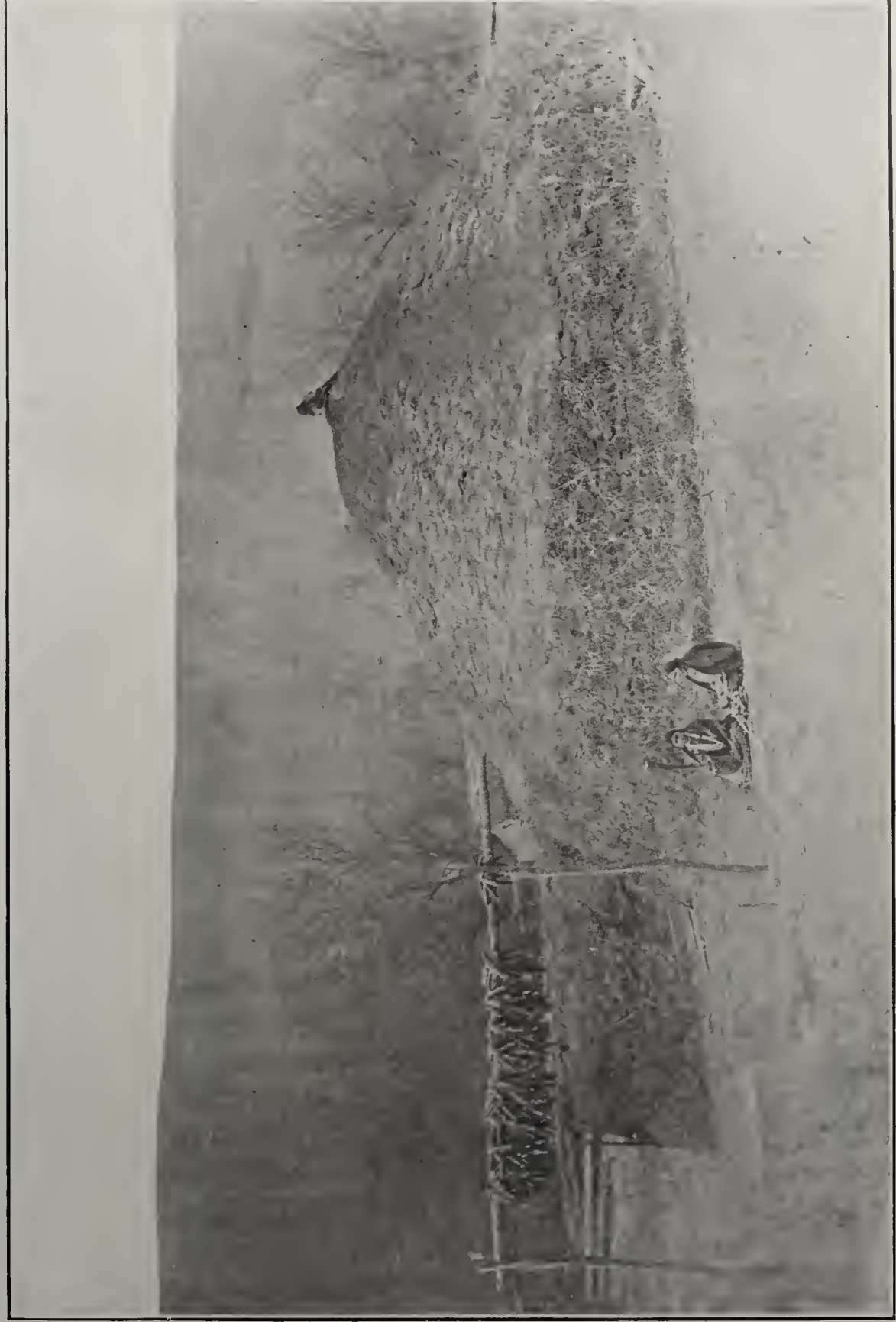


FIG. 69. Burden strap.

outside the dwelling. (Pl. 44.) Cooking, sewing, and the eating of meals all took place under this temporary structure.

COOKING AND FOODS

The appliances for cooking were simple. A pole called *uhoⁿ uthu-gashke* ("to tie on what is cooking") was set on the edge of the fire-place so as to slant toward the fire and from this "kettle pole" the pot (*ne'xe*) was hung. In old times the Omaha women made pottery of a rather coarse type, ornamented with incised lines. These pottery kettles could be hung or set over the fire. Horn spoons, *tehe'* (the word means "buffalo horn"), were used. The wooden spoon was called *zhoⁿ'tehe* (*zhoⁿ*, wood), "wooden buffalo horn;" later the metal spoon, *moⁿ'setehe* (*moⁿ'ce*, metal), "metal buffalo horn," still kept *tehe'* as part of the name. There were no plates or forks and it is



DOMESTIC SCENE

doubtful if flint knives were ever used to cut food when eating. Bowls of pottery and of wood were used, which bore the general name *uxpe'*. Gourds sometimes served as cups. The introduction of copper or brass kettles and of steel knives made changes in domestic life and in many ways lightened the task of the women. It is said that in the olden days women had to make and keep on hand a supply of pottery vessels for visitors, and that when a great feast was to be held the kindred and friends of the women came and helped to make the necessary supply of dishes. The custom for guests at a feast, when not from a great distance, to bring their own bowls and spoons may have taken its rise in the pottery-making time.

Among the roots and plants used for food was the "pomme blanche," called *nu'gthe*. The root was dug from the time the plant first appeared until late in the fall. The line of march taken on the tribal buffalo hunt was sometimes determined by the localities where this desirable plant grew in abundance. It was eaten raw. The dark skin was peeled by the help of the teeth; the inner flesh is white and though rather tasteless it is not unpleasant. The roots were preserved by slicing, and drying them in the sun, after which they were stored in bags, like the shelled corn. They were cooked by being boiled with the meat, particularly the tripe of the buffalo.

The ground nut (*Apios tuberosa*) called *nu*, was boiled, then peeled, and eaten as a vegetable.

Artichokes (*Helianthus tuberosus* L.), called *po^{n'}xe*, were used in the early spring. They were eaten only raw and were spoken of as the food of homeless boys who had no near relative to feed them.

The root of the great yellow water lily (*Nelumbium luteum*), called *te'thawe*, and the bulb of the lily (*Sagittaria variabilis*) were gathered in the spring. The root of the latter lily was called *çiⁿ*. It was boiled and eaten as a vegetable and was said to taste like salsify. The root was never cooked with meat. It was gathered only in the spring, as later in the season the bulb became spongy and unpleasant. The root of the *Amphicarpæa monoica*, called *hoⁿbthi^{n'}abe*, was gathered in the fall from the storehouses of the field mouse. This little animal gathers these roots in large quantities. The Indians kept the roots in skin bags during the winter. Before boiling, the outer skin was removed by rubbing the root between the palms of the hands. The flesh is whitish before cooking and reddish afterward; it is sweetish in taste and very nutritious.

Slippery-elm bark was used for flavoring. Small bunches were dropped into fat that was to be used in cooking.

A milk weed or silk weed (*Asclepias syriaca* L.), known to the Omaha as *waxtha'*, was used as a vegetable. The tender shoots were cut and boiled; sometimes corn and meat were added to give flavor.

Mushrooms (*mika'exthi*, "looks like tripe") were eaten boiled or fried in fat.

The leaves of *Ceanothus americanus*, "New Jersey tea," were made into a tea to be taken with the food; this was called *tabe'hi*.

The shoulder of game was always roasted and because it was so cooked it was called *waba'çnoⁿ*.

The thigh was cut in thin slices and jerked. This meat was always boiled even when it was fresh. The broth (*tezhe'ga*) was eaten with the meat.

The marrow (*wazhi'be*) from the fore-leg and hind-leg bones was considered a delicacy. The bones were roasted and served hot with the roasted shoulder. A brush made by pounding the end of a sprig of the wild cherry was used in serving the marrow. This cherry stick brush was called *wazhi'be ibagu'de*.

The ribs (*tethi'te*) were used only when fresh; they were roasted, never boiled.

The *tezhu'*, a special cut already described, was either roasted or boiled; it was also jerked.

Birds were both boiled and roasted. All roasting was done by thrusting the bird on a stick which was then stood up before the fire. This mode of cooking was called *baçno^{n'}*.

The methods of preparing and cooking corn have been already described.

Salt was obtained from a stream near the present city of Lincoln, Nebraska, known to the Omaha as Salt creek, the waters of which left on the grassy banks a white saline deposit. This fine salt the women brushed into piles by means of feathers and afterward it was deposited in bladder bags for future use.

DRESSING AND TANNING SKINS

Among the most important of the woman's duties were the care and preparation of the pelts, as on these the people depended for clothing and shelter. The work of dressing and tanning, which was arduous, bore the general name *wato^{n'}the*. When the tribe was on the annual hunt a certain part of the work of dressing the skins had to be done at once in order to preserve the pelts for future use and tanning.

First, the green skin was washed in order to remove all evidences of the slaughter.

Second, slits were cut along the edges, and through these slits pegs were driven so that the hide could be stretched taut on the ground, the inner side uppermost.

Third, an implement made from the leg bone of the elk, called *we'bazhabe* (fig. 70; Peabody Museum no. 40109), was used to remove any fleshy portions adhering to the green skin, which was

called *taha'nuka*, literally, "wet skin." This work on a single skin, which usually occupied two or more hours, was called *waba'zhabe*. When this task was finished the skin was left to dry in the sun. When it became dry and hard it was called *waha'çage*. If the hide was to be used as a robe or to serve as bedding, it was then folded up to be packed back to the village, where the work of tanning was

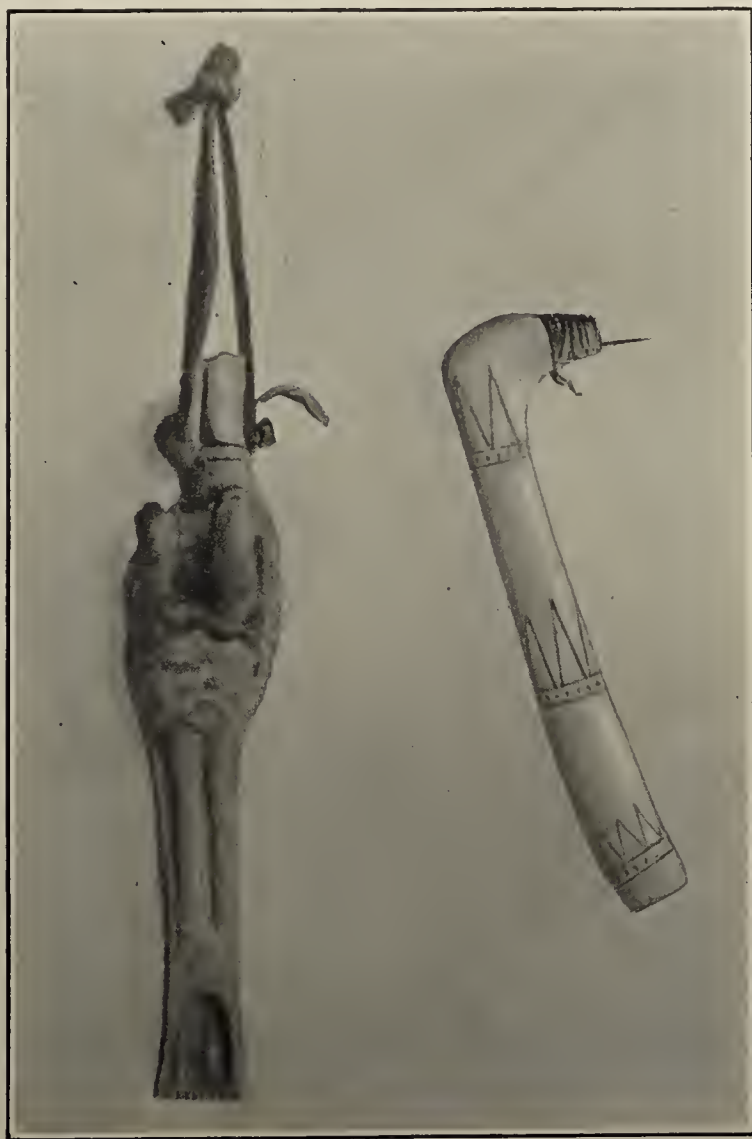
*We'bazhabe**We'uhi*

FIG. 70. Implements for dressing skins.

always done. But if the skin was to be used for moccasins or a tent cover, it would have to be made ready for tanning on both sides. In that case the dried hide would be turned and the hair scraped off with an implement called *we'uhi*—a short adze, sometimes called *we'ubazho*ⁿ (really the name of the handle), figure 70 (Peabody Museum no. 27576). The process of scraping off the hair was called *wa'u*. The

hide was next turned skin side up and scraped to an even thickness with the same implement; this process (fig. 71) was called by the same name as that by which the hair was removed. After this the skin was folded in an oblong shape convenient for packing and was taken home for tanning. Often a family would have a number of skins to prepare in this way when on the hunt and the women would be kept busy day and night if the hunters were successful.



FIG. 71. Scraping a skin.

Not only did the skins have to be attended to at once in order to save them but the meat had to be jerked immediately, otherwise it would spoil and be attacked by insects. Jerking (*wa'ga*) was done by cutting the flesh in very thin slices and hanging these on frames, so that the wind and sun could dry them rapidly. If a rain set in just after a hunt, quantities of meat and pelts were apt to spoil, owing to the difficulty of preserving them in a warm, moist atmosphere.

The rapidity with which the women worked was remarkable. In jerking the meat men sometimes helped if necessity required.

When the people reached home the tanning was done at the convenience of the women. For this process the brains of the slaughtered buffalo were saved in bladder bags, where they became dry and hard. These dried brains were boiled. Then the hard skin was stretched on the ground and the boiled brains were smeared over it by means of a brush made of a bunch of wild sage (*artemisia*). It is said that the *artemisia* was used to counteract the unpleasant odor of the brains. This process was called *i'thiixthi*. If there were no brains available, broth from boiled meat was substituted.

Next, the skin was immersed in a stream, weighted down with stones and left there over night. This soaking was called *washpoⁿ'the*. The water was wrung out and the skin stretched lightly on a frame set either upright or flat; a knife-shaped implement, called *we'bamoⁿ*, was used to press out the remaining water. Dry corn meal was then rubbed on the skin to absorb any moisture yet unexpelled.

The final process was called *wathi'kiⁿde*, meaning softening the skin by friction. A post was driven into the ground, a small sinew rope (*we'thikiⁿde*) was fastened to it in a loop, and the skin run through the loop and pulled from side to side. This pulling was done inch by inch and was repeated three or four times, making the skin soft and pliable for use.

Skins to be used in making moccasins were browned by smoke. This process was called *wana'ciⁿthe*. The skins for tent covers were not smoked but were kept white. The same process of tanning and softening was used in preparing robes, except that the hair was left. Deer and elk skins, not being so harsh as the buffalo hide, did not require as much labor in tanning. The processes employed were similar to those above described.

QUILL WORK

Embroidery with porcupine quills was a feminine accomplishment. The Omaha women did fairly good work but it is doubtful if they were as expert as the women of some of the northern tribes. The following was the Omaha method of preparing and dyeing the quills:

The quills were plucked as soon as possible after the porcupine was killed, for if the skin became dry the quills were liable to break. The quills were sorted as to length and size and laid in bladder bags, the outer or black ends being placed together. The largest quills, those on the tail, were kept by themselves and were used in ornamenting comb cases and workbags. The long ones of medium size were reserved for fine work. The hair of the porcupine and that of the turkey's tassel were used for very fine embroidery—finer than was possible with the quills. Fine quills were used in embroidering the

line on the middle of the upper part of the moccasins; the larger ones were used in decorating the flaps about the ankle. The Omaha did not often ornament garments with quill work.

It is said by some of the old women that in early times only black, red, and white were used; that red and black were the only native dyes; and that yellow, blue, and green were introduced by traders. Yet yellow and dark blue were made from roots known to some of the women, so these may have been used before the day of the trader.

The black dye was made from a yellow earth, or clay, called *wage'-zhide nika*. This earth was put into a vessel over the fire and a piece of tallow added. The earth was stirred constantly until it was roasted black. A decoction was then made by cutting the inner bark of the maple into strips, adding leaves from the trees that had been mashed and boiling these in water until it became a dark red. The roasted earth was added to the boiling decoction. After the earth had been boiled in it, the water was very black. The mixture was then taken off the fire and the quills were put into it and left over night; in the morning they would be found dyed black.

The red dye was made from the root of a small plant that grows in the marshes or lowlands. This root was boiled in water and the quills were boiled with it for a short time until all were colored a bright red. The Omaha called this dye "feather dye." The plant has not been identified botanically. The red quills were dyed early in the morning, before the first meal was eaten, as the process was thought to succeed best at that time. It is said that but few persons were competent to dye a good red.

The yellow dye was made from the early buds of the cottonwood, "the buds out of which the leaves spring." This color was also made from the roots of a vine (not identified). After these roots had been boiled the quills were dropped into the water but were allowed to remain only a very short time.

White was the natural color of the quills; they were never bleached. Verdigris was used for coloring green.

The quills were never split. They were held in the mouth to make them pliable, as they needed both warmth and moisture to bring about that condition. Cold water would not serve the purpose.

To flatten them for working, the black end, or tip, was held by the thumb and finger of the right hand, the nails being used to flatten the quills, which were warm and moist and pliable, being taken directly from the mouth for this flattening process. A number would be treated in this way but just before using them in sewing the same treatment would be again applied.

Quill work was called *u'thigke*, an old, untranslatable term.

The patterns were not often traced. They were generally evolved by the worker as she proceeded. In olden times only the awl was



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used to pierce the holes for the sinew and quills. A stitch was taken but not through the skin and the sinew was passed through and pulled tight. Then another stitch was taken in the same way but the sinew was not pulled tight. A little loop was left and through this loop the blunt ends of the quills were put. If, for example, four quills were to be used, they were placed one on the other through the loop, which was then tightened. A quarter of an inch from the first stitch of sinew a similar stitch was taken and in the loop four quills were fastened in the same way. Then the first quill was bent toward the second loop and the first quill of the second loop was bent toward the first loop, and the braiding went on, back and forth, until all four quills were in place, the last quill being doubled under and the sinew used in a stitch to hold it in place. In this way little by little the pattern progressed.

Quill work for pipestems was made as follows: Two long threads were doubled, making four threads. The free ends were wound about a stick and fastened to a stationary object. The doubled ends were made fast to the belt of the worker. A few inches of the doubled ends were left unworked for fastening to the pipestems. The quills were woven one at a time in and out over the four threads. Two threads formed one column. The ends of the quills were fastened between the two threads of a column. The new quill was fastened in the same place by the blunt end.

No trustworthy information has been obtained relative to symbolic designs being worked with quills on garments worn by the Omaha. The designs employed were generally geometric, this characteristic being due probably to the stiffness of the quills. Later these designs were reproduced by narrow ribbons hemmed on to the cloth or skin. This style was in greater favor among the Omaha women than embroidering with beads. (Pl. 45.)

WEAVING

Among the Omaha weaving was not practised on a large scale. So far as is known, cloth was not woven nor were the people acquainted with the cotton plant. One of the birds found in the honor pack belonging to the Sacred Tent of War was lined with cloth which may have been of native manufacture. If the cloth lining was strictly a native product it probably was obtained through barter or gift from some tribe which practised the art of weaving. Omaha women wove scarfs which were used as belts, being wound around the waist, by both men and women. The term applied to these scarfs suggests the material out of which they were formerly woven—*tezhi'n'hi'de* (*tezhi'n'*, "little buffalo," or "calf;" *hi'de*, "hair.") Scarfs bound about the head were worn exclusively by men. (Pl. 46.) Women used the scarf to gird the robe or blanket about their waists. They

also wove bags, which were generally made from broad, short scarfs, doubled and sewed together at the sides. These bags were used by men as receptacles for ceremonial objects, as shown by the bags of different sizes found in the pack belonging to the Shell society of which the old chief Big Elk was the keeper. (See p. 554.) Women made use of these woven bags for various purposes. They had also bags of deerskin to contain their sewing materials—sinew, awl, and bladder cases containing dyed porcupine quills.

Necklaces of beads were woven, the different colored beads being arranged so as to make elaborate patterns (pl. 47; Peabody Museum no. 27551.) The short necklaces which were tied about the throat were woven on horsehair. The longer ones woven on thread were worn about the neck, being allowed to hang down in front.



FIG. 72. Hairbrushes.

The loom used by the Omaha women was a very simple device. The strands forming the warp were fastened at each end to a stick slightly longer than the width of the scarf or necklace to be woven; a thong was attached to each end of the sticks holding the warp and by these thongs one stick was fastened to a post and the other one to the woman's belt. She sat on the ground so as to stretch the threads of the warp taut and then

wove the woof in accordance with the design she desired to produce. The different weaves and patterns used by the Omaha women are shown in the illustration given of the bags of their manufacture (figs. 114–116, 118, 120, 121). To weave the long necklaces required considerable counting and careful arrangement of the beads in order to produce the chosen design.

Ropes for lariats and cords were made from the nettle (*Urtica gracilis* Ait.), which was gathered in the fall when dry. The fiber was separated from the woody part by pounding between stones and was then braided. The native name for the plant was *ha'nugahi*. The fiber was called *mi'no'zhiha*, "maiden's hair." When the hemp rope was introduced by traders it was given the same name. Lariats were also made in former times, of buffalo hair. Such ropes, usually of eight strands, were called *taha'thici*. Few knew how to braid them.



BEAD NECKLACES

PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Toilet appliances were few. The hairbrush, *mika'he*, (fig. 72; Peabody Museum no. 27561), and the paint stick (*peu'gaçonibatho*ⁿ, "to part the hair") were the two requisites. The paint stick, as its name



FIG. 73. Costumes of young men.

implies, served a double purpose. It was made of wood and was about 6 or 8 inches long, one end tapering to a blunt point. The case in which the stick was kept was generally ornamented and sometimes

had a pointed flap which served as a cover to protect the stick and keep it from dropping out.

The brush (*mika'he*, possibly from *mi*, "woman;" *ka'he*, "to comb," although this is not a certain derivation) was made of stiff grass called by the same name. One end of the brush was tightly wound about to form a sort of handle. Both of these articles were used by both men and women. The hair was kept neatly brushed and glossy. Buffalo fat, well fried out, was sometimes used on the hair but it was more commonly employed on chapped lips, face, and hands.



FIG. 74. Man's necklace.

The men wore the hair either flowing or cut close to the scalp, leaving only a stiff roach extending from the forehead over the top of the head to the neck. All wore the scalp lock. The sister or wife braided this lock in a fine, even braid. On this lock the eagle feather war honor was worn. A bone case was made, in which the quill of the feather was fastened securely; the feather could thus be made to stand erect or slanting, or to hang, according to the honor accorded the wearer. The bone case was fastened to the scalp lock. When the hair was worn flowing, the middle parting line was painted red and the circular line of parting around the scalp lock was generally kept painted the same color.

The word for paint varied with the use to which the paint was put. Thus, *we'uga* was paint for a tent; *waçe'zhide* meant red paint for the person (*waçe'* is part of *waçe'çon*, "clay"; *zhide*, "red"; *waçe'tu*, "blue paint," etc.).

Men generally painted their faces or bodies in accordance with dreams or in representation of some achievement or accorded honor. Young men used merely fanciful designs. Before the advent of looking-glasses a young man was painted by his friend. Men were frequently nude except for the breechcloth. When going to battle, on the surround at the tribal buffalo hunt, when taking part in the He'dewachi ceremony, at the races, at the Hethu'shka society, and the Pebble society, the painting on their faces and bodies had a serious significance, partaking of the nature of an appeal or prayer. Except with very young men, painting could hardly be called strictly an adornment. (See pls. 46, 49, 50, and fig. 73.)

The regalia worn by men indicated grades of war honors (p. 438). Earrings were worn. Piercing the ears was a costly ceremony, each hole generally representing the gift of a pony to the man who did the piercing; so the number of holes in a man's ears was an indication of the wealth of his near kindred. The necklace (*wāno^{n'}piⁿ*) (pl. 47 and fig. 74) was a part of an Omaha man's adornment, as were the beaded garters (*hi'thawiⁿ*), tied below the knee outside the legging. (Fig. 75; Peabody Museum no. 27545.) Bells were



FIG. 75. Man's garters.

sometimes fastened about the garter and their tinkle emphasized the rhythm of the dance. The belt (*i'pithage*) was worn, and to it was attached the embroidered case of the paint stick, and a little bag which contained tinder and flint for making fire. Perfumery (*i'nub-thoⁿkithe*) was commonly used by the men. Braids of sweet grass were worn about the neck, under the robe. Columbine seeds were pulverized, mixed with water, and sprinkled over the robe to perfume

it. A man attired for a dance often presented a gay appearance. The skin of the skunk or of the fox was sometimes bound about the leg below the knee, the tail hanging as an ornament on the outside of the leg.

Women parted the hair in the middle from the forehead to the nape of the neck (pl. 45). The hair, thus divided, was arranged in two braids, the ends of which were bound together and brought up to



FIG. 76. Mounted warriors.

the back of the neck so as to let the braids fall in a long loop behind the ears. The parting was painted red and similar treatment was bestowed on the cheeks, back to the ear. A narrow necklace was worn about the throat. Earrings also were worn, and a braid of sweet grass was often tucked in the belt.

A man frequently painted his horse to represent a valorous act in which the man had won honors, or he might paint the animal in a



CRUPPER FOR HORSE USED BY WOMAN

manner intended as a symbolic representation of a vision. (Fig. 76.) Such a decoration partook of the nature of a prayer. The bridles



FIG. 77. Painting a tent cover.

of horses were sometimes ornamented and occasionally the young men decked the manes and tails of their animals with bright ribbons or bands painted in gay colors. Women embroidered the cruppers for their horses, which were cut in such fashion as to spread over the sides of the animals, as shown in the accompanying illustration. (Pl. 48). This crupper formerly belonged to an Omaha woman by whom it was used some fifty years ago.



FIG. 78. Paint brush.

Men outlined designs on their tent covers. These represented symbolically their visions and so were more than a mere decoration, as they implied an invocation in behalf of the household. In the putting on of

the color a man's wife or children might assist. The illustration (fig. 77) shows how the tent cover was spread on the ground, the design sketched in, and then the color applied by the assistant.

Robes were sometimes painted, this work being done in the same manner as the painting on the tents.

Paint brushes were made from the porous bone of the hip joint and shaped as shown in fig. 78. The paint was applied with the blunt edge of the bone brush.

The peculiar headgear shown in plates 36 and 49 was worn only by chiefs; it bore the name *watha'ge*, which was applied to all caps cut to fit the head. The style of headdress shown in plate 50 was called *tezhi'n'hinde*, which was the name applied to the woven scarfs, as already explained on page 347.

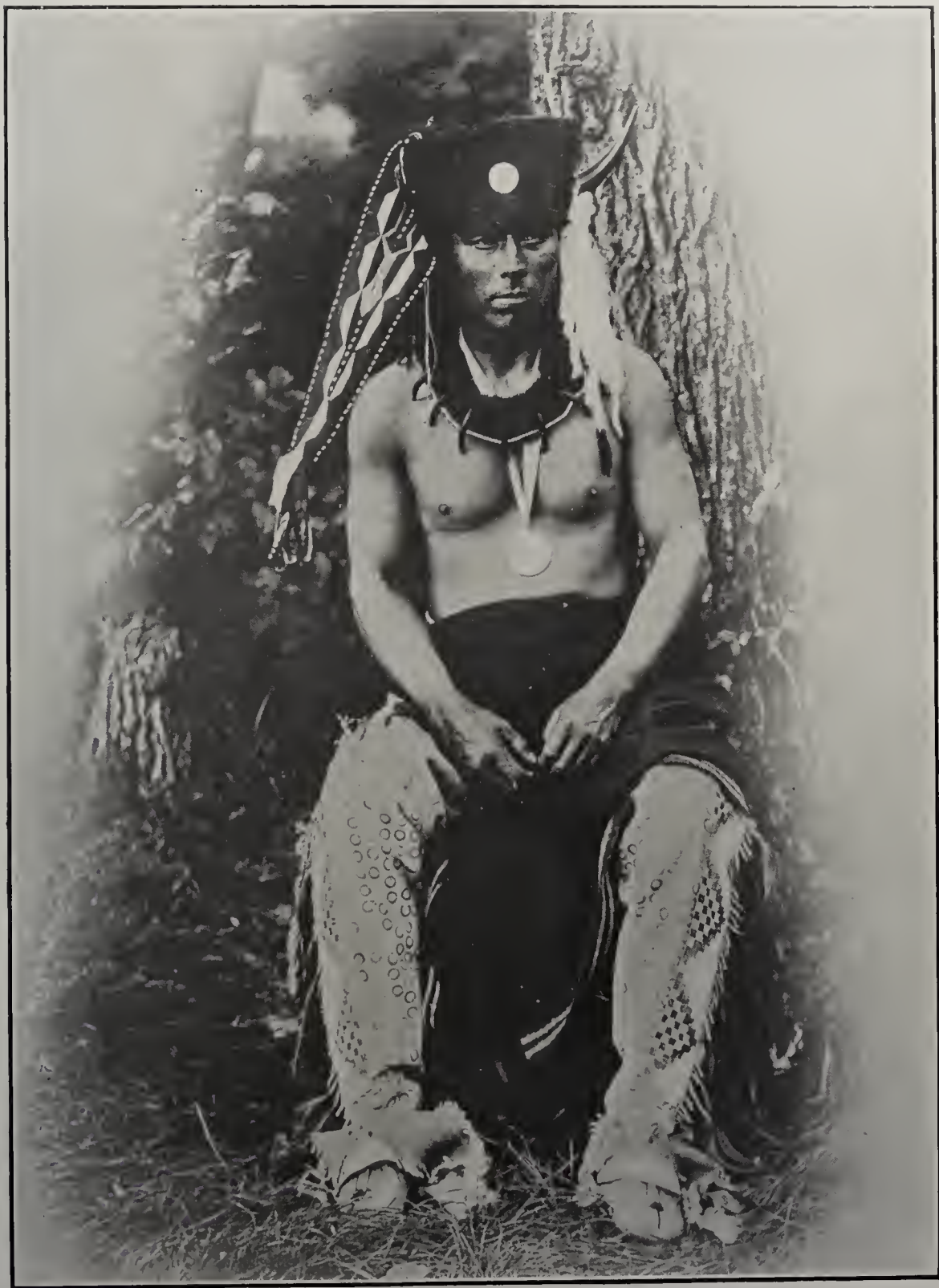
CLOTHING

Wa'thaha is the general term for clothing. It seems probable that in earlier days fewer garments were worn than in recent years; yet some of the articles of clothing, judging from their names, must have been long in use. To this class belong



FIG. 79. Ornamentation of chiefs' leggings.

the leggings (*uto'n'*). These varied in their cut. The simplest style consisted of a straight piece of skin folded and sewed at one side. A string at the top fastened the leggings to the belt. This style was used for little boys. A more elaborate style was that with a long pointed flap, which hung from the hip to below the knee. Other forms were the leggings having a wide band of embroidery down the side and the kind called *uto'n'tonga*, "big leggings," with large flaps at the ankle; these were worn exclusively by the chiefs. The ornamentation on the big leggings, or chiefs' leggings,



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was peculiar. The round dots represent hail. (Pl. 49 and fig. 79.) It will be remembered that the Nu'xe gens, the people whose rites were connected with the hail in both the Ponca and the Osage tribe, camped with the gentes which composed the division that represented the Upper World; and it will be remembered also that it was from that division of the Omaha tribe (the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda) that the authority of the supernatural was symbolized in the rites that were employed in confirming the office of chief. The decoration put on these garments of the chief had reference to the sacred and responsible character of his office.



FIG. 80. Shirt.

The shirt, *unoⁿ'zhiⁿ* ("to stand in"), figure 80, was generally ornamented with bands of embroidery, fringe, or painted devices of various kinds.

The moccasins of the Omaha were made without soles and the embroidery was confined to a narrow band on the top of the foot and the flap about the ankle. There was no marked difference in style between the moccasins worn by men and those which belonged to women.

The tunic of the woman was called by the same name as the shirt—*unoⁿ'zhiⁿ*. It was formerly made of two skins fringed at the sides and tied together so as to hang from the shoulders and leave the arms free. The tunic fell below the knee.

The woman's leggings bore the same name as those of the men. They were shorter and were fastened by a garter at the knee and tied at the bottom with the moccasin string. In later times the tunic became shorter and was worn over a scant skirt laid in plaits at the hips and plain in front and behind. (Fig. 81.) This skirt was held in place by the belt which was bound about the waist. The skirt was called *wate'*, a term now applied to a dress. Calico has taken the place of skin as the material for a woman's clothing but her gala dress consists of a skirt of strouding, or cloth, sometimes embroidered with ribbon work on the front, and a short sack.



FIG. 81. Woman's costume.

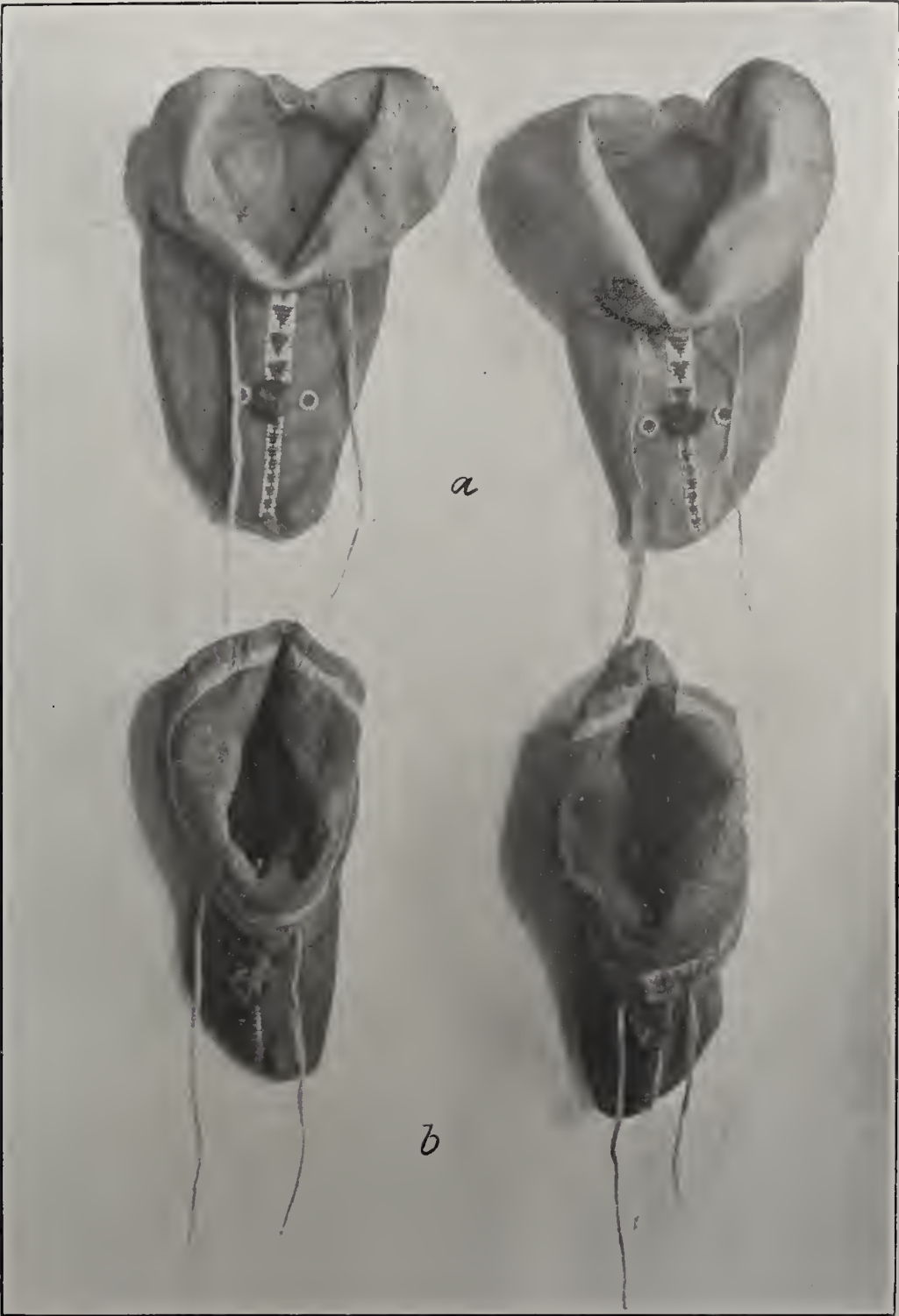
THE WAI^{N'} OR ROBE

The one article of clothing that has played an important part in the dress of the people is the *wai^{n'}*, or robe. The same word is now applied to the blanket. The robe is probably one of the oldest types of garment. The manner of fashioning and of wearing the robe has acquired during the centuries a ceremonial and a personal significance that does not belong to any other garment, although this is shared in a degree by the moccasin. (Pl. 51, *a*, Peabody Museum no. 51842; pl. 51, *b*, Peabody Museum no. 27579.) These two, the robe and the moccasin, may be considered primal articles of clothing and they deserve special consideration as revealing the native ideas and their expression. Looking at the significance of the garment in the light of religious observances, social usages, and indi-

vidual habits of the Omaha, this significance appears to have a personal and a social aspect.

PERSONAL SIGNIFICANCE

(*a*) As distinguishing a man from the horde. In the Sacred Legend already referred to, which recounted the epochal events in the history of the people, it is said: "As the people came forth from the water they were naked and shame they knew not. But as the days passed they desired covering and took the fiber of weeds and grass and wove it about their loins." According to the interpretation of the



MOCCASINS WORN BY MEN (a) AND WOMEN (b)

old keeper, this passage referred to the natural birth, as well as to the development of the people, who then dwelt near "a great water," and whose "desire for covering" marked the arousing of self-consciousness. The words used in the Legend are *itha'kigtha xade*, "to cover ones' self with;" and the expression is distinct from *wa'thaha*, the word for clothing. The words used in the Legend carry the idea of something placed on the body of a person with the motive of withdrawing himself and differentiating himself from his fellows—a simple act of self-consciousness expressive of the idea fundamental to costume, decoration, and regalia.

(b) As symbolizing dependence on the supernatural. Nature was looked on subjectively and anthropomorphically; all life was considered as one and as related. Man's physical existence is sustained by other forms of life. Eating the products of the earth and the flesh of the animals is essential to bodily vigor. And this physical dependence on living forms was carried a step further in the idea that man's spirit (*wazhi'n'*), his will, his power to do, can be strengthened by being supplemented by the spirit or power of the bird, the animal, or the plant, since he believed, first, that all things on the earth or above in the sky are permeated by the same life or force that man is conscious of within himself; second, that this invisible life or force is continuous, not to be broken even by physical death; and, third, that the qualities or potentialities of one form can be transmitted to another form so as to augment power. Moreover, as man has to make an effort, has to perform some act in order to secure food for the nourishment of his body, the Omaha seems to have argued by analogy that he would have to go through some form of appeal if he desired to have his spirit strengthened. The visible medium of help for both body and spirit was some natural form imbued with life from *Wako'n'da*. In accordance with these beliefs, rites seem to have grown up around the quest for food and the dress worn at these ceremonies exemplifies these beliefs.

In common with other tribes the Omaha conserved in his religious ceremonies those articles which had contributed to the betterment of the people in their long, slow struggle upward. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, garment which served to protect the body from cold and storm seems to have been the unfashioned hide. This garment retained the semblance of the animal and the comfort the skin contributed to the body seems to have served to increase the native confidence in the close relation he conceived to exist between all other visible forms and himself. Although in later times his ordinary clothing ceased to exemplify this close relation, yet when the Omaha entered on sacred ceremonies with the desire of securing supernatural aid there was a return in his apparel to the primitive form. For example, in the rites preceding the tribal buffalo hunt, when the main supply of

meat was to be secured, the priests and chiefs wore the uncut buffalo robe, the hair outside, so wrapped about their bodies that as they sat they presented somewhat the appearance of a group of buffalo. This manner of wearing the robe was explained as being in recognition of the transmission of life from the buffalo to man that the latter might live. Again, the warrior when going to battle might wear a wolf skin over his shoulder or put on himself the skin of some swift bird of prey. This semblance of the living creature not only indicated an appeal for help but was believed to promote the transmission of the help and to make it more direct in the hour of need.

(c) As proclaiming personal achievements. It will be recalled that war honors were graded and could be bestowed only at the public ceremony called *Wate'giçtu*, and that each grade had its peculiar decoration, so that a man's costume and regalia proclaimed the character of his deeds, his personal achievements. The decorations which appeared on the face, body, or garments of a warrior not only indicated what had been the character of deeds performed by him in battle but they asserted his right to appeal to certain powers for supernatural aid.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

(a) Marking the kinship group. As the life of the people became more complex, the idea seems to have developed of making the skins of the helpful animals subservient to man under his new requirements. This idea seems to have found expression in the moccasin. To make this foot gear it was necessary so to cut the skin that when the parts were sewed together all semblance of the animal was lost and the form pertained wholly to man. The moccasin also became typical of man as a social being. In the Omaha and its cognate tribes the moccasin held an important place in rites which laid stress on the obligation of a gens and which were social in character. For example, when the ceremony took place which marked the initiation of the child into the tribe and it was given a name which belonged to its gens, moccasins were put on its feet with song and ritual as it was "turned by the winds" and sent forth "into the walk of life." Among the Ponca, a subdivision of the *Ni'kapashna* gens to whom the deer was tabu put on their dead moccasins made from deer skin, so that on the journey the spirit might be recognized by its own people and not lose its way. The same custom obtained in the *Tapa'* gens of the Omaha tribe, which had the same tabu. The *We'zhiⁿshte* gens followed a similar custom and put on the feet of their dead members moccasins made from the skin of the elk, the elk being tabu to the living.^a Less serious in character but still related to the ideas embodied in the above rites is the following saying: "On a journey if one's

^a Similar customs pertaining to moccasins in connection with the dead obtained among the Osage.

moccasins wear out and they are set on the trail, pointed toward home, and are told to go back and tell of the welfare of the wearer, they will do so." The moccasin was formerly the only part of personal attire which was not regarded as interchangeable between tribes, as each tribe had its peculiar cut and ornamentation and a man's tribe could be recognized by the moccasins he wore.

While the war bonnet can hardly be called a garment, yet it was a marked article of dress and was of special social significance, as it emphasized interdependence among men. While all the materials used in its construction were symbolic, its manufacture was attended with ceremonies significant of the development of social ideas. The special point of interest in connection with this article is that no man, whatever his rank or his record, could make or purchase for his own use a war bonnet. In olden days it had to be built by his fellow-tribesmen. Its feathers represented the war record of the warriors of the tribe, who thus gave their consent to place upon a fellow-tribesman this picturesque mark of distinction. In like manner the hair fringe on a war shirt represented the consent of the warriors to allow the owner so to decorate his garment.

The dress of societies served to mark their respective membership and stimulated a feeling of brotherhood independent of the ties of blood, thus promoting the social growth of the tribe.

Looking back along the pathway of progress from those early conditions wherein man's fears and needs held him in vague dread, from the time when his appeals to the supernatural were a constant duty to the time when these appeals were relegated to particular times and seasons, we note that under the regulating influence of established rites and ceremonies and the growth of social order, mental bewilderment gave way and conditions arose that were favorable to the development of a secular life, a life in which the individual could enjoy a freedom hitherto impossible for him. This personal freedom under the influence of social order and secular life was apparent in the varied manner of wearing the robe. During the long stay among the Omaha of one of the writers the different ways in which the robe was worn and shifted to meet the requirements of varying moods arrested her attention and a study of the subject ensued, the results of which are here given.

The blanket began to supersede the robe even before the extinction of the buffalo made the latter no longer possible to obtain. The well-dressed robe was almost as pliant as the blanket and it was during the period when only robes were worn that this garment seems to have become expressive of the wearer's moods and actions. The adjustment never seemed to be the arranging of a costume for effect but a free expression of a passing emotion. The picture presented by the draped figure told its story with simplicity and truthfulness.

While each man wore his robe in a manner characteristic of the individual, either gracefully or otherwise, yet there was a typical way of expressing certain purposes or feelings by the adjustment of the robe that was persistent and easily recognizable.

LANGUAGE OF THE ROBE

The Omaha had never been trammelled by his clothing; every limb had been free to answer to any impulse, to respond to any wave of emotion. His clothes were few; and the *wain*, or robe, was never lacking and lent itself easily to the needs of the moment. There still lives in the memory of one of the writers a June day nearly thirty years ago when an Omaha girl was seen flitting among the tall prairie flowers, shifting her white blanket to suit her varying moods—now gathering it closely about her slight, swaying figure, now letting it float as she swept in ever-widening curves, or at the slightest sound hiding her glossy head and laughing face among its soft folds. All the beauty and poetry of her race were in the pretty maiden, who was as wayward and blithe as the fleecy clouds drifting above her through the deep blue sky. With the Omaha, as with other peoples, the airy pleasures of youth must give place to the prosaic duties of mature life. So the blanket of the woman was worn very practically. It was belted at the waist, thus affording a close covering and also a pouch or pocket within which she could snugly tuck her baby or carry some other burden on her back. Her figure suggested little of beauty.

The freer life of the man was manifest in his use of the robe. The accompanying illustrations show some of the ways in which the robe was worn and shifted and suggest something of the interesting language of this garment.

The first of the series shows hesitation (pl. 52, *a*). The man has not determined whether he will go forth to take an active part in the particular affair occupying the people or will sit down and become a mere spectator.

Next appears a young man walking (pl. 52, *b*). The robe is thrown loosely over the left shoulder and gathered on the left arm. The right arm is free and the limbs unincumbered. The folds of the garment add grace and dignity to the figure. Youths thus attired could often be seen walking with elastic step over the hills.

The third illustration depicts a young man about to run (pl. 52, *c*). The blanket hangs over the left shoulder, relieving the arm of its weight. In long runs, as when on the annual hunt the runners were sent out to search for a buffalo herd, the robe was gathered in a roll, passed over the left shoulder and tied beneath the right arm. In races the robe was dropped altogether.



a



b



c



d



a



b



c



d

In the picture of the old man walking (pl. 52, *d*) the adjustment of the robe indicates the weakness of age, the desire for bodily comfort, and the slow and feeble step that bears the burden of the years.

The next figure is that of a young man watching for his sweetheart (pl. 53, *a*). Courtship was by stealth and the lover when going to the trysting place guarded against recognition. He concealed himself in his blanket, one eye only being visible. In the picture



FIG. 82. Language of the robe—Anger.

he has arrived at his destination; a slight movement of the head has caused the blanket to fall back a little and leave both eyes free to watch for the maiden as she comes to the spring to draw water for the household.

In strong contrast to the observant lover is the pose of the man who stands watching some transaction of public interest (pl. 53, *b*). His attitude is quiet and firm, the robe is not definitely adjusted, and resembles somewhat the picture representing "hesitation;" but there

is no indecision in the mind of the wearer—he will be ready for speech or act when the opportune moment arrives.

Now the man is addressing the tribe or council (pl. 53, *c*). The moment waited for has arrived and he steps forth to speak his thought, to impress his views upon his tribesmen.

In "The admonition" the adjustment of the drapery suggests a pause, a change of mental attitude (pl. 53, *d*). The mind of the speaker has reverted to some past experience in his long career, from which he draws a lesson and gives it as an admonition to the people.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of this expressive use of the garment was its adjustment in the case of anger (fig. 82). Stung by sudden wrong or injury, the man grasps the edges of his robe and hastily draws it up over his head, thus withdrawing from observation. The rousing of his anger has made him intensely conscious of his personality and he responds to the primitive impulse "to cover himself," to put something upon himself, that he may feel consciously separate from his fellows. The draped figure of the man hooded by the robe which he holds with tense hands not only emphasizes the impulse which the legend assigns as fundamental to the garment—that of the desire to differentiate one's self from the horde—but it suggests the steps we have traced in the use and purpose of the garment from the uncut animal skin up to the period when it could express man's personal emotions, a freedom he could have achieved only within the arena of society.

PROPERTY

Household furniture was simple. The robes used for bedding were of hide taken from the buffalo bull in the winter when the fur was the heaviest. This bedding was called *umi'zhe*. The pillows (*i'behiⁿ*) were of soft deerskin stuffed with the long winter hair of the deer. There were no contrivances for seats in the tent. In the earth lodge were couches, already described (p. 98). The cooking and eating utensils, the mortar and pestle for grinding corn, and the packs for storing food and clothing—all those things which pertained to the household were the property of the wife. Hers, also, was the tent. All other things were individual property and belonged to the members of the family. Even the articles belonging to the children were considered as their own, and were not disposed of without their consent. In the Omaha tribe there was no communal property. The land was the bountiful "mother earth" which brought forth food for all living creatures. There was no property in land or in springs, as the country was well supplied with never-failing springs and streams. Proprietorship in garden plots was recognized as long as the plots were used but the produce belonged to the woman.

To a man belonged his regalia, clothing, weapons, and other personal property. Horses were not exclusively the property of the men. Women owned their own ponies and disposed of them as they pleased. Children owned their ponies and a parent did not assume the right to give away one of them without the child's consent.

At death, the articles that had been in immediate use by the deceased were buried with the body. Other possessions, as extra weapons and utensils, passed to the children if they were old enough to use them, otherwise to the brothers of the dead man or woman.

Hospitality was the rule and food was shared as long as it lasted but food was not communal property. No corn was raised and kept for the use of the tribe nor was any meat set apart for general use. An offering of meat was made at the ceremony of Anointing the Pole but the meat was contributed by members of the tribe.

Societies owned certain articles, as wooden bowls, packs containing regalia, and medicines (see p. 518). Songs were the property of certain subgentes, societies, or individuals (pp. 233, 249, 373). Some songs, however, were free to the people, particularly the songs belonging to the Wa'wa ceremony (p. 376).

AMUSEMENTS

In their play the children were apt to mimic the occupations of their elders. At an early age the girls began to play "keep house." Miniature tents were set up. The mother's robe or shawl was often seized for a tent cover; the poles were frequently tall sunflower stalks. If the boys were gallant, they would cut the poles for the girls. It was a matter of delight if the tent was large enough to creep into. Generally the feet and legs would protrude but if the heads were well under cover it was easy to "make-believe." Both boys and girls liked to play "going on the hunt." The boys took two parts—they were hunters sometimes and sometimes ponies. When the latter, the girls tied the tent cover in a bundle and fastened it and the tent poles to the boy pony, who might be a docile creature or a very fractious animal and particularly troublesome when fording a stream or if the camp was attacked by enemies, as such ponies always stampeded. Sometimes men carried through life their pony reputation. Women would laughingly point out some elderly man and say: "He used to be a very bad pony" or else "a very good pony." The boys who played warrior wore war bonnets made from corn husks, which cost much labor to manufacture and were quite effective when well done. Children made many of their playthings out of clay and some of the boys and girls were very clever in modeling dishes, pipes, dolls, tents, etc. The writer once came across a miniature clay coffin with a bit of glass set in, beneath which was a clay baby. Some child had seen the funeral of a white person and had devised a new play-

thing. Dolls were improvised by children from corncobs. Sometimes mothers made dolls for their little girls and also small dishes for the young housekeepers. The hobby-horse of the boys was a sunflower stalk with one nodding bloom left on the end. Races were run on these "make-believe" ponies. Generally the boys rode one stalk and trailed two or three others as "fresh horses."

The game of *uhe'bashoⁿ shoⁿ* (literally, "the crooked path") was the game familiarly known to us as "Follow my leader." The children sang as they ran and made their merry way through the village, each one repeating the pranks of the leader. The line was kept by each boy holding to the string about the waist of the boy in front. It is said that the song which accompanied this game had been handed down by generations of children. Certainly every Omaha seemed to know it. (Fig. 83.)

"FOLLOW MY LEADER"



The quiet games often played about the fire were "cat's cradle" (*wa'baha*, meaning "the litter") and a game resembling jackstraws, in which a bunch of joints of prairie grass was dropped from one's hand and the players strove to pull out one joint after another without disturbing the bunch. The player could use a joint to disentangle those he was trying to secure. Another game, called *dua*, was played with a long stick one side of which was notched. The person who could touch the greatest number of notches, saying *dua* at every notch without taking breath, was winner.

The boys enjoyed the game called *wahi'gaçnugithe*, "bone slide." Formerly ribs were used; sticks are now substituted. Four or five could play at this game. The sticks are about 4½ feet long, made of red willow, and ornamented by banding with bark and then holding them over a fire. The exposed part turns brown and when the bands are removed the sticks are striped brown and white. Each boy holds a number of sticks and throws one so it will skim or slide along the level ground or the ice. The boy who throws his sticks farthest wins all the sticks; the one who loses is tapped on the head by the winner. The Ponca call this game *moⁿⁱ'bagiⁿ*, "arrow throwing."

During the annual buffalo hunt when the tribe remained in a camp for more than a day the boys, ranging from ten to fourteen years of age, would engage in a sport called *zhiⁿga utiⁿ* (*zhiⁿga*, "little," referring to the little birds (*wazhiⁿga*, "bird"); *utiⁿ*, "to strike"). The boys armed themselves with sticks about a yard long, to which small twigs were attached; then ranging in line through the prairie grass they scared up the little birds. As these rose, the boys threw their sticks into the air and the fledglings, mistaking

them for hawks, tumbled into the grass to hide, only to be caught by the hands of the boys. One lad was chosen to carry the quarry. As soon as a bird was caught, it was killed, scalped, and thrown at the boy appointed to take charge of the game; then it was his duty to run ahead and fall into the grass as if shot. On rising, he took the bird and strung it on his bow string. This little pantomime was enacted with every bird caught. When a number of birds had been captured, the boys retired to a place where they could roast



FIG. 83. Group of Omaha boys.

the birds and enjoy a feast. Boys of the Wazhi^{n'}ga itazhi subgens of the Tha'tada gens could join in the sport but could not touch the birds or share in the feast, as small birds were tabu to them.

In winter the boys played whip top. They made their own tops out of wood. Sometimes a round-pointed stone served as a top, and was spun on the smooth ice.

A ball game called *tabe'gaçi* (*tabe*, "ball;" *gaçi*, "to toss by striking"), which resembles somewhat the game known as shinny, was played by

two groups, or parties. This is the game before referred to (see p. 197) as sometimes played between the two divisions of the tribe, which had a cosmic significance in reference to the winds and the earth. When it was played between the two divisions of the tribe it had to be formally opened by a member of the Ko^{n'}çe gens in the manner already described. When it was played merely for pleasure between two groups of boys, if among the number there chanced to be a boy from the Ko^{n'}çe gens, he would be the one to open the game and first to toss and strike the ball. Two stakes, as goals for the two sides, were set at a considerable distance apart. The players with the ball started from the center. The aim of each player was to drive the ball to the goal of his side, while the players on the opposing side tried to prevent this and to drive the ball to their own goal. The bat used was a stick crooked at one end. When boy neighbors played together, the "sides" were chosen in the following manner: A boy was selected to choose the sticks. He took a seat on the ground and another boy stood behind him. The standing boy held his hands over the eyes of the seated boy. Then all the sticks were laid in a pile before the latter. He took two sticks, felt them, trying to recognize to what boy they belonged. Then he crossed his hands and laid one stick on one side and the other on the other side of the place where he was sitting. When all the sticks had been taken up and laid on one or the other pile, the standing boy removed his hands and the boy who had chosen the sticks indicated to which pile or side he would belong. There were no leaders in the game—the ball was tossed and the sides fell to playing. When men played this game, large stakes were often put up, as garments, robes, horses, bows and arrows, and guns. No stakes were ventured when boys were the players.

Pa'çin'zhahe was a game adopted from the Pawnee some generations back. It was played with a hoop and a peculiar stick which was thrown so as to intercept the rolling hoop. (Fig. 84; Peabody Museum no. 37776.)

Lads sometimes indulged in a game called *wa'thade*. This game, which may be called "dare," consisted in lads doing ridiculous things, which required exertion to accomplish. Some of the number were detailed to see that the boys actually did the things called for. Many are the laughs the older men have over these "hazing" sports of their youth, as they recount their escapades.

Girls had a game, *tabewaba'zhnade* (*tabe*, "ball;" *waba'zhnade*, "stick"), played with two balls tied together and a stick. Two goals were set up several yards apart. The players were divided into two parties, each with its goal. They started in the middle and each side tried to prevent the other's balls from reaching the goal.

There were two games which were rarely, if ever, played except for stakes. One of these was played exclusively by women; this was

called *koⁿ'ci* (*koⁿ*, part of the word *koⁿde*, the name of the plum; *ci*, "seeds"). The appliances were few and simple—a wooden bowl and five plum stones. Two played at a time. First, the number of counts that should constitute the game was determined—50 or 100 points. Sticks were used for keeping tally. The plum stones were "burned" so as to show certain forms. Two on one side had moons, two on one side had stars; there were three black sides and three white sides. The bowl containing the plum stones was tossed and the combinations of the stones as they fell had certain values. These counts were as follows:

Two moons and 3 black counted 5 if the game was 50, and 10 if the game was 100.

Two moons and 3 white, 2 stars and 3 black, and 2 stars and 3 white had the same count as the above. These counts were called *xu'be*, and whoever tossed and got any of these throws might keep on tossing so long as she could make *xu'be*.

One moon, 1 star, and 3 white counted 1.

One moon, 1 star, and 3 black counted 1 in a game of 50, and 2 in a game of 100.

One moon, 1 star, 1 black, and 2 white counted nothing.

Two moons, 1 black, and 2 white counted nothing.

Two moons or 2 stars, 1 white, and 2 black counted nothing.

The stakes put up were necklaces, moccasins, earrings, and paint.

The gambling game of the men was called *i'utiⁿ*, "hiding the stone." For this game there were used four moccasins and two small stones. Four persons played—two to hide the stones, two to watch and guess.



FIG. 84. Implements used in game of *pa'cinzhahe*.

The two sides had their backers and watchers, who often contributed to the stakes, which consisted of all manner of articles—garments, weapons, horses, and other property. The number of chances to constitute a game was agreed on. Then the players sat down. Before one of the couples were laid four moccasins, the heels toward the player, two moccasins to a man. These each had a small stone which they were to hide under the moccasins before them while the men who sat opposite guessed under which of the moccasins the stones were hid. During the process of hiding, which was accompanied with many feints and movements intended to conceal the decisive act, songs were sung by the side supporting the guessers. The following belong to this class of songs:

GAME SONG No. 1.

I ya ha i ho i tha i ya ha i ho i tha i ya ha i ho i tha i

ya ha i ho i tha i ya ha i ho i tha i ya ha i ho i tha i

ya ha i ho i tha i ya ha i ho i tha i ya ha i ho i tha i D.C.

The only words in song no. 2 are: *I'e zhiⁿ ga dadaⁿ shkaxe*, "Little stone, what are you making?" All the rest in both songs are vocables.

Sometimes the game was played without moccasins, when the little stone or a small ball of buffalo hair was tossed between the hands. The outstretched arms were moved from side to side and the ball was dexterously passed from one hand to the other. This form of the game was very attractive, as the movements of the arms conformed to the rhythm of the song, and if the player was graceful as well as rhythmic, it was a pleasure to watch the game. The following song was a favorite for this game:

GAME SONG No. 2.

Ha a a ho e tha a Ha a a ho e tha a

Ha a a ho e tha a ho a a ho e tha I - e zhi^a - ga

da-da^a shka-xe? Ha a a ho e tha a Ha a a ho e tha

Foot racing was another pastime. Races generally took place among the Omaha, however, after a death, when gifts contributed by the family of the deceased youth or maiden were distributed among the successful competitors. At these races sharp contrasts marked the occasion. The race generally took place a short time after the burial. A feast was given by the parents, after which if the deceased was a young man his young men friends took part in the race; if a girl, her young companions competed for her possessions. The distribution of the goods was made by a personal friend, while the parents often retired to the grave, where the sound of their wailing could be heard above the noise of the contestants.

There was no ceremony in the tribe that corresponded to the drama, the acting out of a myth, a legend, or a story. There were dances and movements which were dramatic in character, as when at the meetings of the Hethu'shka society a man acted out his warlike experience (p. 466); also during the closing scenes at the ceremony of Anointing the Sacred Pole (p. 243). The dance at the Ho^a'hewachi was dramatic in purport and expression (p. 502); the secret societies had their dramatic acts in which both men and women took part (pp. 509, 565). The nearest approach to a drama was the He'dewachi ceremony (p. 251), but this was too fragmentary rightfully to claim to belong to the drama class. The tribal rites combined religious and social elements, and these ceremonies and the meetings of the different societies formed the principal social recreations of the people.

There was one amusement in which both sexes of all ages, except infants, took great pleasure; this was swimming. The Omaha swam by treading, moving hands and legs like a dog, or by keeping the body horizontal and throwing the arms up and out of the water alternately as the body was propelled by the legs. The people were good swimmers. The current in the Missouri is always strong, so that it requires a good swimmer to make a safe passage across the stream. During

the flood season the current is too rapid for anyone to venture to cross the river. Diving was practised by boys and girls and was enjoyed by men and women also. In these water sports the sexes did not mingle; women and girls kept together and apart from the men and boys.

Story telling was the delight of everyone during the winter evenings. It was then that the old folk drew on their store of memories, and myths, fables, the adventures of the pygmies and of the *gajazhe* (the little people who play about the woods and prairies and lead people astray)—all these and also actual occurrences were recited with varying intonation and illustrative gesture, sometimes interspersed with song, which added to the effect and heightened the spell of the story or myth over the listeners clustered about the blazing fire. The uncle (the mother's brother), who was always a privileged character and at whose practical jokes no nephew or niece must ever take offense, often made the evening merry with pranks of all sorts, from the casting of shadow pictures on the wall with his fingers to improvising dances and various rompings with the little ones.

In the spring, after the thunder had sounded, the boys had a festivity called *inde'gthece* (*inde*, "face;" *gthece*, "striped"), the word referring to the mask worn by the boys. A dried bladder, with holes cut for the mouth and eyes, was pulled over the head; the bladder was striped lengthwise in black and white, to represent lightning. The boys carried clubs and scattered over the village. Each boy went to the tent of his uncle (his mother's brother) and beat with his club against the tent pole at the door, while he made a growling sound in imitation of thunder. The uncle called out, "What does Striped Face want?" The boy disguised his voice, and said, "I want leggings or moccasins or some other article." Then the uncle called him in and made him a present. Should the uncle refuse to give anything the boy might punch a hole in the tent or do some other mischief. But generally the sport ended pleasantly and was greatly enjoyed by old and young.

IX MUSIC

INSTRUMENTS

The drum was the most important of Omaha musical instruments and generally accompanied most of the songs, both religious and secular. The large drum, called *ne'xegaku* (*ne'xe*, "a water vessel;" *gaku*, "to beat"), was made from a section of a tree hollowed out and partially filled with water containing charcoal. A buffalo skin, dressed or undressed, was stretched taut over the open end. A drum was always tuned before being used and if necessary during a ceremony it was tuned again. Tuning was done by tipping the drum so as to wet the skin cover from the water within and then drying it before the fire until it yielded the desired resonant tone in response to the tap of the drumstick. The tones were full and clear and could be heard at a great distance on a calm day. Drums were beaten either with a single strong stroke or with a rebounding movement—a strong stroke followed by a light one.

The small drum (*ne'xe gaku bthačka*—*bthačka*, "flat") was made by stretching a skin over a small hoop. This kind of drum was used by the "doctors" when attending the sick and in magical performances. It was beaten with a small stick, the movement being a rapid tapping—an agitated pulsation.

The whistle (*niçude*) was about 6 inches long; it was made from the wing bone of the eagle. It had but one opening and but one tone, a shrill sound, which was repeated with moderate rapidity, to simulate the call of the eagle. This instrument was used only in certain parts of the Wa'waⁿ ceremony.

The flute or flageolet (fig. 85), *niçude tuⁿga* (*tuⁿga*, "big"), was generally made of cedar; it was about 20 inches in length and an inch in diameter. The holes—six in number—began about 4 inches from the lower end and were about an inch apart. The stop was placed 5 or 5½ inches from the mouthpiece at the end. This instrument had a flutelike tone but, being made by the "rule of thumb," lacked accuracy of pitch. To be acceptable, a flute must give forth a full, vibrating tone when blown with all the six holes closed. It was interesting to watch men, old and young, take up a flute to test

it; they would readjust the stop piece, bound to the top over the opening and usually carved, and if after several trials the instrument

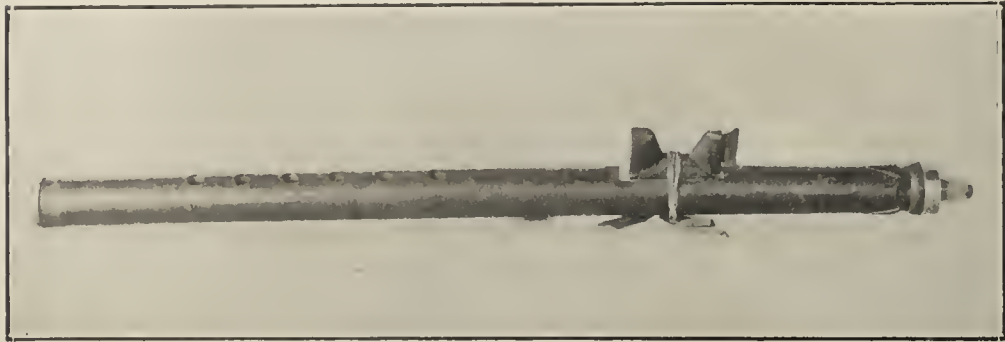


FIG. 85. Flute or flageolet.

could not be made to give this vibratory tone the flute would be laid aside and no words would avail to make the man take it up and play a tune on it. The compass of the *niçudetun^{ga}* was an octave. The intervals did not correspond exactly to our diatonic scale.



FIG. 86. Deer-hoof rattle (native drawing).

Two kinds of rattles were used: the *tasha'ge*, literally "deer hoofs" (fig. 86), and the *pe'xe*, "gourd rattle" (fig. 87, *d*). The *tasha'ge* was made by fastening the deer hoofs by thongs in a cluster to the sides of a beaded stick some 8 to 10 inches long, the handle being ornamented with a long tassel of buckskin thongs. The *pe'xe*, as its name indicates, was made from a gourd from which the contents had been carefully removed and the interior surface of which made smooth, so that nothing should impede the contact of the fine gravel or beads with the inner side of the gourd and blur the sound. Through the holes made in both ends of the gourd, in order to remove the contents, a stick was thrust, closing them tight. One end of the stick protruded an inch or more from the top of the gourd; the other end, which formed the handle, was bound with buckskin, so adjusted as to make it firm and not to slip from the gourd. This kind of rattle was symbolically painted and used in the *Wa'waⁿ* ceremony. The *pe'xe* was used

also in the *Wate'gictu* rite, when war honors were conferred. The Shell and Pebble societies and the "doctors" used this kind of rattle.

SONGS, SINGING, AND RHYTHM

Song was an integral part of the life of the Omaha. Through song he approached the mysterious Wakoⁿ'da; through song he voiced his emotions, both individual and social; through song he embodied feelings and aspirations that eluded expression in words. As is amply demonstrated in this volume, the Omaha did not depend on words to convey the meaning of his songs, so many have few or no words, the voice being carried by vocables only, and yet the songs were able to convey a well-understood meaning.

Songs, like the language, were transmitted from one generation to another and care was taken to preserve accurately both songs and language. No liberties were permitted with either. As to the songs, the writers have phonographic records of the same song sung by different groups of singers, the records having been taken at an interval of more than ten years, yet the songs show no variation. An interesting instance occurred some ten years ago. An old Ponca was visiting the writers, when, in a period of silence, he was heard to hum a familiar Omaha song. He was asked to sing the song into the phonograph, and did so. Then he was asked, "Where did you learn the song?" Among the Omaha," he replied. "When did you learn it?" "When I was a lad." "Have you always sung it as you sing it now?" With a look of astonishment he replied: "There is but one way to sing a song!" As he was a man then more than 70, his version of the song must have been of full fifty years' standing. On comparison of his rendition of the song with three other records of the same song from different singers in the possession of the writers, no variation was discovered. This incident, so far as it goes, indicates a fair degree of stability in the songs of this people. In many of the societies a fine was imposed if a member made mistakes in singing. As has been shown in preceding pages, a mistake in the singing of ritual songs invalidated the ceremony and made it necessary to begin again. It will be recalled that in the ceremonies connected with the Sacred Pole and the White Buffalo Hide if a mistake was made, a rite of contrition had to be performed, after which the ceremony was begun anew so far as singing the songs was concerned.

Songs were property. They belonged to a society, to a gens, or to an individual. They could generally be purchased from the last-named but the right to sing any of the songs belonging to societies or gentes could come only through membership or birth.

In singing, the Omaha was not concerned with his audience, he was not seeking to present a musical picture, his mental attitude was wholly subjective, he was completely occupied with voicing his own emotion, consequently he paid little attention, generally speaking, to any shading or what we term "expression." This statement can

be fully appreciated only by those who have sympathetically watched the faces of Indian singers when they were singing with all the power of their lungs to the accompaniment of the drum. Nevertheless, beneath the noise moved the melody of which the singer was alone conscious.

Among the Omaha there was a standard of musical tones. The tuning of the drum has been spoken of and anyone who has observed the process can not deny that there was a standard of tone sought after. Among singers there were men and women who were recognized as "good singers." Their services were sought and paid for. They formed the choir or leaders on occasions when song had an important part, as in the *Wa'wa*ⁿ, the *Hethu'shka*, and elsewhere.

Few Indian songs were ever sung solo. Almost all were sung by a group, many by a hundred or more men and women. The volume not only strengthened the tone but steadied the intervals. A single singer frequently wavered from pitch, but when assisted by a friend or friends the character of the tone at once changed and the pitch was steadied by the union of voices. It has been the constant experience of the writers that the Omaha objected to the presentation of their songs on a piano or reed organ as unsupported arias. As almost all their songs were sung by a number of singers, the melody moving by octaves, the overtones were often strongly brought out, and this may account for the Indian's preference for a simple harmony of implied chords, when their songs were interpreted on these instruments. "That sounds natural!" was their comment on hearing their songs so played, even when it was explained to them that they did not sing their songs in concerted parts; yet they still persisted, "It sounds natural."

The harmonic effects are more noticeable when women join in the singing. Women form part of many of the choirs, even of the warrior societies, and they join in the choral songs during religious ceremonies. The women sing in a high falsetto, consequently one often heard the melody sung in two octaves. When the song dropped too low for a natural tenor the singer took the octave above. In the same way, by octaves, the bass and contralto voices adjusted themselves in the unison singing.

The octave is seemingly the one fixed interval. The songs are not built on any defined scale. What has often been taken for a minutely divided scale is probably due to certain qualities in the native tone of voice, which is reedy and lends itself to vacillation of tone. The same song sung by a group, piano, and then sung forte is often hardly recognizable to the untrained listener. The noise of strenuous singing drowns the music to an alien audience accustomed to hear music objectively presented.

In a few instances the songs herein given have been interpreted by adding a simple harmony and in every instance the harmony given has been tested among the Omaha and been preferred by them when the song was played on the piano or organ. This manner of presentation has been chosen in order to give some of these songs a chance to be really heard by the average person, for only the exceptional and musically gifted can discern the possibilities that lie in an unsupported aria; moreover, the single line of music stands for a song that is sung in octaves by a group of male and female voices and therefore is not a true picture of the song itself.

Rhythm is a marked characteristic of Indian music. Most songs present one or more rhythms in their rendition, for besides the rhythm of the melody with its rhythm of phrase the singers pulsate their voices, thus adding an inner rhythm, so to speak, to the general rhythm. This custom of pulsating the voice tends to produce the effect of uncertain intonation and interval. This statement is based on many experiments with different singers during a number of years. When in transcribing a song these pulsations were noted, so that when the song was played on a piano or organ the pulsations were represented by rapidly repeated notes, the rendition was always declared to be incorrect. In every instance in which a note was pulsated by a singer the tone had to be represented by a single note on the instrument and no argument would prevail to permit the pulsation to be indicated by rapidly struck notes on the piano or organ. In love songs, which frequently have long notes, the hand is sometimes waved at slight distance from the mouth so as to break the continuity of sound and give the tone a wavering character.

Frequently the aria of a song is in triple time, $3/4$, $6/4$, or $9/4$, while the drum is played in $2/4$ or $4/4$ time. In these songs the two conflicting rhythms are syncopated and play against each other in a bewildering manner. The precision with which these complicated rhythms are given by the Omaha is remarkable. In the Wa'wa ceremony the movement of the pipes adds another rhythm, so that the ear and the eye are addressed simultaneously by the rhythm of the melody, of the drum, and of the swaying pipes, all forming, however, one harmonious rhythmic presentation. The rhythmic movement of a song must never be altered; to do so in even a slight degree blurs or destroys the song for the Indian.

In view of the above statements, it will be seen that the mere aria can not portray an Indian song as it really sounds when interpreted by the Indian singers, and these facts seem to justify their preference for a harmonized version of their songs when translated on the piano or organ.

THE WA'WA^N CEREMONY

The Omaha name for this ceremony, Wa'waⁿ ("to sing for someone"), refers to one of the marked characteristics of the ceremony, the singing of songs accompanied by rhythmic movements of the two peculiar objects essential to the ceremony, the *nini'ba we'awan* (*nini'ba*, "pipe;" *we'awan*, "to sing with.")

According to the Sacred Legend, it was while a council was being held between the Omaha, including the Ponca, the Cheyenne, the Arikara, and other tribes, to bring about friendly relations, that this ceremony, with all its peaceful obligations, became known to the Omaha. The extent of country over which this rite once held sway has been referred to. (See p. 74.) It was a ceremony which made for the securing of peace between unrelated groups through the establishment of a ceremonial tie which should be regarded as of a nature as inviolable as that between father and son.

The two objects essential to this ceremony were similar to pipe-stems and ornamented symbolically but they were not attached to bowls and were never used for smoking. Still they partook of the significance of pipes in their sanctity, they were spoken of as pipes, and were held in the greatest reverence.^a Songs formed an important feature of the ceremony and the singing was always accompanied by rhythmic movements of the pipe bearers and also of the pipes. This movement was spoken of as *nini'ba bazhoⁿ*, "shaking or waving the pipes."

Each stem was of ash; a hole burned through the entire length permitted the passage of the breath. The length was seven stretches between the end of the thumb and the tip of the forefinger. The stem was feathered, like an arrow, from the wing of the golden eagle. Around the mouthpiece was a band of iridescent feathers from the neck of the duck; midway the length was a ruff of owl feathers; over the bowl end were stretched the head, neck, and breast of the mallard duck, tied in place by two bands of buckskin painted red, with long, flowing ends. Beyond the owl ruff were three streamers of horsehair dyed red, one at the tip of the stem, one at the owl feathers, and one midway between. These hair streamers were bound on by a cord made of the white hair from the breast of the rabbit. From each stem depended a fanlike arrangement of feathers from the tail of the golden eagle, held together and bound to the stem by two buckskin thongs; the end, which hung from the fan-shaped appendage, was tipped with a downy eagle feather. One of these fan-shaped feather arrangements was composed of ten feathers from the tail of a mature golden eagle. These were dark and mottled in appearance and were fastened to the blue stem; this pipe (fig. 87, *a*) represented the

^a Throughout this section these articles will be referred to as pipes.

feminine element. The other stem, which was painted green, had its appendage of seven feathers from the tail of the young golden eagle. The lower part of these feathers is white; the tips only are dark. These were the feathers worn by men as a mark of war honors and this pipe (fig. 87, *b*) symbolized the masculine forces. It is to be noted that among the Omaha, as among the Pawnee, the feathers which were used by the warriors were put on the stem painted green to represent the earth, the feminine element, while those which were from the mature eagle and which stood for the feminine element, were fastened to the stem painted the color of the sky, which represented the masculine element; so that on each pipe the masculine and feminine forces were symbolically united. Near the mouthpiece



FIG. 87. Objects used in Wa' wan ceremony.

was tied a woodpecker head, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest and painted blue. The pipes were grasped by the duck's neck, the mouthpiece pointing upward. When they were laid down, the stems rested in the crotch of a small stick painted red, which was thrust at the head of a wild-cat skin spread on the ground. This skin (fig. 87, *c*) served as a mat for the pipes when they were not in use and as a covering when they were being transported. The wild-cat skin was required to have intact the feet and claws, and also the skin of the head. Two gourd rattles (fig. 87, *d*), a bladder tobacco pouch (fig. 87, *e*) to which was tied a braid of sweet grass, a whistle from the wing bone of the eagle, and three downy eagle feathers completed the articles required for use in the ceremony.

Two parties, composed of persons having no blood relationship, were the principals in the ceremony. One was associated with the man who presented the pipes, the other with the man who received them. Among the Omaha the first was called *wa'waⁿ aka*, "the one who sings;" the second was spoken of as *a'waⁿ iaka*, "the one who is sung to." A man of one gens could carry the pipes to a man of another gens within his own tribe but not to a man belonging to his own gens; or he could take the pipes to a man of another tribe. The relation ceremonially established by taking and receiving the pipes was equivalent to that of father and son and the two parties were spoken of by these terms.

Only a man who had had the *Wa'waⁿ* pipes presented to him four times was considered to be sufficiently instructed in the rites of this important ceremony to inaugurate a *Wa'waⁿ* party. Before he could take definite action looking toward gathering the party together, he had to obtain the consent of the Seven Chiefs (see pp. 206, 376), particularly if he proposed to carry the pipes to another tribe.

A large amount of property was required to make up the gifts which must attend the presentation of the pipes; consequently the man who initiated the party was generally assisted by his relatives or close friends. The gifts that went with the pipes were eagle-feather bonnets, bows and arrows, red pipestone pipes, embroidered tobacco bags, otter skins, robes, and, in later years, brass kettles, guns, and blankets. The return gifts were horses (in earlier days burden-bearing dogs), bows and arrows, pottery, robes, and skin tent-covers. All these gifts, because they helped toward the peace and welfare of the tribe, could be counted as *wathi^{n'}ethe* either toward chieftainship or toward admission into the *Ho^{n'}hewachi* and thus the assistance given the "father" or the "son" of a *Wa'waⁿ* party accrued to the giver's benefit by adding to his "count."

A *Wa'waⁿ* party consisted of a dozen or more men. Sometimes the wives of a few of the leading men accompanied them and assisted in the work of the party. All the members contributed toward the gifts to be made and also toward accumulating provisions that would be needed on the journey, if a distant tribe was to be visited, and for the feasts to be given the receiving party during the four days and nights occupied by the ceremony. Ponies were sometimes taken as pack horses and occasionally the visiting men rode but generally the journey was made on foot. The pipes, incased in the catskin cover, were carried by their bearer, who with the leader of the party walked in advance, the other members following closely. If game was abundant, hunting was permitted to some extent; otherwise the party moved rapidly to its destination. No songs were sung on the journey but in those sung during the ceremony there were references to the traveling and the various events preparatory to the actual ceremony.

Owing to the loss of the Omaha ritual used when "tying the pipes"—a loss consequent on the death of the old men who knew it—a comprehensive comparison between the Pawnee version, already secured,^a and the Omaha form of the same ceremony is impossible. While nearly all the articles used and their symbolism are identical, yet the absence of the ear of corn from the Omaha ceremony forms the most striking difference between the two. With the Pawnee the corn is spoken of as "Mother," and typifies Mother Earth, to whom the whereabouts and fortunes of man are known (op. cit., p. 44 et seq.). In the Omaha ceremony the corn has no place. With the latter tribe the eagle is the "Mother." She calls to her nestlings and upon her strong wings she bears the message of peace. With the Omaha, peace and its symbol, the clear, cloudless sky, are the theme of the principal songs and the desirability and value of peace are more directly expressed in the Omaha songs than in those of the Pawnee of this ceremony. It is the custom among the Omaha, when preparing the feathered stems, to draw a black line near the bowl end. The line does not show, for it is covered by the neck of the duck, but it is there, with its symbolism. It represents the neck or throat of the curlew. This bird in the early morning stretches its neck and wings as it sits on its roost, and utters a long note. This sound is considered an indication that the day will be cloudless. So, to all the other emblems on the stem this prophetic call of the curlew is represented as adding its song to the forces that make for the symbol of peace. In the Iⁿke'g^abe gens, which had the keeping of the tribal pipes, the name Ki'koⁿtoⁿga, "curlew," is found. The name refers to this symbolic mark on the Wa'waⁿ pipes. An old Omaha explained that "the eagle, whose feathers are on the pipes, and the wild cat, whose skin is their covering, are both fierce creatures and do not fail to secure their prey; but here, with the pipes, all their powers are turned from destruction to the making of peace among men."

Another emphasis of peace in the Omaha ceremony is found in the signification of the name given the child, who plays the same part in both the Pawnee and the Omaha version of the ceremony. Among the Omaha as with the Pawnee, the child represents the coming generations, the perpetuation of the race; but the Omaha emphasize the innocent character of the child, the absence of the warlike spirit. The name given the child is Huⁿ'ga, the Ancient one, the one who goes before, the leader. In this name the continuance of the human family is implied but the name in this ceremony becomes the synonym for peace because "the child thinks no harm." The word Huⁿ'ga forms a refrain in nearly all the Omaha songs of the ceremony. The meaning of the word and of the refrain were explained to the

^a See The Hako, in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pt. 2.

writers as given above. A like refrain does not occur in the Pawnee ceremony. The prominence given to peace in the Omaha version apparently confirms the account given in the Sacred Legend, that this ceremony was introduced to the people when a great council was being held in the interest of establishing peace among several tribes. This council seems to have taken place at a period in the history of the Omaha when the thoughtful members of the tribe were concerned for the very existence of the tribe itself, owing to the breaking away of groups, and "the old men" were devising means by which to hold the people more firmly together. This ceremony, which could take place only between unrelated persons, and which had a wide recognition among many tribes scattered over a vast territory, laid special stress on peaceful relations. So while among the Pawnee we find the teachings of peace embodied in the ceremony, they were not emphasized and dwelt upon with the same degree of insistence as among the Omaha. This difference becomes explicable when we consider the internal condition of the Omaha tribe and their relations to other tribes at the time the ceremony appears to have been adopted by them.

Among the Omaha the symbols on the stems were interpreted as follows: The green color represented the verdure of the earth; the blue color represented the sky; and the red color, the sun, typifying life. The straight groove, painted red, that ran the length of both stems stood for the straight path, representing the path of life and was interpreted to mean that if a man followed the straight path the sun of life and happiness would always shine upon him. The red streamers were the rays of the sun; the white cords that bound them the light of the moon, for night was believed to be the mother of day. The eagle was the bird of tireless strength. The owl, again, represented night and the woodpecker the day and sun; these birds stood also for death and life respectively. The downy feathers at the end of the thong that bound together the fan-like appendages were sometimes spoken of as symbolizing eggs and again, as the feathers of the young eagle, which fell from the bird when it matured and was able to take its flight. The gourd represented eggs and the reproduction of living forms. The band and the four lines painted on these were symbolic of the boundary line of the sky, the horizon, and the four paths of the four winds, at the four directions over which help comes to man. The tobacco pouch was similarly painted and to it were attached a braid of sweet grass, and a mat of buffalo hair such as falls from the animal when shedding its coat. The latter symbolized food and clothing and meant: "If you accept and follow the teachings of this ceremony, you shall go forth to search for food in safety and in peace." The sweet grass was used for its scent and was added to the tobacco when a pipe was smoked during the ceremony.

As has already been mentioned, in the Omaha form of the ceremony the eagle is the prominent figure; it supplants that of the corn in the Pawnee version. In the latter the pipes are taken up from their resting place on the wild-cat skin without song or ceremonial movement. In the Omaha ceremony the pipes are taken up with movements representing the eagle rising from her nest. These motions are accompanied by songs, some of which are of musical interest and beauty.

If the Wa'waⁿ party were taking the pipes to another tribe, when they were within a days journey four men were chosen to carry the tobacco pouch, which was painted symbolically with the circle and four dependent lines, and to which the braid of sweet grass and the mat of buffalo hair were attached. All four men wore the buffalo robe with hair outside, girded about the waist; the one who carried the tobacco pouch wore a downy eagle feather tied to his scalp lock. This person was called Ninia'thiⁿ (from *nini*, "tobacco," and *athiⁿ*, "to carry"—"tobacco carrier"). The four passed on rapidly to the lodge of the man whom the leader of the party had designated. Having arrived there, they entered the lodge and passed around the fire by the left. The tobacco pouch was placed in front of the man visited. The four then took their seats to the right of the entrance, filled a pipe (but not from the pouch brought), and offered it to their host. He then inquired who had sent him the tobacco bag. The bearer gave the name of the leader of the party and discoursed on the value of peace and peaceful relations between the two tribes. The host then sent for his relatives and followers to consult as to whether they could make the return gifts requisite and so accept the pipes. Only the inability to give the twelve to thirty ponies required as presents, or a recent death in the family, was considered a sufficient reason for honorably refusing the honor of receiving the pipes. If, however, the consultation with his relatives and friends resulted in a favorable decision, the host said to the young men: "Bid them hasten. Come, we are ready." The leader of the party was spoken of as *wa'waⁿ u'zhu* but he was addressed as "Father" and all of his followers as "Fathers." The man who received the pipes was addressed as "Son" and his party as "Sons."

The messengers hastened back and met the Wa'waⁿ party, who had slowly continued their journey. When very near the village the party halted, took the pipes from their covering, and placed them at rest on the crotched stick and the cat skin and sat down. They were met here by their host or one of his relatives, always a man of prominence, who bade them welcome. Then the party arose and two of the three principal singers took the pipes; the third stepped between them, holding the cat skin, in which was wrapped the crotched stick. The

leader and other members took their places behind. Then the following song was sung:^a

SONG OF APPROACH

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore to translate the music on the piano

$\text{♩} = 132$ (Aria sung in octave unison)

f

The-thu ha - i - ba

f Trem.

Con Ped.

Hu^a - ga

Hu^a - ga

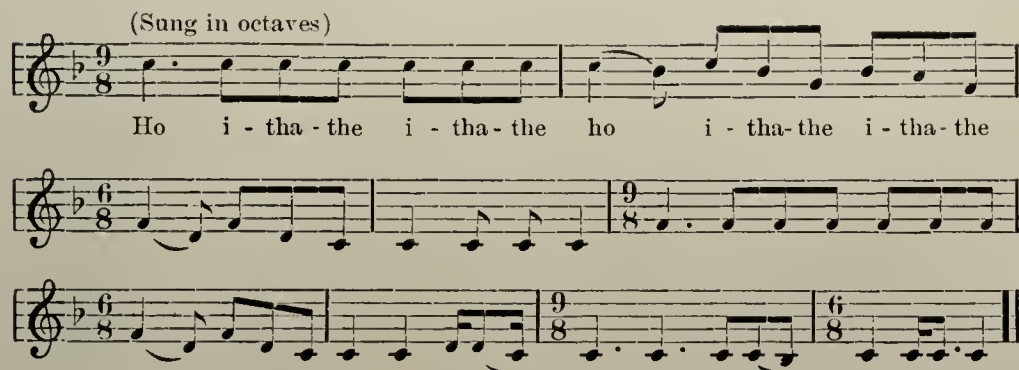
^a The aria is sung in unison; the harmonization is added to translate the song to our ears and is so preferred by the Indians when played on a piano. The bass should be played lightly.

Thethu haiba
 Thethu haiba thethu haiba the haiba a he
 Thethu haiba the haiba
 Thethu haiba Huⁿga
 Thethu haiba a he
 Thethu haiba the haiba
 Thethu haiba Huⁿga

Literal translation: *Thethu*, here; *haiba*, they are coming: *Huⁿ'ga* refers to the child as a symbol of innocence, docility, and peace.

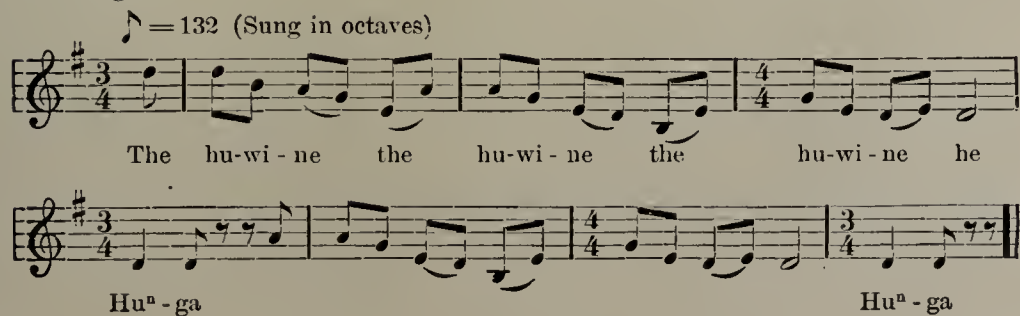
The song refers to the approach of the pipes. The people welcome the party, crying: "They are coming here!"

In singing this song the stems are waved to the rhythm of the music and the rattles are shaken with an accented beat but no drum is used. At the close of the song the party moves forward a little space, then a halt is made, and the song is repeated. There are four halts, at each of which the song is sung. The fourth halt is made at the entrance of the lodge, which has been prepared and stands ready for the ceremony. The actual entrance is in silence. When the west side of the lodge is reached, the pipe bearers stand facing the east and sing the following song:



Literal translation: *Ho!* exclamation; *ithathe*, I have found; *tha*, end of sentence. The words of the song are few but their meaning was explained to be: "Ho! I have found the man worthy to receive the pipes and all the blessings which they bring—peace, the promise of abundant life, food, and happiness." The words also imply a recognition of the qualities which make the man worthy of the selection, and which instigated the choice by the leader.

The following song was sung as the host and his relatives entered the lodge:

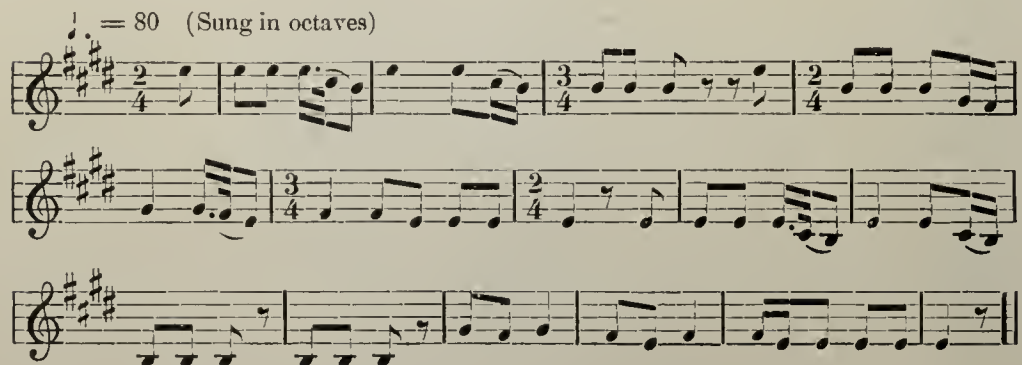


The huwine the huwine the huwine a he Hu^{n'}ga
 The huwine the huwine a he Hu^{n'}ga

Literal translation: *The*, this; *huwine*, I seek; *a he*, vocables; *Hu^{n'}ga* refers to the child, here the symbol of peace.

This song refers directly to the host and again implies that the one who was sought was one to whom peace was considered of great value; that the man's character was such as to hold the respect of his people and whose influence was for order and peace. The refrain *Hu^{n'}ga* has a double reference—to the ceremony and to the character of the one to be made a "son."

After the singing of this song the pipes were laid at rest. The wild-cat skin was spread a little distance back of the fireplace, the crotched stick thrust into the ground at the head of the animal, and the stems were laid in the crotch; the pipe with the white feathers, representing the masculine force, lay uppermost. The rattles were placed under the winglike appendages; the ends with duck heads rested on the skin. After the skin had been spread and the stick put in place, the song used laying down the pipes was sung. In swaying the pipes the rhythmic movements simulated the eagle descending, then rising and again descending, until it rested on its nest.



There are no words to these songs; only vocables are used.

The pipe bearers now took their seats behind the pipes, which were never left alone throughout the entire ceremony (fig. 88). After the pipes were at rest the host left the lodge and the rest of the party busied themselves with unpacking and getting settled. The men usually occupied the lodge where the ceremony was to take place; if there were women in the party, a tent was prepared for them near by.

Soon after sunset the host reentered the lodge and took his place on the north side not far from the door. His relatives and friends were seated on both sides, the older men nearer the center, the young men toward the door. The Wa'waⁿ party sat between the pipe bearers and their host's party; the leader's seat was toward the north.

The servers of the party sat on both sides of the entrance. It was their duty to fill the pipes and attend to the fire and the cooking.

About the door were gathered the poor and the onlookers, who had no part in the ceremony. A feast had been prepared by the Wa'waⁿ party but it was not served until near midnight. The pipes could not be taken up until some one of the host's party should rise and say: "Fathers, you have come to sing; we desire to hear you." This invitation required the gift of a horse. Then the leader of the Wa'waⁿ party and the host both arose and advanced to the man who had spoken, as the act implied a gift. The host, standing before him, lifted both hands, palms outward, and then dropped them slowly. He then



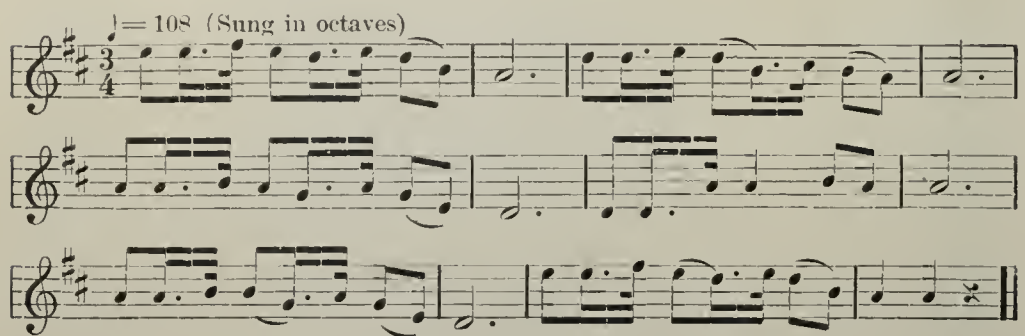
FIG. 88. Pipe bearers and pipes in Wa'waⁿ ceremony.

passed his right hand over the left arm of the giver from the shoulder to the wrist and repeated the movement with his left hand on the man's right arm, the sign of thanks. He then walked slowly in front of his kinsmen and friends, speaking to each man by a term of relationship, raising his right hand in further token of his thanks. The leader of the Wa'waⁿ party then advanced to the giver and repeated the same movement indicative of his thanks. Raising his right hand, palm outward, he turned toward the left and then toward the right, to give thanks to all the host's relatives and friends gathered in

the lodge. While this was going on within, an old man of the poorer class arose and passed out of the lodge, beginning as he went a song of thanks and finishing it outside the lodge. He introduced the name of the donor of the horse and to make sure that it was heard he called the name twice at the close of the song. This triple form of thanks was observed whenever a gift was made to the Wa'waⁿ party.

At the conclusion of the thanks the pipe bearers arose and the pipes were taken up ceremonially. The movements simulated the eagle rising from its nest and making ready for flight. There are no words to the songs used to accompany these movements. These songs were repeated four times. The beauty of this part of the ceremony was greatly enhanced when the pipe bearers were graceful and could imitate well the flying, circling, rising, and falling of the bird. The feather appendages moved like wings as the pipes were swayed and both the eye and the ear were rhythmically addressed.

The following is one of the songs sung on raising the pipes. Only vocables are now used when singing these songs. Note the closing cadence when the eagle is up and away.



When the pipes were raised the three bearers, with the two pipes and the wild-cat skin, turned to the left and circled the lodge. The other members of the party followed, bearing the drum. A rhythmic side step was taken as the party faced their seated hosts, and the pipes were swayed so that the feathers moved like the wings of a bird slowly flying. The fire was always replenished just as the pipes started, so that the flames as they leaped filled the lodge with light and the shadows cast by the moving feathered stems seem to make real their simulation of the eagle's flight. If the song was familiar, as often happened, it was taken up by all present as the pipes approached and passed before the sitting people.

The following noble choral has been heard sung by three hundred or four hundred voices, male and female; no one is excluded because of sex or age, for, it is said, "The pipes are free to all." The volume of tone, the variety of voice quality, the singing in octaves, gave strong harmonic effects, and it was not surprising that the Omaha objected to such

songs being given on an instrument as unsupported arias. The following harmonization was added to meet the demands of Omaha singers, who only gave their approval when the song was played as here presented. "Now it sounds natural" was their simple but unmistakable verdict.

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

$\text{♩} = 132$ *With religious feeling*

The musical score consists of three systems of staves. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The music is in octaves. The piano accompaniment includes various chords and arpeggios, with some notes marked with '8va.' indicating octave displacement.

The akede hiao tha
 Ho tha kede hiao tha
 The akede hia the he
 Hiao tha kede hiao tha kede hia thehe

Literal translation: *The*, this; *awake*, what I meant (*wa* omitted in singing); *de*, sign of past tense; *hia*, here it is; *o*, vocable; *tha*, end of sentence. The second line has the same meaning as the first, the sounds being changed for ease in singing. The literal translation of

the words of this song gives little idea of its meaning, but to the Omaha the song had a profound significance and its import as explained by the old men is borne out by the character of the music. The past tense refers to the teaching given in the past, to the fathers, whereby the blessing of peace could be secured, and this blessing is now brought here by the "tireless eagle" who bore it from the past, bears it in the present, and brings it to the "Son" with whom it will remain as a gift from Wakoⁿ'da. Once, at the close of this song, a venerable man turned to the writers (all had been singing as the pipes passed around the lodge) and said: "Truly the pipes are from Wakoⁿ'da."

The music of this choral presents points of interest, particularly as indicating what we term modulation, that is the passing from one key to another. On this point the late John Comfort Fillmore, a musical scholar of ability, wrote in 1892: "The song begins in the key of B flat. . . . the original key is kept until the fifth measure, in which the first clause ends with the relative minor chord. The next phrase of three measures is in the key of E flat (subdominant), the third measure effecting a transition to the key of F by means of the chord of G (over-third of E flat), followed naturally by the chord of C (dominant in F). The last clause begins in F, modulates to C, in the second measure and closes the period in that key. This key, the major over-second of B flat, the original keynote, would seem to be so remote as to make it impossible to preserve unity within the limits of a short 12-measure period. But the melodic flow is so smooth and the harmonic connections so natural that I, at least, do not get from it the impression of anything forced, harsh or unpleasant, nor do I feel the need of a return to the original tonic."^a Much study was bestowed on this song by Professor Fillmore and many harmonization experiments were tried on Omaha Wa'waⁿ singers during Professor Fillmore's visit to the Omaha reservation in Nebraska. The arrangement here given met with the expression of approval, "It sounds natural," when it was played to them on a reed organ, the only instrument there available.

^a In *A Study of Omaha Indian Music*, in *Archæological and Ethnological Papers*, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, I, 295, Cambridge, 1893.

After the close of the preceding choral the pipe bearers again moved about the lodge, waving the feathered stems to the rhythm of the following song:

M. M. ♩ = 63 (Sung in octaves) Transcribed by John C. Fillmore

The awake tha we the awake tha we
 Tahesha we the awake tha we
 Huⁿga the awake tha we Huⁿga
 The awake tha we Huⁿga
 Tahesha we tha awake tho we
 Huⁿga the awake tha we Huⁿga
 The awake tha we Huⁿga

Literal translation: *The*, this; *awake*, what I mean; *tha*, oratorical end of sentence; *we*, vowel prolongation; *tahesha*, an old word the meaning of which is lost. This word appears as a personal name in the Iⁿke'cabe gens, which had charge of the Sacred Tribal Pipes. It probably had a symbolic meaning connected with the articles or with the teaching of this ceremony. *We*, vowel prolongation; *Huⁿ'ga*, the name of the child who has a part in this ceremony.

This song followed and supplemented the preceding choral, which referred to a teaching that had been handed down. In this song the subject of this teaching was enunciated: "This is what I mean" (the present tense is used)—"*Huⁿ'ga*," peace, which is to be accepted with the docility of the child. The song was a favorite one and was often expatiated on to the writers, particularly the teaching of the *Huⁿ'ga*. This word is a modification of *Hoⁿ'ga*, a name (as already noted) which played an important part in the history of the Omaha and cognate tribes. It means "one who went before," an ancestor; also "one who goes before," one distinguished and important, a leader. The meaning of *Huⁿ'ga* in this ceremony is made up of many aspects, all of which go to impress on the Omaha

mind that from the beginning, down through the ages, and at the present time, that which preserves the race, even as does the child, is peace. Such was the explanation of the old men concerning this word so frequently used in these songs.

At the close of the song the pipes were laid to rest with ceremonial song and movements, as already described. Then the feast was served. Not far from midnight the company dispersed. The Wa'waⁿ party remained in the lodge with the pipes and slept there.

At the first sign of the dawn the pipes were raised ceremonially and after they were up the bearers sang the following song as they stood in their places, facing the east, and swayed the pipes to the rhythm of the music:

(Sung in octaves)

Um - ba ya tho Ku - the goⁿ u - hoⁿ ga um -

ba ya tho Ku the goⁿ u-hoⁿ ga Um - ba ya tho

Ku the goⁿ u-hoⁿ ga um - ba ya tho Ku the goⁿ u-hoⁿ ga

Umba ya tho
 Kuthe goⁿ uhoⁿ'ga
 Umba ya tho
 Kuthe goⁿ uhoⁿ'ga
 Umba ya tho
 Kuthe goⁿ uhoⁿ'ga
 Umba ya tho
 Kuthe goⁿ uhoⁿ'ga

Translation: *Umba*, day or dawn; *ya*, coming; *tho*, oratorical end of sentence; *kuthe goⁿ*, to move quickly, to make haste; *uhoⁿ*, to cook, to prepare food; *ga*, sign of command. "Day is coming! Arise, hasten to prepare the food!" This song was repeated the second and third mornings of the ceremony.

No special ritual was observed on the second day. As gifts are generally made at this time, the songs used implied gratitude both for the gifts and for the promised success of the ceremony. The six songs that follow were sung on the second day.

Most of the *wa'waⁿ* songs have but few words; they are supplied with vocables only. It was explained that these vocables are syllables representing words formerly used. As it was the custom among the Omaha to secure good singers to be the pipe bearers and leaders in the music, which was a special feature of the ceremony, the songs were not in the keeping of a priest; it was explained that

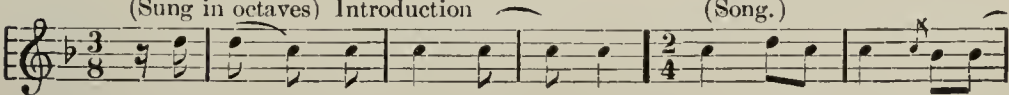
syllables had been substituted for the original words to keep most of the words from the knowledge of the people. This statement may account for the paucity of words and the lack of particularity in the songs. Their meaning was general rather than related to some special and ritual action. The few words in this song and in all those sung on the second day were: *The*, this; *howane*, what I seek; *Hu^{n'}ga*, peace.

The following three songs are interesting musically. No. 1 gives the theme in its simplest form; nos. 2 and 3 are variants. These three songs are regarded by the Omaha as distinct musically and are here given in order to show how little change is required to make songs sound differently to the native ear. They also throw a side light on the accuracy demanded in rendering songs and in their transmission, a marked peculiarity in Omaha music. It would be very easy for one of the white race to interchange these three songs as the difference between them is not striking.

M.M. ♩ = 60
(Sung in octaves) Introduction

No. 1

M.M. ♩ = 60
(Song.)



The ho - wa - ne ho - wa - ne

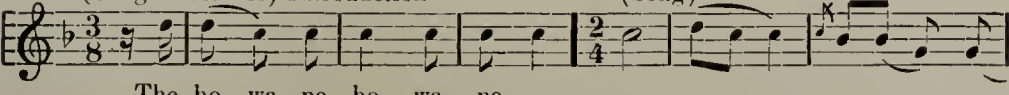
Hu^{n'} - ga ne

Hu^{n'} - ga ne

M.M. ♩ = 60
(Sung in octaves) Introduction

No. 2

M.M. ♩ = 60
(Song)



The ho - wa - ne ho - wa - ne

Hu^{n'} - ga ne

Hu^{n'} - ga ne

M.M. $\text{♩} = 60$ No. 3

(Sung in octaves) Introduction (Song)

The ho - wa - ne ho - wa - ne

Huⁿ - ga ha

Huⁿ - ga ne Huⁿ-ga Huⁿ-ga

Huⁿ - ga - a

The rhythm in the following song is particularly strong and lends itself finely to the customary unison singing in octaves:

(Sing in unison) M. M. $\text{♩} = 66$ *Marked rhythm* Transcribed by John C. Fillmore

The ha-wa- ne

Huⁿ

ga

Huⁿ - ga

The following songs refer to peace under the symbol of the clear sky, *ketha*. This symbol embraces a reference to Wakoⁿ'da, who gives to man the sunshine, the clear sky from which all storms, all clouds, are removed. In this connection it should be remembered that the black storm clouds with their thunder and lightning are emblematic of war. The clear sky therefore represents the absence of all that could relate to war. Among the syllables sung to the music of these songs appear the words *ketha*, clear sky or peace, and *Huⁿ'ga*, child-likeness and peace. It is to be regretted that all the exact words of these songs are lost; they might have revealed something of the ritualistic progression of the ideas embodied in the ceremony. The

fact that the only two words that remain stand for peace—one, *ketha*, peace as symbolized in nature, and the other, *Huⁿ'ga*, peace as symbolized by a little child—indicates that the peaceful teaching of the ceremony was that which appealed most strongly to the Omaha mind. Other phases, as can be observed in the Pawnee version, if they were ever a part of the Omaha version have been lost.

Flowingly, with feeling Double beat $\text{♪} = 126$
(Aria sung in octaves) Harmony by John C. Fillmore for translation on the piano

Ke - tha ya Huⁿ - ga Ke - tha Huⁿ - ga

Huⁿ - ga ke tha Huⁿ - ga

Huⁿ - ga Ke - tha Huⁿ - ga

Huⁿ - ga Ke - tha Huⁿ - ga Huⁿ - ga

Some of these *ketha* songs are gentle and pastoral in character, particularly this one; the words of the song were explained as meaning: "Fair as is the clear sky, the green grass, yet more fair is peace among men;" and the music bears out this interpretation.

(Aria sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Double beat $\text{♩} = 126$ *With dignity*

The musical score is arranged in four systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked 'Double beat' with a quarter note equal to 126 beats per minute, and the performance instruction is 'With dignity'.

System 1: The vocal line begins with the lyrics 'Ke - tha ke - tha ke - tha ha'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more complex, syncopated pattern in the left hand.

System 2: The vocal line continues with a melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment maintains its rhythmic texture.

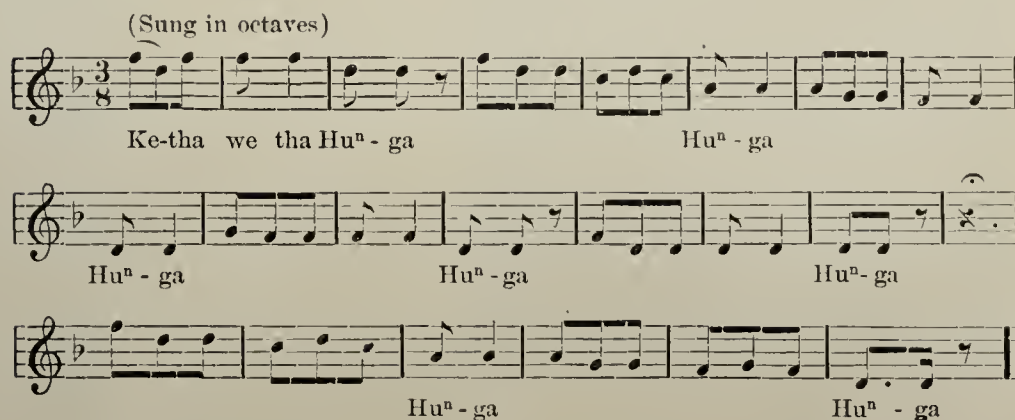
System 3: The vocal line includes the lyrics 'Ke - tha - a Hu^a - ga - a - ha'. The piano accompaniment features a change in the left-hand pattern, becoming more active.

System 4: The vocal line concludes with a final melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment ends with a sustained chord.



The foregoing spirited choral is wonderfully stirring when sung by two hundred or three hundred voices, as the writers have heard it many times. It is spoken of as a "happy song."

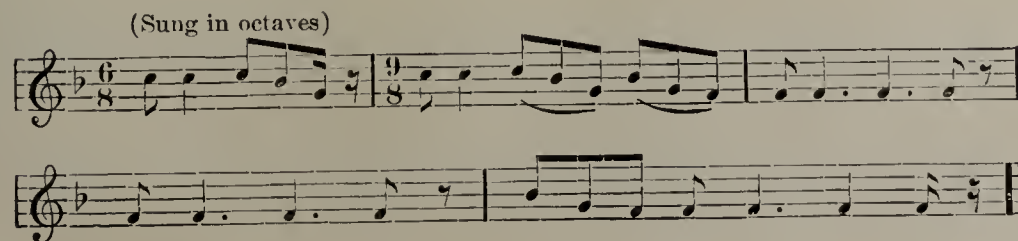
When the weather was rainy, the following plea for a clear sky was sung:



The only words are *ketha*, "clear sky," and *Hu^n'ga*. It was greatly desired to have the sun shine during the ceremony, so when clouds gathered this prayer for clear weather was sung with much earnestness.

On the evening of the third day the gifts brought by the Wa'wa party were presented to the host, who distributed them among his party.

On the morning of the fourth day the ceremony in reference to the child took place. There was no song nor any cooking of food. All must fast. The leader, or "Father," and the pipe bearer went to the lodge of the host, the "Son;" as they walked thither the following song was sung:



If this song ever had words, they are lost. Having arrived at the door of the lodge, they paused and sang as follows:

$\text{♩} = 168$ (Sung in octaves)

A-ti - e - tha we - a - ne

Huⁿ-ga

Huⁿ - ga

Atie tha weane
 Atie tha weane
 Atie tha weane
 Zhiⁿga thi uwine the Huⁿga
 Atie tha weane
 Atie tha weane
 Zhiⁿga thi uwine the Huⁿga

Literal translation: *Atie tha*, *atia tha*, I have come; *tha*, end of sentence; *weane*, a changed form of *uwine*, I seek you; *zhiⁿga*, little one, child; *thi*, you.

The party then entered the lodge where the little child, with its parents, was awaiting them. The leader carried clothing for the child and the skin pouches that contained the red and black paint. First the child was clothed; then a member of the Wa'waⁿ party who could count honors won in defensive warfare was designated to paint the child. The pipes were waved to the following song as this ceremony took place:

$\text{♩} = 184$ (Sung in octaves)

A - ba - ha the a the a - ba - ha the - a - the

A - thi - ba - ha a - thi - ba - ha Huⁿ - ga

1

Abaha the athe, abaha the athe
 Athi baha, athi baha Huⁿga

2

Athaha the athe athaha the athe
 Athethaha athethaha Huⁿga

Literal translation: *Abaha*, to show; *the*, this; *athe*, I make; *athi baha*, to show you, *Huⁿ'ga*; *athaha*, to adhere; *the*, this; *athe*, I make; *athithaha*, to make adhere to you.

During the singing of the first stanza the man held the paint in its receptacle over the head of the child and showed it to all present. He first made a feint as if to touch the child with it. As the second stanza was sung he put red paint over the face of the child, then he drew a band of black across the forehead, a stripe down each cheek, one down the nose, and one at the back of the head. This design had the same meaning as that on the gourds. The band across the forehead represented the line of the sky; the stripes were the paths at the four directions whence the winds start; the red paint symbolized the light of the sun and the gift of life; the lines signified the winds—the breath of life, giving motion and power. In this connection the ceremony of Turning the Child should be remembered. (See p. 117.) This style of painting was called *Huⁿ'ga kioⁿ*, “*Huⁿ'ga painting*” (fig. 89). The dead of the Nini'batoⁿ subdivision of the Inke'çabe gens were sometimes so painted for entrance into the life after death.



Fig. 89. *Huⁿ'ga painting*.

$\text{♪} = 176$ (Sung in octaves)

A - gthe Huⁿ - ga Huⁿ - ga

Huⁿ - ga Huⁿ - ga Huⁿ - ga

A'gthe Huⁿ'ga, etc.

Literal translation: *Agthe*, to put on something and make it stand.

Eagle down was sprinkled over the head of the child, making it look like a callow bird. The warriors counted their honors, and while they were telling of their deeds of valor performed in defensive warfare the following song was sung:

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

$\text{♩} = 176$ (Sung in octaves)

Hu^ⁿ - ga ha - ne no tho Hu^ⁿ - ga ha - ne

no tho Hu^ⁿ - ga ha - ne no tho Hu^ⁿ - ga ha - ne

Hu^{ⁿⁿ}ga hani

Literal translation: *hani*, you have. Vocables fill out the measure of the music.

The meaning of this song and act was explained as follows: The reason why only honors won in defensive warfare could be counted at this time was that those men who had won such honors had done so because they had risked their lives for the defense of the women and children of the tribe; they had done deeds to promote safety and so to secure the perpetuation of the race. The act was symbolic and was considered one of the most important. It had a direct bearing on the teaching of the ceremony. If by any chance the Wa'waⁿ party did not have a man who could recount deeds done in defensive warfare and honors so gained, then the host, "the Son," was obliged to seek a man to perform this part in the rite, for the child could not be lifted up and carried to the lodge where the ceremony was to be completed until a man had counted over it honors won in defensive warfare. This explains the meaning of the words

Huⁿ'ga hani—"you have the *Huⁿ'ga*," i. e., because of my acts the children live, "you have" them.

Note the change of key in the music and its implied harmonic modulation.

After the counting of honors the following words were sung:

Shoⁿ wiⁿa tha

Literal translation: *Shoⁿ*, it is done; *wiⁿa*, I carry you; *tha*, oratorical end of sentence.

The child was then taken on the back of a man, who followed the swayed pipes as this song was sung:

Zhiⁿ - ga the u - we - ne Huⁿ - ga

Huⁿ - ga Huⁿ - ga Huⁿ - ga

Zhiⁿga thi uwine Huⁿga, etc.

Literal translation: *Zhiⁿga*, little one, child; *thi*, you; *uwine*, I seek.

When the lodge was reached, the leader took his place outside at the right of the door and held the child between his knees. The singers took their seats at the left of the door. Two young men of the party were selected to perform the final dance. They were divested of clothing except the breechcloth. A red circle was painted on the breast and back, a *hiⁿxpe'* feather tied on the scalp lock. Each dancer carried one of the feathered stems.

Meanwhile all those who had made gifts of horses to the *Wa'waⁿ* party gathered their ponies and decked themselves in gala dress, and approached the lodge to witness the final dance. The singers started the music and the two young men, holding the feathered stems high above their heads, with a light, leaping step danced in two straight lines to and from the east, simulating the flight of the eagle. The line taken by the dancers signified that by following the teachings of the ceremony, the straight red line on the pipes, one could go forth and return in peace to his lodge and have no fear. As the young men leaped and danced—a dance that was full of wild grace and beauty—it might happen that a man would advance and stop before one of the dancers, who at once handed him the pipe. The man recounted his deeds and laid the pipe on the ground. The dance and music ceased, for the act was a challenge and the pipe could be raised only by one who could recount a deed equal in valor

to that told by the man who had caused the pipe to be laid down. This stopping of the dance often led to spirited contests in the recital of brave deeds. While the dancing was going on, the ponies were led by the children of the donors to the leader and the little *Huⁿ'ga* stroked the arm of the messenger in token of thanks. When all the ponies had been received the final dance came to an end.

The man who had recounted his deeds and painted the *Huⁿ'ga* entered the lodge alone with the child and closed the door. He took the pipes, which had been folded together, and made four passes on child—down the front, back, and both sides. He then turned the child four times, and led it outside the lodge. This act of blessing the child was secret and no outsider but the host could be present. The pipes and all their belongings, wrapped in the wildcat skin, were then handed by the man who had blessed the child to the leader, who presented them to the host, saying: "My son, you have made me many gifts but they will disappear, while that which I leave with you will remain and bring you the blessing of peace." The "Son" then gave away the pipes, the wildcat skin, the tobacco pouch, and the rattles to those who had taken part with him in receiving the pipes. He retained none of the articles. Only by this act could he receive all the honor and advantage to be derived from the reception of a *Wa'waⁿ* party and enjoy all the promised benefits of the rite. The visitors then gathered their ponies, which were apportioned by the leader, and moved off. When a mile or two away they camped and partook of their first food after a fast of nearly twenty-four hours and then made their way home as rapidly as possible.

Many are the stories told by men and women of their experiences when they were *Huⁿ'ga*—of how tired they became, of the tidbits doled to them by the leader to keep them contented, of how when they rejoined their playmates the latter plucked at the down which clung to their hair and made sport of their queer looks. Nevertheless in after life it was regarded as an honor to have been a *Huⁿ'ga* and the inconvenience was remembered only to make merry with.

The Omaha *Wa'waⁿ*, while lacking some of the elaborateness of the Pawnee version of the same ceremony, was not without beauty and dignity. It was a ceremony that was dear to the people. It was held in a reverence free of fear and strongly tinged with the spirit of kindness and happiness. Its songs, being free to both sexes and to all ages, were widely known in the tribe and greatly enjoyed.

THE CEREMONY AMONG THE PONCA

According to a Ponca tradition, the *Wa'waⁿ* ceremony was instituted at the time the seven pipes were distributed at the formation of the tribe as it is at present. This tradition would seem to place the event about the time that the ceremony was accepted by the

Omaha when peace was made through it with the Arikara and other tribes. (See p. 74.) This ceremony was known and observed by the Ponca as among the Omaha and the same songs were used, for the Ponca had none of their own composition belonging to it. According to Hairy Bear the closing act, "blessing the child," which was secret among the Omaha, was open with the Ponca and differed in some of its details. After the pipes had been folded together and wrapped in the wildcat skin they were raised high over the head of the little *Ilu'ga*, then brought down slowly so as to touch the forehead of the child and passed down the front of the body to the feet until the mouthpiece rested on the toes, which it was made to press strongly on the ground; then the pipes were laid for a moment on the ground in a line toward the east, as the following words were spoken: "Firm shall be your tread upon the earth, no obstacle shall hinder your progress; long shall be your life and your issue many." The movements with the folded pipes were repeated on the right side of the child from its head to its feet and the pipes laid in a line toward the south, as the promise was repeated. The movements were next made on the back of the child and the pipes laid in a line toward the west, while the promise was given. Lastly the pipes were passed over the left side of the child and then laid in a line toward the north, as once more the promise was given to the child, who stood at the intersection of the four symbolic lines, "in the center of the life-giving forces." The child was then told to "walk four steps toward the sun."^a When this was accomplished the little one was dismissed and the *Wa'wa*ⁿ ceremony came to an end.

^a The taking of the four steps suggests the rite of Turning the Child (see p. 121).

X WARFARE

INFLUENCE ON TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

Two classes of warfare were recognized among the Omaha, defensive and aggressive. Each had its distinctive rites, its rank, and its duties in the tribal organization.

Defensive warfare was called *ti'adi*, meaning "among the dwellings," or *wau'atathishoⁿ* (*wau*, "women;" *ata'thishoⁿ*, "toward or pertaining to;" that is, "fighting for the protection of the homes, the women, and the children"). The Omaha word for "tribe," already explained (p. 35), was derived from fighting of this kind. In the use of this word one can get a hint of the growth and influence of defensive warfare. Self-protection naturally expanded toward the protection of one's family and to extend this protection to a group of families living near together was a logical progression and leading naturally to an appreciation of the necessity for permanency in the group to be protected. When therefore the thought expressed by the Omaha word for "tribe" had taken hold of the people so strongly as to become the name of a community held together at the risk of life against outside aggressors, that community had ceased to be a congeries of people and had become a more or less stable association of persons among whom political ideas could take root.

It has been shown that the Omaha tribal organization was based on certain fundamental religious ideas pertaining to the manner in which the visible universe came into being, and is to be maintained, and to man's relation to the Cosmos and to living forms. All these ideas were conceived anthropomorphically, for the Omaha projected his self-consciousness on nature. These conceptions were more or less clearly expressed in dramatic ceremonials, ceremonials that tended to bind the people together as expressions of a common faith.

The disintegrating tendencies of aggressive warfare, particularly the quarrels and schemes of ambitious men, were checked by the inculcation of the idea that war is allied to the cosmic forces and under their control. The storm, with its destructive lightning and deafening roar of thunder, was regarded as the manifestation of the war phase of the mysterious *Wakoⁿ'da*. As has been shown, all Omaha males in their childhood were consecrated to Thunder as

the god of war. The warrior was taught that it was this god, not man, who decreed the death on the field of battle; this mode of death was called *in'gthun'gaxthi* (*in'gthu'n*, "thunder;" *ga*, "action by the hand;" *xthi*, "to bruise," as with a club), the term applied also to death caused by lightning. In this connection should be remembered the reference to the "Grandfather's club" in a song used in the *Wate'gi'tu* (p. 437) and also the round stick bound to the ancient cedar pole (fig. 57). The application of this term to death on the battlefield probably had a double significance; it referred to the teaching that the life of a warrior was in the keeping of the Thunder god (see p. 126) and to the time when the club was the only weapon of the man. The word is said to be an old term, as evidenced by its transference to a warrior's death by an arrow or a gun. This teaching tended to change, in the Omaha mind, the character of warfare; it placed the warrior under a supernatural power over which he had no control, and, while it did not eliminate from him the spirit of revenge or hatred, it curtailed a man's estimate of his own ability to exploit vengeance on his fellows. This teaching was formulated in rites the performance of which was essential to the initiation of aggressive warlike expeditions, rites that became an effective means of establishing and maintaining tribal control over warfare.

The close connection between Thunder and the Sacred Tent of War was confirmed in popular belief by coincidences that were interpreted to indicate the watchfulness of the Thunder god over the war rites of the tribe. Within the last century the keeper of the Sacred Tent of War died and the man to whom the office descended was so afraid of the Tent and its duties that he refused to assume the office and kept away from the Tent. His brother was the next in the hereditary line, but he also feared the responsibility and left the Tent standing alone and uncared for. Shortly afterward both men were killed by lightning, and their deaths were regarded as a punishment sent by the Thunder god for the disrespect shown the office of keeper by their neglect of duty toward the sacred rites committed to their care. The punishment was believed to apply only to this life; it shortened the days of the offenders but did not affect their life after death.

Aggressive warfare was called *nuatathishon* (*nu*, "man;" *ata'thishon*, "in the direction of;" that is, "war with men"). The use of the word *nu*, "man" or "male," is noteworthy, particularly in connection with a ritual song used in according honors to the warrior, where again the word is employed, indicating that war was waged against men. While it is true that in attacks on villages women and children were sometimes killed they were not invariably put to death

WAI^{N'}WAXU^{BE}

Aggressive warfare was under the control of rites which were connected with the *wai^{n'}waxu^{be}*, or Sacred Packs of War. (*Wai^{n'}* was the common name for a pack—a receptacle made of skin, frequently of porcupine, in which articles could be laid away and kept safely; *waxu^{be}*, “sacred”). There was another name applied to these packs: *wathi^xabe*, “things flayed,” referring to the contents of the packs, which were the skins of certain birds. It was the presence of these bird skins, which represented the species and the life embodied in the species, that made the *wai^{n'}*, or pack, *waxu^{be}*, or sacred.

There is no tradition as to the origin of these packs. Probably none of those now existing in the Omaha tribe are much more than two centuries old. The pack itself was not sacred, only the contents. The association of birds with the powers of the air is very ancient. Particular birds were thought to be in close relation with the storm and the storm cloud, the abode of Thunder, the god of war. The flight of the birds brought them near the god and they were regarded as his special messengers; moreover, from their vantage point these denizens of the air could observe all that occurred on the earth beneath. When the warrior went forth to battle the birds watched his every act and through them the Thunder became cognizant of all his deeds. The swallows that fly before the coming tempest were regarded as heralds of the approaching god. The hawk and other birds of prey were connected with the destruction caused by the death-dealing storm. The crow and other carrion birds haunted the places where the dead lay and were allied to the devastating forces of the god of war. Upon this ancient belief relative to the connection between the birds of the air and the manifestations of the powers dwelling in the sky (the wind, the thunder, and the lightning) the war rites of the Omaha were built. It was only after the performance of certain ceremonies connected with these packs, wherein were kept the representatives of the birds which could act as officers, so to speak, of the Thunder, that the Omaha warrior could go forth to aggressive warfare with the sanction of the recognized war power of the tribe. How important this sanction was is revealed in the responsibility and punishment accorded the war leader who omitted to secure it for his venture. If a man among the Omaha who organized a war party secretly and stole away to carry out his designs of revenge or the acquiring of booty, in the battling chanced to lose a member of his party, he was accounted and punished as a murderer. In any event, no matter how bravely he might have acted, none of his deeds could receive the public honor which otherwise he would have secured.

Early in the last century such an unauthorized party stole away. They met with disaster and one of their number was killed. This

misfortune placed the lives of the survivors in jeopardy. Realizing the trouble he had brought on himself and his companions, the leader secretly returned to the tribe and went to his father, one of the chiefs, for help. The chief, approaching his son, bade him and his companions to strip off all their clothing and put clay on their heads, and in this guise publicly to enter the village. They were met by the people with taunts and angry words; the only reply of the returning warriors was to lift their hands in an appeal for mercy. They were driven through the village by the incensed people but through the influence of the chief they escaped serious consequences as murderers. At last the chief declared that they had been sufficiently humbled and punished for their disobedience to tribal law. Gifts had to be made to the relatives of the deceased member of the party. In olden times members of an unauthorized war party which had lost any of its number, on their return were forced to strip themselves, put clay on their heads and faces, crawl on their hands and knees to the lodges of the principal chiefs, and there cry for mercy. During the last century a man well on toward high rank as a chief yielded to temptation and joined an unauthorized war party. He returned successful, but his progress toward chieftainship was arrested and during the lifetime of Big Elk (p. 83) the man was not allowed to meet with the chiefs or to take any part in tribal affairs. Other instances could be given of the debasement of men who joined unauthorized war parties, even if successful.

AUTHORIZATION OF A WAR PARTY

When a man wished to lead a party out on aggressive warfare, either to avenge an injury received or to obtain booty from an enemy, it was his duty to go to the keeper of a *waiⁿ'waxube*, or Sacred Pack of War, and invite him to a "feast." The term "feast" is used in a limited sense only; it does not imply a sumptuous meal but a repast, always very simple as to the food, partaken of in honor of an action or a person. This feast had to be repeated four times. After the fourth feast the keeper of the Sacred Pack opened it before the would-be leader, explained to him his duties, instructed him as to the rites he must perform morning and evening and how to organize and conduct his party as to scouting and attacking the enemy. Not infrequently some one of the sacred birds was given the leader to carry on the war path and on his return he was required to take it back to the keeper of the pack.

Besides the birds, there were certain charms concealed in small bags in these packs that were believed to help the leader and his men. What these little skin bags contained was a secret not imparted even to the man to whom they were loaned. Generally these charm bags were put into a pouch, which was carried by one of the party. When, how-

ever, the men were about to make the attack, each man fastened his own charm bag on his person.

There were four of these Sacred Packs among the Omaha. A difference of opinion existed among the old men as to the rank of these packs; but, taking all the evidence obtainable into consideration, it seems probable that the pack which belonged to the Sacred Tent of War, in charge of the We'zhiⁿshte gens, had the widest authority and significance. Its rival was a pack that was the hereditary charge of Geuⁿ'habi, of the Wazhiⁿ'ga itazhi subgens of the Tha'tada gens. This pack was associated with a remarkable man named Wa'bačka, who lived in the eighteenth century and who led a memorable fight against the Pawnee. On that occasion, not only did Wa'bačka obtain authority for his war party from the keeper of this special pack but he carried the pack with him. It was because of the association of the pack with this historic event that it became specially honored by the Omaha tribe. As the story illustrates Omaha customs and is well known to the people, it is here given:

The Omaha and the Pawnee were at peace, when some Pawnee men raided the Omaha village and drove off a number of horses. At that time horses were not so plentiful as they became later; they were a comparatively new acquisition and were very valuable. Wa'bačka was not a chief but a man of position and had what might be called wealth, as he owned several horses. All these were driven away by the robbers. Thinking that the act was committed by some thoughtless, adventurous young men—for the two tribes were on friendly terms—Wa'bačka, accompanied by a few men who also had suffered loss, started for the Pawnee village to lay their grievance before the principal chief, who they felt would surely require the young men to restore the property taken from a friendly tribe. There are different stories told of what happened on this visit but all show that the chief did not take the matter so seriously as the Omaha thought he should. He said that his young men were in need of horses and had borrowed them, and bade the Omaha go back home and make arrows for the Pawnee (the Pawnee were not as good arrow and bow makers as the Omaha) and in the spring they might come again and the Pawnee would return the horses for the arrows. Another story runs that a Pawnee chief, to whom one of the party appealed, placed before the Omaha a large bowl of beans, and, laying beside it a war club, bade the Omaha eat all the food on pain of death. In any event, the Omaha felt themselves insulted—they had come peaceably and were willing to condone the Pawnee action if only the property were restored. When they were bidden to come again with arrows to exchange for their own horses, Wa'bačka said he would go back and make arrows and return with more than the Pawnee would care to see. As he left the Pawnee village the boys and young men laughed at him and his friends because of their fruitless errand.

On the way back Wa'bačka threw away his moccasins, leggings, and shirt, cut off the corners of his robe, and on entering the Omaha village went to the chief's house and stood there wailing, his hands lifted to heaven. He cried aloud of the insult that had been put on the Omaha by the Pawnee and called on the people to avenge the wrong done. The people listened but said nothing. At length a young man who was greatly moved composed a song telling of the occurrence, and went about the village singing it. He called on the people to rise and wipe out the insult put upon them.

This song has not come down to the present time. Finally the people were aroused; every man began to make arrows and the women to make moccasins. Wa'bačka hewed a club and said he would use this weapon only against the offending Pawnee. So great was the fervor created in the tribe, that the chiefs temporarily set aside their office and all the people were given into Wa'bačka's control without reserve. It is said that this is the only instance known in which the control of the people was given to one man. Meanwhile Wa'bačka had received authority from a sacred pack, and also had secured permission to take it with him. When the time came to start, the whole tribe went with Wa'bačka—men, women, and children. The women composed a song which was sung on the march across the country. This song has lived and as it has been used by the women since that time as a *we'toⁿ waaⁿ*—a song to send strength to the absent warrior on the battlefield—it is probable that it originally belonged to that class of songs.

(Aria as sung) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

$\text{♩} = 56$ *With marked rhythm*

U - he ki tha me Wa - ba - cka ha xe - ge wa tha

stan zhia don he Ki tha me He - ki - tha - me

Con Ped.

Uhe kithame
 Wa'bačka ha xage wathastaⁿ zhiadaⁿ he
 Kithame
 He kithame

Literal translation: *Uhe kithame*, they yielded to his request; *ha*, vowel prolongation; *xage*, to cry; *wathastaⁿ zhiadaⁿ*, he ceased not, for that reason.

Free translation

His call they obeyed!
 Wa'bačka raised his voice, nor ceased to cry aloud.
 Come with me!
 They all obeyed.

As horses were scarce and the skin tents heavy, when about half a days journey from the Pawnee village the people halted and on the banks of Maple creek (a branch of the Elkhorn river, Nebraska) they buried their tents; this act gave rise to the name *Ti'haxaike*, which the stream still bears among the Omaha.

Before day the warriors, led by *Wa'bačka*, started for the Pawnee village, which was surrounded by a strong palisade. This they leaped and rushed in on the sleeping Pawnee. Tearing away the sods from their earth lodges, they set fire to the straw that covered the wooden structure beneath and as the smoke drove the people out they were slaughtered. *Wa'bačka* went direct to the lodge of the chief who had slighted the peaceful overtures made the year before and clubbed him to death. The battle was fierce; many were slain on both sides. The Omaha were avenged. They took all the booty they could carry; but the battle cost them the life of their leader, *Wa'bačka*, who fell, fighting to the last for the honor of his tribe. His death brought the battle to a close.

The club made and used by *Wa'bačka* is said to be preserved in the pack he carried at that time. An old man who, before the middle of the last century, had been instructed as a war leader from this pack, said that it contained one bird hawk, one blackbird, one swallow, one crow, and a bladder tobacco bag. This old man's party killed a Dakota and brought back the man's scalp; when the victory dance was being held some blackbirds came and alighted on the pole to which the scalp was attached and swallows swept over and about the camp. As the old man saw the birds, he called to the people: "They have come to greet us!" He had carried on the warpath a blackbird and a swallow from the pack *Wa'bačka* had used and he believed that the living representatives of the birds he took to watch over him had come to approve and to welcome the victorious party; all the people rejoiced at this favorable omen and believed it had been sent by the Thunder god.

ORGANIZATION OF A WAR PARTY

A war party varied in numbers from eight or ten up to a hundred warriors. A man seldom went on the warpath alone unless under the stress of great sorrow, as that caused by the death of a child or other near relative. He might then go forth to seek opportunity to kill some one who would be a spirit companion for the one who had recently died. If it was a child whose loss sent the father to seek an enemy, the little one's moccasins were taken along in the father's belt. If he found a man and killed him, he placed the moccasins beside the dead man and, addressing the spirit, bade it accompany the child and guide it safely to relatives in the spirit land.

All members of a war party were volunteers. As soon as a man determined to become one of a war party and gave notice of his determination, tribal custom obliged him to observe strict continence until his return to the tribe; disobedience of this requirement, it was believed, would bring disaster to him or to the people. The old men explained that this rule was based on the same reason as that which forbade marriage at such a time (p. 325); moreover if the man were married and should be killed, he might leave an unborn child to come into life without a father.

War parties were of two classes—those organized for the purpose of securing spoils and those which had for their object the avenging



WOLFSKIN WAR ROBE WORN BY ZHINGA'GAHIGE

of injuries. The latter were held in higher esteem than the former, and the men who took part in them were regarded with more respect by the tribe.

The *nudoⁿ'hoⁿga*, or war leader, was the commanding officer. He directed the movements of the party and had to be ready to sacrifice his life for its safety if circumstances required. A war leader who in any way sought his own convenience and security or provided for himself first, incurred lifelong disgrace. The members of the war party were addressed by the war leader as *ni'kawaça*, a very old word indicating those who are not officers—similar to the term "privates." The leader assigned men to certain duties. There were four classes of service:

(1) The hunters, whose duty it was to provide game for the food of the party.

(2) The moccasin carriers. A large number of pairs of moccasins were necessary; otherwise the men would become footsore on the long journeys undertaken.

(3) The kettle carriers. These had charge of all the cooking utensils.

(4) Those who built the fires, brought the water, and carried the provisions of the party.

For services 2, 3, and 4 men of strength rather than agility were chosen.

DRESS OF WARRIORS

The warriors formerly wore a white covering for the head, of soft dressed skin; there was no shirt, the robe being belted about the waist and tied over the breast. For this latter purpose strings were fastened to the robe, the place where they were sewed being marked by a round piece of embroidery. When the war leader had once tied over his breast these strings that held the robe together, custom did not permit him to untie them until the scouts reported the enemy in sight. No feathers nor ornaments could be worn. In actual battle the warriors wore only moccasins and breechcloths unless they put on some skin connected with their vision. (See p. 131.) The accompanying illustration (pl. 54) shows a wolf skin worn by *Zhi'nga'gahige*. A slit at the neck of the skin admitted the wearer's head, the wolf's head rested on the man's breast, and the decorated skin hung over his back.

When an enemy had been slain, the war leader painted his face black. Later, on the return to the village, all who had taken part in the fight put black paint on their faces.

Occasionally the wives of a few of the men accompanied a large war party. They assisted in the care of the moccasins and in the cooking. The women of a war party were allowed a share in the spoils taken because they had borne their part in the hardships of the journey.

The following *ni'kaci* (wolf) song refers to this custom:

(Aria as sung) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Hé-a e yaw ha - a hi-a e - yaw ha - a

Con Ped.

hi - a - e - yaw ha' hi-a e - yaw ha a we tha he

he tho - i we - tu^a - gá de se - sa sa a^a - thu^a -

wa^a - ge he ya hi - a e - yaw ha we - a - he tho

Hia e yaw haa
 Hia e yaw haa
 Hia e yaw haa
 Hia e yaw ha a we tha he he thoi
 Witu^aga de sesasa a^athu^awa^agihe ya
 Hia e yaw ha wea he tho

Literal translation: First four lines and last line, vocables. *Wituⁿ'ge*, younger sister; *se'sasa*, trotting; *aⁿthuⁿwaⁿgihe*, follows me.

Women were always spoken of as "sisters." The words picture the little sister trotting along with her share of the spoils, following the warriors. The lively music has a quaint charm.

SACRED WAR PACK AND CONTENTS

The Sacred War Pack, which was kept in the Tent of War, together with the other articles kept in this tent, was deposited in 1884 in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, where they have been examined and photographed. This pack (fig. 90; Peabody Museum no. 37563) is of skin; it was so rolled as to present the

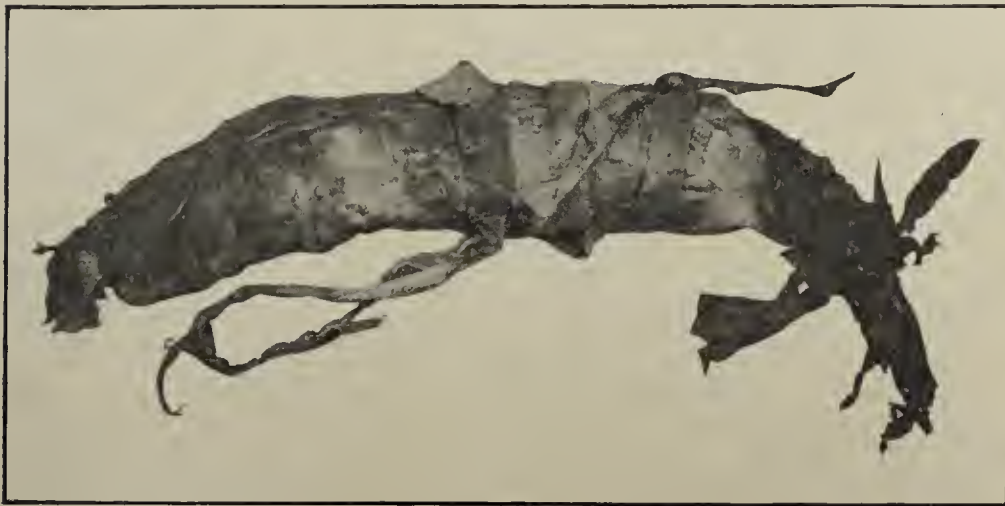


FIG. 90. Sacred War Pack (unopened).

appearance of a large, long-bodied bird, one end being fringed to represent the tail. It is 800 mm. long and 300 mm. in circumference; the length of the tail is 220 mm. The pack was held together by a band wound about it twice. A band about the middle had ends so looped that the pack could be hung up or carried, if necessary. There are a number of slits in one end of the skin covering through which a piece of hide was threaded in and out so as to gather the covering and form the neck of the bird; this end is the head. The other end is slashed to represent the tail feathers. The covering is wide enough to be wound twice about the contents and twisted at the neck end, but not at the tail end. It was folded over and tied by bits of hide knotted on the under side. When the pack was opened it was photographed with the contents in situ (fig. 91; Peabody Museum no. 47820).

The first article met with was a flag, carefully folded (fig. 92; Peabody Museum no. 47821); all efforts at identification of this flag have thus far failed. There is no knowledge of it in the tribe.



FIG. 91. Sacred War Pack (opened to show contents).

Whether it was captured, or presented to a war party by some trader in an effort to extend his business to the Omaha, is conjecture.

Six swallows, each wrapped in a bladder, four laid together (*c*) and two (*a, b*) below these, were beneath the folded flag (fig. 93; Peabody

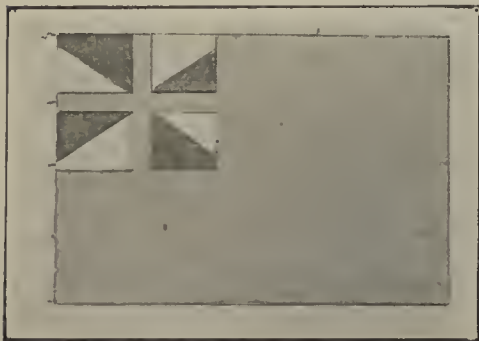


FIG. 92. Flag found in Sacred War Pack.
Inner rectangle represents flag. Dimensions: 6 ft. 9 in. by 4 ft. 9 in.; of corner rectangle, 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. Colors: darkest sections, red; lightest, yellow; remainder, blue.

Museum no. 47817). Next was a falcon, the legs tied with a twisted cord of sinew, painted red. Below this was a swallow-tail kite (*Elanoides forficatus*) (fig. 94; Peabody Museum no. 47816). This bird is lined with cloth, native weaving of nettle-weed fiber. Several strands of native thread are fastened to the tail and a scalp lock is tied to the right leg. There were also a swallow-tailhawk (*Nauclerus furcatus*), a wolf skin, and seven skins of the fetus of the elk. The last-named

are said to have been used by the chiefs in a ceremony now lost, which was not unlike some of the ceremonies of the Shell society, these elk skins taking the place of the otter skin.

The wolf skin is that of a young animal; in place of the feet, which had been cut off, was tied a tuft of elk hair, painted red. The head also has been cut off and a thong run through holes made in the neck,

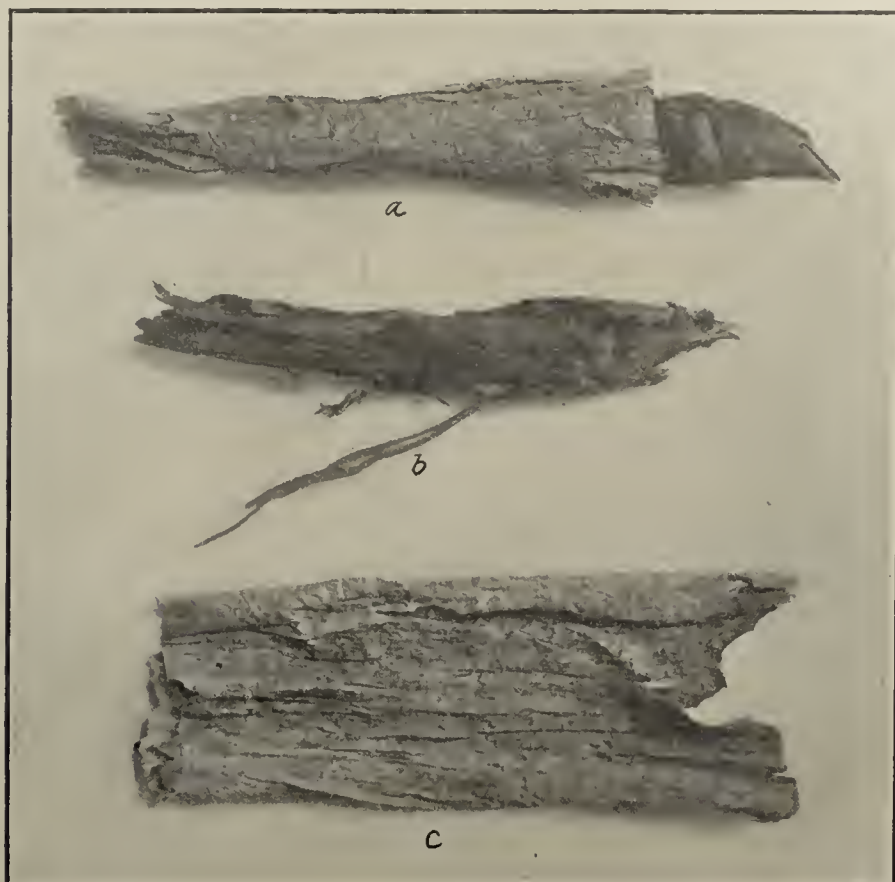


FIG. 93. Objects from Sacred War Pack.

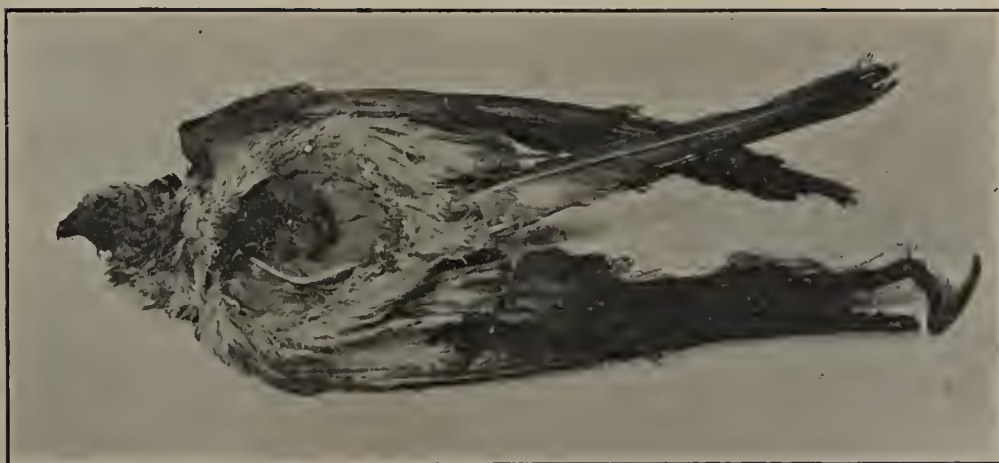


FIG. 94. Swallowtail kite from Sacred War Pack.

to which is fastened a feather, the quill of which is painted in red bands and bound to the thong with a strip of porcupine work and a tuft of elk hair, making a kind of tassel at the end of the thong.

Near the hind legs holes have been made in the skin through which passes a thong. (Fig. 95; Peabody Museum no. 48256.)



FIG. 95. Wolf skin and other objects from Sacred War Pack.



FIG. 96. Eagle feather in bone socket, from Sacred War Pack.

The wolf skin is said to have been used in augury by a war party. The banded quill of the feather forming part of the tassel was just above a bladder tobacco pouch, which was folded within the skin, as was also the eagle feather fastened in a bone socket for tying to the

scalp lock. (Fig. 96; Peabody Museum no. 48264.) A war party sometimes resorted to augury to ascertain the conditions in the country to which they were going and to learn of their future success. The wolf skin was then used in the following manner: It was soaked in water and thus made pliable. Then it was put about the throat of one of the party, who was seated on the ground and supported at the back by another member. Two men, holding the ends of the skin wound about the throat of the seated man, drew it firm and taut but did not choke the man, who soon became unconscious. While in that condition he was supposed to be able to look into the future, viewing the country and the people whither the party were going, and discerning also what was to happen. The Winnebago were accustomed to use an otter skin for the same purpose and in the same manner.

While this pack could give authority to aggressive war parties, and, it is said, was sometimes taken along by the leader of a very large war

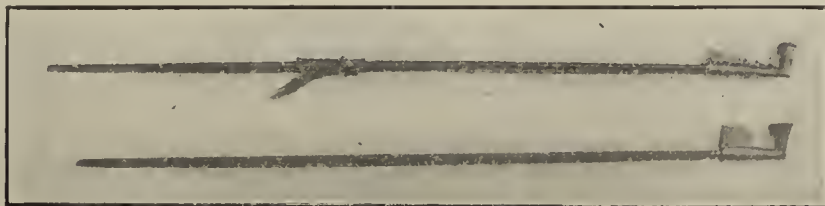


FIG. 97. Pipes from Sacred War Pack.

party, one of a hundred or more warriors (a *nuda^{n'} li^{n'}to^{n'}ga*), it was the only pack entitled to authorize defensive warfare. When that was done the two pipes (fig. 97; Peabody Museum no. 37551) belonging to this pack were ceremonially smoked.

DEPARTURE CEREMONIES OF AN AGGRESSIVE WAR PARTY

When the leader of an aggressive war party had obtained authority from one of the four Sacred Packs, he was not held responsible for the death of any member of his party or for any disasters that might happen to it. Each one of the party, through the leader, had placed himself under the authority of the war power, the Thunder god, through his accredited representatives, the birds contained in the *wai^{n'}waxube*, the Sacred War Pack. We here find another illustration of the Omaha belief in the continuity of all life, so that a part could represent the whole and that all forms, animate and inanimate, were linked together by the pervading life-giving power of *Wako^{n'}da*. Because of this belief the Thunder and its representative birds, and the charms, or "medicines," which were generally some product of the earth, were able to influence men and their fortunes in all avoca-

tions. While this belief may seem strange and irrational, it was logical and vitally effectual to the Omaha and underlay his organization, ceremonies, and public and private acts. So when the leader and his followers had received instructions from the keeper of one of the Sacred Packs and had secured one or more of the sacred birds that would act as a medium between them and the Thunder god, they felt themselves ready to face any danger; and, in any event, the responsibility for their acts rested with the supernatural agencies they had invoked.

When a man applied for authority to lead an aggressive war party the keeper of the Sacred Pack invited the members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi to meet the party. The leader of the war party provided the feast. At this gathering songs and dances pertaining to the Hoⁿ'hewachi (night dance) were sung but not those related to the counting (p. 495) and tattooing ceremonies (p. 503). These songs were given to remove from the minds of the men about to go forth all fear of death by bringing before them the symbolism of night, which represented both death and birth. The feast took place in a large dwelling belonging to a member of the Hoⁿ'hewachi. On this occasion the keeper of the Sacred Pack conducted the ceremonies (which were sometimes omitted if haste was required). Just before they were ready to start, the men of the war party, led by their leader, performed the *mi'kaçi* dance (*mi'kaçi*, "wolf;"; the wolf was regarded as connected with war). The dance was an appeal to the wolf that the men might partake of his predatory character, of his ability to roam and not be homesick. The dance was in rhythmic steps, more or less dramatic and imitative of the movements of the wolf—his rapid trot and sudden and alert stops. The music of the songs is lively, well accented, and inspiring.

The first part of the following *mi'kaçi* song has no words, only vocables. The words in the second part are given below.

MI'KAÇI

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore

The upper line is the Aria as sung. The harmonization is preferred by the Indians when the song is played on the piano

Song $\text{♩} = 104$ Drum-beat $\text{♩} = 208$

Hia ha a ha e a ha e ya hia ha a ha

Double Drum-beat

p

Con Ped.

e yau e ya e ya ha e yau hia ha a ha

e ya e yau e ya ha e ya he he

tho - e mi - ka - çì a - ma moⁿ zhoⁿ nom-pa ba - jì ba

MI'KAÇI—Continued

e - - gi - ma he a ha a ha e - ya e - ya

e - yau a ha e - yau he he ya A ha e ya

ha e ya a ha a ha e - ya e - ya e - ya ha e ya

A ha a ha e - ya e - ya e - ya a ha e - ya ha he ya

Mi'kaçi ama moⁿzhoⁿ nompä bazhi ba egima

Translation: *Mi'kaçi*, wolf; *ama*, they; *moⁿzhoⁿ*, earth or land; *nompa*, fear; *bazhi*, not; *ba*, so; *e'gima*, I am like them, or I do likewise. "The wolves have no fear as they travel over the earth; so I, like them, will go forth fearlessly, and not feel strange in any land."

Homesickness was greatly dreaded by the warriors, as it unnerved them for action and presaged defeat. The above song and others similar in feeling were sung as a plea for help against this internal enemy of the warrior. The leader was constantly on the lookout for indications of nostalgia, and if he detected signs of this dreaded condition, if he found the men speaking of their sweethearts, he took means at once to cheer up the party. He would organize a dance, at which time songs of the following class would be sung, and in this way the men would be heartened and the party would go forward to success.

(Sung in octaves) *Virace* (Marked rhythm)

A ha i ya he a ha i ya he A ha i ya he a ha
Drum-beats

i ya he ya ha i ya he yaha i ya he a he the he

ya ho e tha he the he the tho - e E-na! a-bthi-xe koⁿ btha thiⁿ

nu - doⁿ i the-a he. E - na! i tha ta - bthe thiⁿ the

thu tha zhi-a he A - he the he ya ho e tha he the tho

A ha i ya he, a ha i ya he
A ha i ya he, a ha i ya he
Ya ha i ya he
Ya ha i ya he
A he the he ya ho e tha he the he the thoe
E na! abthixe koⁿ btha thiⁿ nudoⁿ ithea he the
Ena! ithatabthe thiⁿ thethu thazhiahe
A he the he ya ho e tha he the tho

Literal translation: The first five lines and the last are vocables. *Ena!*, an exclamation used only by women; *abthixe*, I marry; *koⁿbtha*, I wish or desire; *thiⁿ*, the one—the word indicates that the one spoken of is moving; *nudoⁿ*, war; *itheahe*, *ithehe*, has gone—the *a* is introduced to accommodate the word to the music; *the*, end of the sentence; *ena!*, feminine exclamation; *ithatabthe*, I hate; *thiⁿ*, the one moving; *thethu*, here; *thazhi*, has not gone; *a*, vocable; *he*, feminine termination of a sentence spoken by a woman.

Free translation

Ena! The one I wish to marry has gone to war.

Ena! The one I hate has not gone forth but remains here.

The *mi'kaçi* dance was the last public appearance of the war party. Their departure was kept secret. The leader designated a time and place where all were to meet and each man stole away to the appointed spot. This course was followed in order to prevent undesirable persons from joining the party and causing inconvenience.

Each leader of a war party was instructed in his duties by the keeper of the Sacred Pack to which he had applied for permission to go on the warpath. There were slight differences in the details of these instructions but the following, recounted by an old warrior from his own experience, may be taken as a fair picture of the general procedure:

At night, when on the march, after we had had supper and were about to go to bed, the leader selected four men, who were sent out from the camp to four designated places in the direction of the four cardinal points. The leader bade these men to go forth as directed and listen for the howling of the wolf. Toward midnight a man in the camp gave the cry of the wolf; he was answered by the four men from their posts, who then returned to the camp and all went to sleep. The guards did not watch all night. It was only during the first night that the party traveled; after that the men rested at night and went forward by day. On a morning when the party were near their destination, the Pack they had carried was opened ceremonially according to the instructions given the leader and eight men were selected and sent out as scouts; two were to turn back over the route that had been traveled and look for signs of people; two were to go out on one side, two on the other side, and two were to keep in advance of the party. The two in the rear were to follow at night and rejoin the party, which, thus protected in the rear, on the flanks and in front, traveled on all the day.

When one of the scouts discovered a village where there was a chance to obtain booty or other trophies of war, he at once ran to report to the leader, singing this song as he advanced toward the war party:

SCOUT SONG

He he noⁿ-zhiⁿ-ga he he noⁿ-zhiⁿ-ga he he noⁿ-zhiⁿ-ga

Nu - doⁿ hoⁿ - ga noⁿ zhiⁿ ge a he he noⁿ-zhiⁿ - ga u

zha we tho he the he the thoi He he noⁿ-zhiⁿ-ga

he he noⁿ-zhiⁿ - ga Nu-doⁿ - hoⁿ - ga noⁿ-zhiⁿ - ge a

he he noⁿ-zhiⁿ ga u - zha - we tho he the tho

The words are few and interspersed with vocables: *Noⁿzhiⁿga*, arise; *Nudoⁿhoⁿga*, war leader; *uzhawe*, rejoice, be glad.

The attack was generally made in the very early dawn; such a fight was called *ti'gaxa*, "striking among the houses." This word appears as a name in the *Iⁿshta'çuⁿda* gens. When a man was slain, his friends rallied around the body to protect it and to prevent honors being taken from it. Often the severest fighting took place over the body of a fallen companion. When possible the wounded were carried away, but those overpowered were generally killed. The dead were buried on the field of battle. Captives were not taken as there was no ceremony of adoption in the Omaha tribe.

THE WE'TO^N WAA^N

We'toⁿ waaⁿ is an old and untranslatable term used to designate a class of songs composed by women and sung exclusively by them; these songs were regarded as a medium by which strength could be transmitted to an absent warrior and thus assist him in becoming victorious over his enemies. When a war party was away it was the custom for women, particularly of the poorer class, to go to the tent of one of the absent warriors (sometimes that of the leader or one of the prominent men in the party), and, standing in front of the tent, there sing one or more of the *we'toⁿ waaⁿ*. It was believed that by some telepathic process courage and increased strength thus were imparted to the man who was battling. In return for the supposed benefits to the absent man, the wife of the warrior distributed gifts among the singers.

The following is a song of this class:

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Flowingly

Ka - ge te - xi ha i tho^a-zha Ka - ge te - xi ha i

tho^a - zha He! Ish - a ge wa-ga^a ça be - do^a, Nu te te

xi ha i - tho^a-zha Ka-ge tha tho^a ga ta-duⁿ shu^a tha thiⁿ she

Kage texi hai thoⁿzha
 Kage texi hai thoⁿzha
 He! Ishage wagaⁿça bedoⁿ
 Nu te texi hai thoⁿzha
 Kage tha çoⁿ ga taduⁿ shuⁿthathiⁿshe

Translation: *Kage*, little brother; *texi*, difficult; *hai*, *ai*, they say; *thoⁿzha*, notwithstanding; *he!*, exclamation, as at a difficulty; *ishage*, old men; *wagaⁿça bedoⁿ*, when they taught; *nu*, man; *te*, to be; *he*, vowel prolongation; *thaçoⁿga*, you shall experience or realize; *shoⁿthathiⁿshe*, therefore you are going. "Little Brother, the old

men have taught that it is difficult to be a man; you are now going where you will realize this saying," implying that he will prove the truth of the teaching by his valor.

The custom of singing the *we'toⁿ waaⁿ* and belief in its efficiency obtains also among the Ponca and Osage tribes.

All the rites pertaining to defensive warfare were in charge of the *We'zhiⁿshte gens*, whose place was on the south side of the opening into the *hu'thuga*. A tent was set apart as a repository for the ceremonial articles pertaining to war. This tent was pitched about 40 feet in front of the line of tents belonging to the *We'zhiⁿshte gens*. The door of the tent was placed about the center of the invisible line that divided the two halves of the *hu'thuga*. This position of the Tent of War, shown in the diagram (fig. 20), was maintained only when the tribe camped in the ceremonial order of the *hu'thuga* on the annual tribal buffalo hunt. In the village the tent was pitched near the dwelling of the keeper. The office of keeper was hereditary in a certain family of the *We'zhiⁿshte gens*. His duties were to provide the tent for housing the sacred articles and to protect them from the weather and injurious influences. When the tribe moved out on the hunt, he had to furnish proper transportation for the tent and its belongings. In his own lodge he was required to keep his doorway in order, to clean out his fireplace, and to sweep both every morning. His children had to be prevented from digging holes about the fireplace. Should he neglect these duties, calamity would befall him or his kindred.

All the sacred articles belonging to the Tent of War were kept in the rear of the tent, facing the door, with a skin covering to protect them from the weather. No one but the keeper was allowed to touch them. If during the bustle of travel any person or animal should run against the tent or any of its belongings, it was necessary, as soon as the Tent of War was set up, for the offender to go or the animal to be taken to the keeper to receive the ceremonial ablution. For this purpose warm water was sprinkled by the keeper over the offender with a spray of artemesia. If this should be neglected, the person or animal "would become covered with sores."

SENDING OUT SCOUTS

On the buffalo hunt when the tribe entered a region where signs of the trails of an unknown tribe were observed, this fact was at once reported to the leader of the hunt, who reported to the Seven Chiefs; these in turn notified the keeper of the Tent of War, who then sent for the leading men of the *We'zhiⁿshte gens* to assemble in council, at which the Seven Chiefs were present. The chiefs reported to the council that signs had been seen which indicated that the people were on dangerous ground. The council without delay selected cer-

tain young men of the tribe, sons of leading warriors, to be called out to act as scouts. The herald of the gens was summoned. He responded, arrayed in the ceremonial manner—the robe worn with the hair outside and a downy eagle's feather fastened to his scalp lock. He took the pole on which the Pack Sacred to War, the *waiⁿ'waxube*, was hung (a crotched stick slightly taller than a man), and, going some 15 feet in front of the door of the tent, thrust the pointed end into the ground so that the pole stood firm; on it he hung the Pack Sacred to War. Then he took his place beside the pole with the pack and, leaning on a staff, called the names of the young men who had been selected for scouts, adding: *Moⁿzhoⁿ iⁿ thega* *ʒoⁿga ta yathiⁿho!* (*moⁿzhoⁿ*, "land;" *iⁿthega ʒoⁿgata*, "to examine for me;" *yathiⁿho*, "come hither"), "Come hither, that you may examine the land for me!". This command and explanation of the duty required were given after each name called. At the first sound of the herald's voice silence fell on the camp. Children were hushed or taken within the tents and every ear was strained to catch the words of the herald. When he had finished, he returned with the Sacred Pack to the tent and placed it in the center. Meanwhile the men who had been summoned did not stop to paint or ornament themselves but hastened from their dwellings to the Tent Sacred to War. If anyone who was called was thought too young for the task, his father responded instead. On their arrival those summoned entered the tent and sat in a circle.

The two pipes belonging to the Tent Sacred to War have bowls of red catlinite, with serrated ornamentations on the top; they are provided with stems of wood, 3 feet 4 inches in length, flat and painted (fig. 97). On one stem are fastened two narrow strips of skin ornamented with porcupine-quill work, from which depend a tuft of elk hair. The other stem is painted in red and black, the upper side red down the center, and a border of ten scallops on each side, of black; the under side of the stem is divided into nine sections. A black section is at the mouthpiece; the next is red, the next black, and so on until the red bowl is reached; the last block on the stem, where it joins the bowl, is black. The significance of these blocks of red and black is similar to those on the He'dewachi pole (fig. 62), symbolizing night and day, death and life.

The two Pipes Sacred to War were then filled from tobacco kept in an elk-skin bag, as the war ritual was recited. This ritual has been lost. The pipes were passed about the circle in the following order: One started at the left of the door and was passed by the left to the middle; the other started at the middle and was passed by the left to the door. The oldest men sat where they would be the first to receive the pipes. The smoking was in silence. Every man was obliged to smoke, as the act was equivalent to taking an oath to obey the custom and

to do one's duty even at the risk of life. At the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking, one of the leading men of the We'zhiⁿshte gens addressed the circle. He dilated on the responsibilities that rested on the scouts and reminded them of the necessity for truthfulness in making their reports, as their words would be heard by the unseen powers which never permitted a falsehood to go unpunished. He recounted the results that would follow any untruthful statement—the man would be struck by lightning, bitten by a snake, injured in the foot by some sharp object, or killed by the enemy. At the close of this charge the young men returned to their tents, where their friends had made haste to prepare food for them, packing pounded corn or meat in bladder bags. Extra pairs of moccasins were also provided. With these preparations the men were sent off in small groups to scour the country in every direction for a radius of 10 or 15 miles. Meanwhile the camp, thus protected, might move on, but the young men of the tribe were directed by the herald to wear their blankets in a given manner so as not to be taken for spies.

Generally speaking, an Indian was fond of going upon an elevation for the pleasure of looking over the landscape, but he did so only in localities free of enemies. When desirous of searching a region to ascertain whether or not it was safe, he might ascend to a vantage point, but while there he did not stand erect, making himself a conspicuous object to attract the attention of a hidden foe, but concealed himself that he might be able to see without being seen. It was accounted an honor to be called as a scout, the assignment ranking as high as participation in a war party. To have smoked the war pipe was an honor that could be "counted" when the reciting of brave deeds was permissible.

On the return of the scouts, the eldest, the one to whom the pipe had been offered first, went at once to the Tent of War, where the leaders of the We'zhiⁿshte gens were gathered to hear the report. If an enemy had been discovered, a messenger was dispatched to summon all the leading warriors to a council of war. The report of the scouts was made known to the council and the necessary action determined. If the scouts reported that the enemy was in large force but was lingering about as if waiting for an opportunity to attack the camp, then it was debated whether it would be best to retreat or to send out warriors to attack them and meanwhile have the camp put in a state of defense. If the enemy was in small numbers, then the council might determine to send out a party to give them battle or drive them away. In either case the departing warriors would be led by a prominent warrior or perhaps a chief. It was only in defensive warfare that a chief of the Council of Seven could go to war. Such warfare was called *ni'ka thixe*, "to chase people."

If at any time enemies were suddenly discovered by a man who might be outside the camp looking after horses or otherwise employed, he hastened at once to a vantage point and waved his robe above his head. This sign was called *we'ça* ("to make a noise or give an alarm"). In such case the camp was prepared at once for defense. The women threw up breastworks with their planting hoes (*no'ça*, the word for "breastworks," later was applied to fences of all kinds). In the attack, if the warriors were hard pressed and there was danger of defeat, the men fell back to the breastworks. If the camping place was near timber, in case of disaster the women and children hastened to hide among the trees and the warriors sometimes followed. Instances have been related by old women of how, when the camp had been surprised, they thrust their children into holes and threw themselves on top as if dead. In one case a woman was stabbed with a knife while feigning death, but she made no movement and so saved her children; this woman recovered from the wound and lived to tell the story.

DEPARTURE OF A DEFENSIVE WAR PARTY

When the warriors went forth to battle in defense of their homes there were no public ceremonies or dances but here and there the voice of a woman would be heard singing a song to inspirit the men, and at its close she gave the cry of the bird-hawk to evoke the supernatural power of this bird, which was associated with the god of war.

The following is an example of these rally songs which are composed by women and sung solely by them to encourage their defenders on their departure to battle. Only vocables are used in the first part of the song, and these are employed to eke out the musical phrase of the second part.

RALLY SONG

I ya i ya he i ya he a he I ya

a he i ya he he a he the i ya he i ya he

ya he the a he a he the he the Nu-do° -

hoⁿ-ga wa - thi thi^a ke wa - the - shna-zhia a-he-the U - ki -

te thi noⁿ-oⁿ ta ye he e-he the I ya he e ya he

(Cry of the bird hawk)

ya he the a he a-he the he tho

NOTE.—The pitch is taken from the graphophone record made by the young woman. Her voice was a clear, strong, bell-like soprano, and her intonation remarkably true. The bird hawk is the war bird. The cry at the close of the song was a call to the bird to help the warrior going forth.

Nudoⁿhoⁿga wathi thi^ake wathishna zhia ahe the
Ukite thinoⁿoⁿ da ye he ehe the (vocables)

Translation: *Nudoⁿhoⁿga*, leader; *wathi*, timid; *thi^ake*, who is; *wathishna*, prominent, well known; *zhia*, not; *ahe*, I say; *the*, vocable; *ukete*, the tribe; *thinoⁿoⁿ*, hear you; *da*, let them; *ye he*, vowel prolongation; *ehe*, I say; *the*, end of sentence. "The timid leader never wins fame, achieves a prominent place. Let the tribes hear of you!"

In Omaha warfare there was no arrangement of the soldiers in lines, companies, or battalions. There was a recognized leader but each warrior marched and fought independently and although obedient to the leader's general orders he did not wait for any official command to take part in the fight. When a group of warriors moved out to defend the camp they did not go silently to the field of battle. Each man sang as he went. There was a class of songs which belonged exclusively to these occasions; these were called *na'gthe waaⁿ* (*na'gthe*, "captive;" *waaⁿ*, "song"). But the import of the term "captive" lies in the war customs of the people. If a man was taken captive, his fate was torture and death; therefore the captive song was synonymous with the death song. These songs were frequently composed by those who sang them, though occasionally one was handed down from father to son. Captive songs always expressed the warrior's feeling when contemplating the dangers of war and the facing of death. Other songs were sometimes sung by the men going forth, as an *hethu'shka*, or some favorite mystery song.

The *na'gthe waaⁿ* afford an opportunity to discern the ideals and beliefs which a man calls up before him when he seeks strength and courage to meet death. The three songs following are fair examples of the *na'gthe waaⁿ* class.

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Um-ba e - daⁿ naⁿ ku-the huⁿ - thiⁿ be-ga, Um-ba e -

daⁿ naⁿ ku-the huⁿ - thiⁿ be - ga He! Nu-doⁿ - hoⁿ - ga a a

zha a-ma - ta a - te a - ye zha - me - tho

Um - ba e - daⁿ nan - ku the huⁿ - thiⁿ - be - ga

Um-ba e-daⁿ naⁿ kuthe huⁿ thiⁿ be ga
 Um-ba e-daⁿ naⁿ kuthe huⁿ thiⁿ be ga
 He!, Nudoⁿ hoⁿ ga a a zha a ma a te
 Aye zhametho
 Um-ba e-daⁿ naⁿ kuthe huⁿ thiⁿ be ga

Translation: He!, an exclamation; *umba*, day; *edaⁿ*, approaching;
naⁿ kuthe, hasten; *huⁿ thiⁿ be*, lead me; *ga*, sign of command; *nudoⁿ*-

ho^{na}ga, leader; *a a zha a ma a te*, vocables; *aye*, thus; *zhametho*, they may have said. "Have they not cried! Day approaches. He! Leader, lead me!" This song is the voice of the young and eager man who remembers the valiant warriors of the past as he sings.

(Aria as sung) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Flowingly, with feeling ♩ = 96

A - ye - zha - me tho..... A - ye - zha - me tho.....

A - ye - zha - me tho..... Hi! wi co^a - tha^a nu ke - de

A - ye - zha - me tho A - ye - zha - me tho.....

Ayezame tho
 Ayezame tho
 Ayezame tho
 Hi! wi co^athu^a nu kede
 Ayezame tho
 Ayezame tho

Translation: *Ayezame* (an elliptical phrase), they may have said, or, have they not said? The repetition of this phrase is similar in effect to the chorus of our old ballads—it forms the setting of the

picture set forth in the fourth line. *Hi!*, a woman's exclamation of surprise and delight; *wiçonⁿthuⁿ*, a term of endearment used by an elder sister to a young brother; *nu*, man; *kede*, lying. These words recall the birth of the man, the cry of joy of the elder sister as she enters the little secluded tent and sees that a man lies there. Now, as he enters the field of action, he is to prove himself a man worthy of the joy awakened at his birth. The music bears out the poetic feeling of the words. The climax of both poem and music is in the last phrase: "Have they not said, a Man!" This little song opens a rift into the inner life of the people and the social responsibility laid on the men of the tribe.

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore

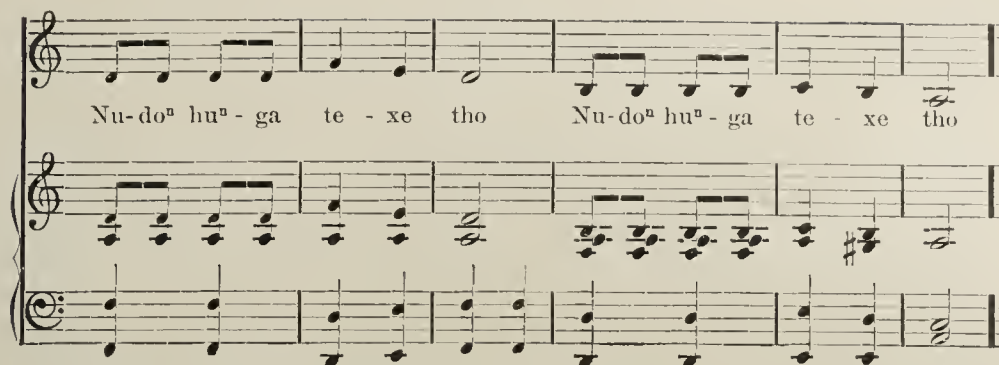
The aria is as sung by the men. The harmonization translates the song, and is preferred by the Indians when it is played on the piano

Solemnly

E - be - taⁿ thiⁿ - ge tho..... E - be - taⁿ thiⁿ - ge tho.....

..... E - be - taⁿ thiⁿ - ge tho..... He Ish - a - ga - a - ma wa - gaⁿ ça be - daⁿ

E - be - taⁿ she - a he - be - taⁿ a - ba - zhe - te.....



Ibetaⁿ thiⁿge tho
 Ibetaⁿ thiⁿge tho
 Ibetaⁿ thiⁿge tho
 He! Ishaga ma wagaⁿçabedaⁿ
 Ibetaⁿ she ahibite abazhete
 Nudoⁿhuⁿga texie tho
 Nudoⁿhuⁿga texie tho

Translation: *Ibetaⁿ*, to go around, as around an obstacle, or to circumvent or avoid a threatened disaster; *thiⁿge*, none; *tho*, vocable; *ishaga*, old man; *ma*, plural sign; *wagaⁿçabedaⁿ*, when they tell; *she*, yonder; *ahibite*, reached that (place) first; *abazhete*, have not said; *nudoⁿhoⁿga*, leader; *texie*, the difficult, the hard to accomplish. "No one has found a way to avoid death, to pass around it; those old men who have met it, who have reached the place where death stands waiting, have not pointed out a way to circumvent it. Death is difficult to face!"

The words and the music are in feeling closely woven together around the thought of inexplicable birth and death. The seriousness and dignity of this song make it a notable composition.

Defensive warfare was graded higher than aggressive warfare and the man whose honors were won when defending the tribe was accorded a higher rank than the man whose honors were gained otherwise. No act entitling a man to a war honor, whether performed in defensive or aggressive warfare, could be claimed by him or its insignia worn until the honor had been publicly awarded in the ceremony called *Wate'giçtu*.

RETURN OF A WAR PARTY

An authorized aggressive war party was required to take a direct course toward its destination and after a battle to return by the same path. On the return journey of such war party, if successful, when a short distance from the village a fire was kindled, the rising smoke from which gave the signal of the victorious return of the warriors. If any of the party had been killed, a member stepped to one side and threw himself on the ground. This action indicated to the village the loss of one man. If more than one had fallen, the

number lost was signified to the watchers by repeating this action. After this dramatic report, the leader designated a man to go forward and, when near enough to the village to be heard, to call out the names of those who had been slain. As the relatives of the dead heard the name of husband, father, or brother, they broke into wailing. When, later, the victorious party entered the village, the place resounded with shouts of welcome to the living and cries of sorrow for the dead.

The return of a defensive war party was less formal. Some one went in advance and reported to the camp the news of deaths or other disaster; the reception of the news, the shouts of victory, and lamentations for the dead were as already described. The victory celebration was the same in both cases.

If the returning party brought back the scalp of an enemy, the young men of the tribe at once made preparations for holding the *wewa'chi*, or victory dance. The scalp was tied to a pole and around it both men and women danced and sang together the songs belonging to this ceremony of exultation. The dance was a lively and exuberant motion. No dramatic episodes of war were acted out. The music was vivacious, and the words were frequently boasting or taunting in character. Sometimes they mentioned deeds that were heroic but they always referred to the acts of war. The following is a characteristic song of this dance:

VICTORY SONG

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Double beat (Aria as sung in unison octaves by men and women)

He-a - tha ha he ya he he a tha ha thoe He-a - tha ha

Rhythm of the drum Con Ped.

he ya he ya he the he ye tha ha U-the - zha-zhe -

ga^a i^a - te - de tha xa - ge he ya the he tho - e U -

tha-de u - thi sho^a we - zhno^a tiu^a wa^a shu-she he ya tha ha

U-the - zha-zhe - ga^a i^a - te - de tha-xa - ge he ya tha ha tho

He a tha ha he ya he he a tha ha thoe
 He a tha ha he ya he ya he the he ye tha ha
 Uthazhazhega^a i^antede thaxage, he ya tha ha tho e
 Uthade uthisho^a wizhno^ati u^awa^ashushe he ya tha ha
 Uthazhazhega^a i^antede thaxage he ya tha ha tho

Literal translation: *Uthazhazhega^a*, you emulated; *i^antede*, and now, in consequence; *thaxage*, you weep; *uthade*, people, or tribes; *uthisho^a*, surrounding; *wizhno^ati*, I alone; *u^awa^ashushe*, am brave. These words are interspersed with groups of vocables.

Free translation

You emulated me, and now you are crying, he ya tha ha tho e
 Among surrounding tribes I only am the brave, he ya tha ha.
 You tried to be like me—behold, you weep your dead, he ya tha ha tho.

Sometimes after an attack on the camp, an arm, leg, or head was brought from the neighboring battlefield and boys were made to strike or to step on the mutilated portion of the dead enemy, as though they were taking honors. This discipline was thought to stimulate a desire to perform valorous acts by familiarizing the youths with scenes of war.

THE WATE'GIÇTU

The word *wate'giçtu* (composed of *wate*, "things accomplished," referring to the acts accomplished by the warriors; *gi*, sign of possession; and *çtu*, "to collect, or gather together") signifies "the gathering together of acts accomplished." All the acts of the warrior, having been duly authorized by the Waiⁿ'waxube (the Packs Sacred to War), belonged to and were possessed by the packs and until these deeds were ceremonially awarded to the warriors through the rites presided over by the packs they did not belong to the man to count or to claim as his own.

For his use in this ceremony each warrior prepared and painted red a stick about a span long, for each of the honors he was to claim. The four Packs Sacred to War were used in this ceremony placed side by side in the middle of the tent prepared for the occasion, semicircular in form and open so that the ceremony could be viewed by the people. The Pack from the Tent of War and that which had been carried by Wa'baçka were placed side by side in the middle, while on the sides were placed the packs from the Tapa' and Inke'çabe gentes. At the present time only two of the four packs are known to exist—the one now in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University and that which formerly belonged to Giuⁿ'habi, of the Tha'tada gens, which Wa'baçka carried in his battle with the Pawnee, already recounted. On this latter pack a piece of otter skin was tied, the string fastening it being so arranged as to fork. Into this fork the warriors aimed to drop their sticks at a given signal.

At this ceremony, which took place shortly after the return of the victorious warriors, the keepers of the Packs Sacred to War were the only officials. While chiefs could be present, they were there merely as onlookers and had no authority or part in the ceremony. The four keepers stood behind the packs, facing the east, while the warriors who were to claim honors stood before the packs. The claimants to the first-grade honors were in advance, those who claimed the

second grade slightly behind these, the third grade behind the second, and so on. The keepers of the two middle packs then sang the following opening song:

She-thua-gi - ba E-da-don a-thina gi - be - tha

She-thua-gi - ba E-da-don a-thina gi - be - tha

She-thua-gi - ba E-da-don a-thina gi - be - tha

She-thua gi - ba E-da-don a-thina gi - be - tha

She-thua gi - ba E-da-don a-thina gi - be - tha

Literal translation: *Shethu*, yonder; *agiba*, coming back here; *edadoⁿ*, things (their acts, or trophies); *athiⁿagibetha*, they are bringing.

The keepers admonished the men to speak the truth without fear or hesitation, for the omniscient birds present in the packs would hear and report their words to Thunder, the god of war. The penalties for exaggeration or false statement were then recounted.

Then the keepers sang the following song referring to Thunder, who is spoken of as Grandfather:

(Upper line Aria)

Harmonized for translation by John C. Fillmore

f $\text{♩} = 100$ *Solemnly*

Thi - ti go^a no^a - pe wa - the ga Thi - ti - go^a no^a -

pe wa - the ga Thi - ti - go^a - no^a - pe wa -

the ga Thi - ti - go^a we - ti^a ke gthi - ho^a ki no^a - pe -

wa - the ga. Thi - ti - go^a no^a - pe - wa - the ga

Thiti'goⁿ noⁿpewathe! ga
 Thiti'goⁿ noⁿpewathe! ga
 Thiti'goⁿ noⁿpewathe! ga
 Thiti'goⁿ wetiⁿ ke gthi'hoⁿ ki noⁿpewathe! ga
 Thiti'goⁿ noⁿpewathe! ga

Literal translation: *Thiti'goⁿ*, your Grandfather; *noⁿpewathe*, fearful to behold; *wetiⁿ*, club; *ke*, long; *gthi'hoⁿ*, lifts his; *ki*, when.

Free translation

Behold how fearful your Grandfather appears!
 Your Grandfather is fearful, terrible to see!
 Behold how fearful is he, your Grandfather!
 He lifts his long club, fearful is he, your Grandfather gives fear to see!
 Behold how fearful to see, fearful to see!

At the close of this song the man claiming the first honor stepped forward and began the recital of his deed, telling how he struck the body of the enemy. He held the red witness stick over the pack and all the people listened attentively to his words. At a signal from the keeper he let the witness stick drop. If no one had disputed his story and the stick rested on the pack, the people sent up a great shout of approval, for the omniscient birds in the pack had accepted his words as true. But if he was disputed and the stick fell to the ground, it was believed that the man had spoken falsely and that his words had been rejected by the birds. Then the people shouted in derision, his stick was tossed away and the man lost the honor he had sought to gain. If the stick remained on the pack, the keepers granted permission for the man to wear the insignia of the grade to which his deed belonged. These deeds were called *uoⁿ* ("acts accomplished"); the supernatural acceptance of his recital had been shown by the stick resting on the pack, therefore the man could claim his deed; it had been handed back to him, as it were, by the Sacred Pack.

GRADED WAR HONORS

Six grades of honors could be taken on the body of an enemy:

(1) The highest honor was to strike an unwounded enemy with the hand or bow. This feat required bravery and skill to escape unharmed. Only two warriors could take this honor from the same person.

(2) This honor required the warrior to strike a wounded enemy. Only two could take this honor from the same man.

(3) To strike with the hand or bow the body of a dead enemy. Only two could take this honor from the corpse.

(4) To kill an enemy.

(5) To take the scalp. This honor ranked with no. 3, since the dead man could not resist, although the friends of the slain might rally around the body and strive to prevent the act by carrying the man off. Two could scalp the same enemy.

(6) To sever the head from the body of an enemy.

WAR HONOR DECORATIONS

The decorations were called *u'kioⁿ*, (from *kioⁿ*, "to decorate one's self by painting or by wearing regalia or garments").

For the first grade the warrior was entitled to wear in his scalp lock, so arranged as to stand erect on the head, the white-tipped feather from the tail of the golden eagle.



FIG. 98. Deer-tail head-dress.

As the sign of having won the second grade, the warrior could wear the white-tipped feather from the tail of the golden eagle fastened to his scalp lock so as to project horizontally at the side of the head.

The third-grade honor entitled the man to wear the eagle feather so as to hang from the scalp lock.

The fourth-grade honor was shown by wearing an arrow through the scalp lock or by carrying a bow in the hand at certain ceremonial

dances. Later, when guns were introduced among the Omaha, the man who killed the enemy with a gun wore a necklace of shavings; this represented the wadding formerly used in loading guns.

The fifth grade ranked with the third, and the eagle feather was worn hanging from the scalp lock.

The sixth grade was not marked by any regalia but the man who had performed the deed that constituted this grade was entitled to act as master of ceremonies at the feast held at the meetings of the Hethu'shka society of warriors.

Besides the wearing of the eagle feather, men who had won honors of the first, second, and third grades were entitled to wear on ceremonial occasions the deer-tail headdress (fig. 98). This was a sort of roach made of the deer's tail and the tuft of coarse hair from the neck of the turkey. The deer's tail was dyed red; the turkey hair was used in its natural color of black.

THE PONCA CEREMONY OF CONFERRING WAR HONORS

The ceremony of conferring war honors bore the same name among the Ponca as among the Omaha. The following account, given nearly twenty years ago by an old and leading man, whose honor count was next to the highest in the tribe, is presented to facilitate a comparison between the customs of the two tribes:

There were three ancient packs in the tribe. One was kept by Unoⁿbaha, of the Moⁿkoⁿ gens; one by Ta'ikawahu, of the Thi'xida gens; and one by We'gaçapi, of the same gens. The keepers of the first two dreamed of Thunder. The last one descended to its keeper from his grandfather and it is said that all the old man's dreams were of the gray wolf. There are two modern packs, one kept by Shu'degaxe, of the Thi'xida gens, and the other by Shoⁿgeçabe, of the Washa'be gens. These men had dreams of Thunder, so their packs were for the Thunder gods.

There was no fixed time for the ceremony. Sometimes several seasons would pass between one ceremony and the next. The keepers of the pack decided the time, which must be in the summer, when all animals, bugs, and snakes are out and above ground and the thunder has sounded.

When the ceremony was to take place the people were ordered to camp in the order of the gentes and to make the *hu'thuga* complete. When this was done all the men who had been on the warpath and had come back victorious and all the men who had been in defensive battle at home were placed in a line near the center of the tribal circle, facing the entrance. The keeper of the pack who was to confer the honors designated a man to carry the pack. Previously all the candidates for war honors had sent to the keeper of the pack that was to be used gifts of horses and goods, as fees for his services in the ceremony. The man with the pack took his place in front of the line of warriors, at a little distance from them, leaning on a forked staff which he planted on the ground, and maintained this position during the entire ceremony. The keeper of the pack then called one of the warriors and thus addressed him: "My servant, strengthen yourself and tell a straight story. If you do not tell a straight story, if you do not give the exact truth, the gods whom you hear crashing among the clouds will strike you dead. If you do not make your story in a straight path and tell all the truth, though you may feel your feet firm upon the back of this our grandmother [the earth], you shall stumble and fall [die]." The man then addressed the pack and told his story to it, not to any man. If no one present questioned, disputed, or corrected him,

the keeper again addressed him as "My servant," and accorded to him the honor belonging to his action. The honors were as follows:

First honor: To strike an unwounded man. The sign of this honor was an eagle feather worn upright in the scalp lock; moccasin strings made of the skin of the gray wolf; the upper part of the body painted black; and authority given the man to nominate "soldiers." Soldiers were those whose duty it was to ride on the outside of the camp during any ceremony and to maintain tribal order.

Second honor: To be the first to strike a fallen enemy, one who had been wounded or who by some accident was prostrate. The sign of this honor was an eagle feather worn horizontal in the scalp lock, painting the body irregularly in black stripes, and to be called upon to serve as a "soldier."

Third honor: To be the second to strike a fallen enemy. There was no badge for this honor but the man was entitled to a seat in the gathering of soldiers and could eat with them. He had also the office of stopping the camp if the people continued to move and did not stop and camp where they had been ordered; also, when the camp was moving, if there were any stragglers, it was his duty to drive them up. (This duty referred to the time when the tribe was on the buffalo hunt.)

Fourth honor: To kill a man. If this was done with a gun, the slayer was to carry to the dances his gun with the end painted red, and to wear a necklace of shavings (the shavings represented wadding). He was entitled also to the cut of the buffalo meat called *i'nakuge*, which was taken from the back and included a part of the shoulders and of the hind quarter. It was roasted with the skin sewed about it and was considered a choice cut. If the killing was done with an arrow, the man was entitled to wear an arrow in the scalp lock, one-half of the shaft to be painted red. He was entitled also to the cut called *tezhu'*. He could wear this arrow badge of his honor when on the buffalo hunt, so that the people could see to what part of the animal he was entitled and set it aside for him.

Fifth honor: To take a scalp. The sign of this honor was to paint the face with a slight tinge of red and put black stripes across it and to be servant to the "soldiers." There was no fighting when a scalp was taken, for the man was dead; so there was little honor in taking a scalp. To wear scalps was not an honor from the pack. It was done on a man's own responsibility.

Sixth honor: Capturing horses from the enemy. The badge of this honor was to wear at the dances a coil of rope around the body and to paint on the body figures shaped like the impression of a horse's hoof. At any ceremonies that required the use of horses, the man could paint on his horse the prints of horses' hoofs.

The following incident was told many years ago by an old Ponca chief, now dead. The occurrence took place before the middle of the last century and throws light on the beliefs connected with this ceremony of bestowing honors.

I was present at the ceremony. The keeper of the Sacred Pack said to the honor candidates before him: "I appear before you as a representative of Thunder, whose loud voice you hear. Whatever words are to be spoken by you must be in strict accordance with the truth, so that the wrath of the Thunder may not fall on anyone. Any words spoken without regard for the truth will bring on the speaker death by the stroke of lightning, or he will be gored by a bull or be bitten by a snake, or in some way his life will suddenly cease." The candidates responded: "Thou god Thunder, who standest before us, hear the words I am about to give you before the people. I know the punishment I must expect if I should turn aside from the truth. I give to you my story as it is known to myself, with directness and without fear, knowing that I speak the truth." Two men then stepped forward, one with a gun and the other with a bow, and both claimed the same first-grade honor. The man with the gun said that he struck the enemy first with his gun and that the other claimant did not strike the enemy with his bow, but struck the gun instead. The man with the bow said he



"Crow"

"Crow" and war bonnet.

WAR HONOR DECORATIONS

struck the enemy first and that the man struck the bow with his gun and did not strike the enemy. Other witnesses to the action gave their testimony and all agreed that the man with the bow struck the enemy first and not the man with the gun. Twice the keeper bade the two men repeat their stories, so that the one that was in the wrong might have a chance to withdraw his false statement and so escape punishment; but both men held to their original story. The stick was not dropped. The keeper then said: "I shall leave the question of the truth of this story to the Thunder god to decide. We shall know within the year which one of these men has spoken the truth." Summer came and during the tribal buffalo hunt a horse fell on the man who claimed to have struck the enemy with his gun, and he was killed.

The old narrator mentioned the names of the disputants and it was believed that the man on whom the horse fell had been supernaturally killed because he had spoken falsely.

"THE CROW"

A man who had attained more than once to honors of the first three grades became entitled to wear a peculiar and elaborate ornament called "the Crow." This was worn at the back, fastened by a belt around the waist; it was made with two long pendants of dressed skin painted red or green, which fell over the legs to the heels. On the skin were fastened rows of eagle feathers arranged to hang freely so as to flutter with the movements of the wearer. An entire eagle skin, with head, beak, and tail, formed the middle ornament; from this rose two arrow shafts tipped with hair dyed red. On the right hip was the tail of a wolf; on the left the entire skin of a crow. This composite decoration illustrated certain ideas that were fundamental to native beliefs, namely: That man is in vital connection with all forms of life; that he is always in touch with the supernatural, and that the life and the acts of the warrior are under the supervision of Thunder as the god of war. This relation was believed to be an individual one and any war honor accorded was the recognition of an individual achievement. Such a bestowal was the outcome of the native method of warfare, for there was no military organization, like an army, in the tribe and, strictly speaking, no commanding officer of a war party; when the battle was on, each man fought for and by himself. A valorous deed was therefore the man's own act and the honor which was accorded the kind of act performed was accredited by Thunder through the representative birds associated with Thunder, and contained in the Sacred Pack.

"The Crow" decoration (pl. 55) is said to symbolize a battlefield after the conflict is over. The fluttering feathers on the pendants represented the dropping of feathers from the birds fighting over the dead bodies. Sometimes the wearer of "the Crow" added to the realism by painting white spots on his back to represent the droppings of the birds as they hovered over the bodies of the slain. The two arrow shafts had a double significance: they represented the stark bodies and also the fatal arrows standing in a lifeless enemy. The eagle was associated with war and with the destructive powers of

the Thunder and the attendant storms. The wolf and the crow were not only connected with carnage but they had a mythical relation to the office of "soldiers," the designation given to certain men on the annual tribal hunt, who acted as marshals and kept the people and the hunters in order during the surround of the herd. These men were chosen from those who had the right to wear "the Crow" and this regalia was generally worn at that time. It was worn also at certain ceremonial dances.

The following ritual, secured in 1896 from an old Ponca chief (pl. 56) who has since died, used by the Ponca when soldiers were appointed for the tribal hunt, throws light on the relation of the crow and the wolf to the hunter as the provider of food and to the warrior as the protector of the people.

1. He! u'thitoⁿ thakishkaxa badoⁿ, ečka
2. U'shkoⁿ thakishkaxe tabadoⁿ, ečka
3. Ni'kagahi, ečka
4. He! Wanoⁿshe thakishpahi badoⁿ, ečka
5. He! Shoⁿ'toⁿganuga thathiⁿshe thoⁿ, ečka
6. Wanoⁿshe thanudoⁿhoⁿga abadoⁿ, ečka
7. Ka'xenuga thathiⁿshe thoⁿ, ečka
8. Wanoⁿshe thanudoⁿhoⁿga abadoⁿ, ečka
9. He! gaçi'ge shna badoⁿ, ečka
10. Gaçi'ge ke thoⁿ a'gaxthe thishoⁿ moⁿzhniⁿ adoⁿ, ečka
11. Shoⁿ'toⁿganuga thathiⁿshe thoⁿ, ečka
12. Iⁿdegoⁿ thoⁿ titi uthagaçiⁿ titi moⁿzhniⁿ adoⁿ, ečka
13. Çiⁿ'de ke thiaathikoⁿ egoⁿ moⁿzhniⁿ adoⁿ, ečka
14. He! Ka'xenuga thathiⁿshe thoⁿ, ečka
15. Nu'dehiⁿ gaçaça egoⁿ moⁿzhniⁿ adoⁿ, ečka
16. Ni'kashiga Ho! ethabiwathe egoⁿ moⁿzhniⁿ adoⁿ, ečka
17. Utha'gthaa tigthagtha moⁿzhniⁿ adoⁿ, ečka
18. Thaki'gthiçoⁿtha the thatha agaxthe thishoⁿ ke thithe xti moⁿzhniⁿ abadoⁿ, ečka
19. Wani'ta thoⁿthoⁿ, ečka
20. Thue xti tithoⁿ gaxa badoⁿ, ečka
21. Thi shkaxe eshe abadoⁿ, ečka
22. He! Wani'ta thoⁿthoⁿ, ečka
23. Wiaxchi shtiwoⁿ gthe tha bazhi ba, ečka
24. Ç'oⁿçoⁿde xti, ečka
25. T'ewatha badoⁿ, ečka
26. He! Waiⁿ agtha badoⁿ, ečka
27. Ushkoⁿ ke thoⁿ, ečka
28. A'gaxthe thishoⁿ ke, ečka
29. Moⁿzhniⁿ'adoⁿ, ečka
30. Thiu'de agthe uwatoⁿga, ečka
31. Tet'e ke thoⁿ, ečka
32. A'shpae ithoⁿthoⁿ badoⁿ, ečka
33. Thi'toⁿthiⁿ xti pahoⁿ'ga thagthate ithikoⁿtha badoⁿ, ečka
34. Ushte'oⁿtha agthai ke thoⁿ shnata badoⁿ, ečka
35. Zhiⁿga thegoⁿ xti awa'gipaxe koⁿbtha thoⁿ, ečka
36. U'zhawa xti awagi paxe thoⁿzha wiewamoⁿ athiⁿhe eshe abadoⁿ, ečka
37. Wi'toⁿthiⁿ i ithagite athiⁿhe thoⁿzha, ečka
38. Zhiⁿga, ečka
39. Noⁿ'de giundoⁿ xti awa'gipaxe athiⁿhe eshe abadoⁿ, ečka



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Literal translation

1. *He!*, exclamation; *u'thitoⁿ*, arrangement in which to work; *thaki'shkaxa*, you make for yourselves; *badoⁿ*, implies the accomplished; *e'çka*, an exclamation, I desire, or I crave, I pray for.

2. *U'shkoⁿ*, rules or regulations by which to control action; *thaki'shkaxa*, you make for yourselves; *tabadoⁿ*, that you may—the act not completed.

3. *Ni'kagahi*, chiefs.

4. *He!* *Wanoⁿshe*, soldiers; *thak'ishpahi*, you select among yourselves; *badoⁿ*, act completed.

5. *He!* *Shoⁿ'toⁿganuga*, wolf male; *thathiⁿshe*, you are moving; *thoⁿ*, implies that action was long ago—the wolf moved in the distant past.

6. *Wanoⁿshe*, soldiers; *thanu'doⁿhoⁿga*, you are war leader; *abadoⁿ*, they say—a tradition handed down.

7. *Ka'xenuga*, crow male; *thathiⁿshe*, you are moving; *thoⁿ*, the action was long since.

8. *Wanoⁿshe*, soldiers; *thanu'doⁿhoⁿga*, you are war leader; *abadoⁿ*, they say.

9. *He!* *gaçige*, the gathering; *shna*, you went; *badoⁿ*, act completed.

10. *Gaçi'ge*, to gather or congregate; *ke*, lies; *thoⁿ*, in the past; *a'gaxthe*, when the wind blows leeward; *thishoⁿ*, toward; *moⁿzhniⁿ*, you walked; *adoⁿ*, they say, tradition.

11. *Shoⁿ'toⁿganuga*, wolf, male; *thathiⁿshe*, thou moving; *thoⁿ*, in time past.

12. *Inde'çon*, face; *çon*, white or pale; *ti'ti*, come, come—coming repeatedly to view; *utha'gaçiⁿ*, peering over a hill or bush; *ti'ti*, appearing repeatedly; *moⁿzhniⁿ*, you walk; *adoⁿ*, it is said.

13. *Çiⁿ'de*, tail; *ke*, long; *thia'athikoⁿ*, standing to one side as if blown to one side by the wind; *egoⁿ*, like; *moⁿzhniⁿ*, you walk; *adoⁿ*, it is said.

14. *He!* *Ka'xenuga*, crow, male; *thathiⁿshe*, you move; *thoⁿ*, past time.

15. *Nu'dehiⁿ*, hair or feathers of the throat; *gaçaç*, standing on end, spread out; *egoⁿ*, like; *moⁿzhniⁿ*, you walk; *adoⁿ*, it is said.

16. *Ni'kashiga*, people; *Ho!*, exclamatory address of admiration; *etha'biwathe*, to be thought as inspiring admiration; *egoⁿ*, like; *moⁿzhniⁿ*, you walk; *adoⁿ*, it is said.

17. *Utha'gthaa*, you shouted; *tigthagtha*, repeatedly at a distance; *moⁿzhniⁿ*, you walk; *adoⁿ*, it is said.

18. *Thakigthiçoⁿ tha*, turning yourself; *the*, going; *thatha*, repeatedly; *a'gaxthe*, leeward; *thishoⁿ*, toward; *ke*, the lay of the land; *thithe*, joyfully; *xti*, verily; *moⁿzhniⁿ*, you walk; *abadoⁿ*, it is said.

19. *Wani'ta*, animals; *thoⁿthoⁿ*, groups.

20. *Thue*, near by; *xti*, verily; *tithoⁿ*, come to a place, near by; *gaxa*, they make; *badoⁿ*, act completed.

21. *Thi shkax̄e*, you make; *eshe*, you said; *abadoⁿ*, it is said.
22. *He! Wani'ta*, animals; *thoⁿthoⁿ*, group.
23. *Wiaxchi*, one; *shtiwoⁿ*, not even; *gthe*, go home; *tha*, to cause; *bazhi*, not.
24. *Coⁿconde*, close together, as in a line; *x̄ti*, verily.
25. *T'e*, dead; *wa*, plural; *tha*, to cause; *badoⁿ*, completed action.
26. *He! Waiⁿ*, to carry; *agtha*, go home; *badoⁿ*, completed action.
27. *Ushko^w*, the place where an action has occurred; *ke*, lying down; *thoⁿ*, in past time.
28. *A'garthe*, leeward; *thishoⁿ*, toward; *ke*, lying down.
29. *Monzhniⁿ*, you walk; *adoⁿ*, therefore, for that purpose.
30. *Thiu'de*, a deserted place, once the scene of activity; *agthe*, to go home; *uwa'toⁿga*, immediately.
31. *Te*, buffalo; *t'e*, dead; *ke*, lying; *thoⁿ*, past action.
32. *A'shpae*, you gathered in multitudes; *ithoⁿthoⁿ*, in bunches or groups here and there; *badoⁿ*, completed act.
33. *Thi'toⁿthiⁿ*, you first; *x̄ti*, verily; *pahoⁿ'ga*, before or first; *thagtha'te*, you eat what is yours; *ithikoⁿtha*, gives you power to live, to be animated; *badoⁿ*, completed action.
34. *Ushte'*, what remains over; *oⁿtha*, abandoned; *agtha'i*, they went home; *ke*, lying scattered; *thoⁿ*, past time; *shnata*, you eat; *badoⁿ*, completed action.
35. *Zhiⁿga'*, little ones, children; *thegoⁿ*, like this; *x̄ti*, verily; *awagipaxe*, I make for my own; *koⁿbtha*, I want or desire; *thoⁿ*, past action.
36. *U'zhawa*, rejoicing, the possession of that which brings comfort or pleasure; *x̄ti*, verily; *awa'gipaxe*, I make for my own; *thoⁿzha*, yet; *wie'wamoⁿ*, I caused it, was responsible for it; *athiⁿhe*, the one moving; *eshe*, you have said; *abadoⁿ*, it is said.
37. *Wi'toⁿthiⁿ*, I first; *i*, mouth; *ithagite*, with I touch; *athiⁿhe*, the one moving; *thoⁿzha*, nevertheless.
38. *Zhiⁿga'*, little ones, children.
39. *Noⁿ'de*, heart; *giudoⁿ*, delighted; *x̄ti*, verily; *awa'gipaxe*, I make for my own; *athiⁿhe*, the one moving; *eshe*, you have said; *abadoⁿ*, it is said, traditionally.

Free translation

1. He! Government you made for yourselves, it was accomplished—*eçka'!*
2. Rules you made that shall control action—*eçka'!*
3. Even chiefs—*eçka'!*
4. He! Soldiers you have selected among yourselves—*eçka'!*
5. He! Great male wolf, in ages past you were "moving"—*eçka'!*
6. Of soldiers you were a war leader, it has been said—*eçka'!*
7. Male crow, in ages long ago you were "moving"—*eçka'!*
8. Of soldiers you were a war leader, it has been said—*eçka'!*
9. Where were congregated our desire (the herds of buffalo), you went—*eçka'!*
10. They (the herds) were gathered leeward, where the wind blows you walked, it is said—*eçka'!*

11. Great gray wolf, thou wert then "moving"—*eçka!*
12. Your pale face, it is said, peered over the hill again and again as you walked—*eçka!*
13. Your long tail blown by the wind to one side as you passed on, it is said—*eçka!*
14. He! Male crow, you long ago were "moving"—*eçka!*
15. The frayed feathers ruffled at your neck as you walked, it is said—*eçka!*
16. The people cry Ho! in admiration, as you walk, so it was said—*eçka!*
17. You shouted again and again back to them from the distance, it is said—*eçka!*
18. Turning yourself again and again as joyfully you walked to leeward on the broad land, it is said—*eçka!*
19. The herds of animals—*eçka!*
20. Verily you cause them to come near—*eçka!*
21. This have you done, so it is said—*eçka!*
22. He! Herds of animals—*eçka!*
23. Not even one may escape—*eçka!*
24. Verily, close together do they stand—*eçka!*
25. Slaughtered were they—*eçka!*
26. He! Many were carried home—*eçka!*
27. The field lay vast, it is said—*eçka!*
28. Ever toward leeward, O wolf—*eçka!*
29. For that purpose you walk—*eçka.*
30. A deserted place immediately becomes the scene of your activity—*eçka!*
31. The buffalo lying dead—*eçka!*
32. In great flocks here and there crows gather together—*eçka!*
33. Verily, what is yours you eat and the food gives you new life—*eçka!*
34. The remainder lay scattered, that which was left you ate—*eçka!*
35. Verily, like to this do I desire for my children—*eçka!*
36. Verily, I would make them to rejoice, that do I strive to bring to pass—*eçka!*
37. Although I have first touched food with my mouth—*eçka!*
38. Nevertheless, the little ones, the children—*eçka!*
39. Their hearts would I make glad, with my power (moving), so you said, it is said—*eçka!*

In this ritual, the wolf and the crow address the people as "little ones," "children," and by their help bring the herds near to furnish food and sustain life. The office of "soldier" on the tribal hunt made it possible for all the people, old and young, rich and poor, to be "made glad" by abundant food.

The refrain, *eçka*, is equivalent to "I desire," "I crave," "I ask or pray for." It is ritualistic and responsive to that which precedes. Each line is not complete in itself, yet it conveys the picture, or a part of the picture, of the help offered once and for all time by the wolf and the crow and tends to impress on the warrior his dependence on these supernatural helpers. In line 5, and again in line 7, the wolf and the crow are said to be "moving" in a time long past. This use of the word "moving" brings the crow and the wolf into mythical relation with Wakoⁿda the power that "moves," that gives life to all things; the time when these creatures were "moving" was in the distant past and their action had in it something of the creative character.

The ritual also perpetuates the story of the time when the office of "soldier" (those who were to guard the people and regulate the hunting) was created, as well as the mythical promise of the crow and

the wolf to help men in battle and in the hunt. To preserve the story of this association and promise, the war ornament, "the Crow," was devised. The Ponca and the Omaha claim to have been joint originators of this insignia, which has since been adopted by other tribes.

The following was told by a Ponca chief (pl. 57), more than ten years ago:

It is said that when the Crow came to offer his services to the people he had in his bill a *wahin'çon*—a ball of white down from the brant. This he laid before the leader of the people as a token of his ability to fulfill his promise of help.

When the leader of a war party wishes to practise augury to ascertain whether or not he will be successful, he relies on the wolf or the crow to reveal to him future events. The following story is told of Shu'degaxe and Mixa'çka, who years ago led a party against the Pawnee:

"One evening a wolf was heard howling and Shu'degaxe listened to it for a long time, when he said to his warriors: 'The wolf which you have heard howling has promised me success if I would vow to feast with him. I now give such vow and I will eat a part of the flesh of any enemy we may slay.' In two days the war party encountered the Pawnee and completely routed them. Many Pawnee were killed and many of their horses taken. True to his vow, Shu'degaxe took a bit of the flesh of an enemy he had himself slain and in the presence of his men undertook to keep his word. After much singing (which is often done before a great undertaking) the leader dropped the bit of human flesh down his throat, but threw it up after writhing in pain. He made two unsuccessful attempts. At last he wrapped the bit of flesh in a piece of buffalo fat, when he was able to keep it down.

Another story is told of a warrior to whom the crows offered their services as scouts. "These crows," said the leader to his men, "have promised to go in search of our enemy. They say that they want to feast on human flesh. They will return to us on the morning of the second day after this. Notice how yonder crow is marked; one feather is missing from his right wing. By this mark you will recognize him on his return day after to-morrow." The birds returned on the morning set for the report. They gave to the leader even the number of the people he would encounter and how many were to be slain. It all came true and the war party returned successful.

These two, the crow and the wolf, offered their company to the people and it was for mutual aid. The crow and the wolf were to direct the people in finding enemies and game and the people were to make sure of killing so that the wolf and the crow could feast on the flesh left on the field of battle or in the chase.

THE FEATHER WAR BONNET

There was one ornament which stood for the social relation, the interdependence of men, and which was not directly connected with the supernatural. This was the imposing eagle-feather war bonnet (pl. 55). The right to possess and wear this regalia could be obtained only by the consent of a man's fellow-warriors. To be sure, the person to whom the right was given must have already received, publicly, war honors; but he must also have gained the respect of the leading men of the community.

The materials required to make the bonnet were gathered by the man who wished to possess it but its manufacture depended on the



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assistance of many persons. A sort of skull cap was made of dressed deer skin, with a flap hanging behind; a border of folded skin about the edge formed the foundation for the crown of golden eagle feathers, which were fastened so as to stand upright about the wearer's head. Each one of these feathers stood for a man; the tip of hair fastened to the feathers and painted red represented the man's scalp lock. Before a feather could be fastened on the bonnet a man must count his honors which entitled him to wear the feather and enabled him to prepare the feather for use in decorating the war bonnet.

As so many persons were required ceremonially to prepare the feathers to be used in making a war bonnet, the man who desired to have such bonnet prepared a feast and invited to his lodge his warrior friends; these partook of the feast and then counted their honors on the eagle plumes and so made them ready for use. Formerly only the man who had taken a scalp could put the tip of red hair on the eagle feathers, so that every feather thus ornamented stood for two honors—the feather itself for one of the first three war honors, the tip for the taking of a scalp. When a warrior counted his honors, he held up the feathers which were to represent these honors, saying: "In such a battle I did thus," etc. At the conclusion of the recital the feather was handed to the man who was manufacturing the bonnet, who put the feather in the proper place. As many of these bonnets contained fifty or more feathers, and as each feather must have an honor counted on it and no honor could be counted twice, the manufacturer of a war bonnet required a number of helpers and the task took considerable time—often several days. Strips of ermine, arranged to fall over the ears and cheeks, were fastened to the bonnet. The ermine represented alertness and skill in evading pursuit. A bird or some other symbolic object could be fastened on the crown of the skull cap. This object was generally some feature of the man's vision, through which he believed he received supernatural aid in time of need. Sometimes the flap was embroidered with porcupine work or painted with symbolic designs. Songs were sung during the making of the war bonnet. Before the advent of horses the flap of the bonnet did not extend below the waist, thus avoiding interference with walking or with the wearing of other ornaments, as "the Crow;" but after horses became plentiful the flap was extended to a man's feet when standing; when the man was mounted, it lay on the back of the horse.

A noted warrior might arrange to have a war bonnet made in order to present it to a valiant and well-known man who had a son. Such an act was regarded as a great honor to the family, and in acknowledgment valuable gifts would be bestowed on the donor. The presentation to the son was a challenge to him to achieve honors similar to those won by the warrior who made the gift. As such

honors could be gained only by risking one's life, when the young man was brought into his father's lodge to receive the bonnet the women of the family gathered about the lodge and as he entered wailed for him as dead, cutting their hair and making all the demonstrations of grief in recognition of the dangers he must face to make good the challenge of the war bonnet.

The war bonnet was worn on ceremonial occasions and sometimes in defensive warfare when the village or camp was attacked. A story was told by an old man of an adventure in his youth. A party of warriors had gone out to defend the village and one of the leading men had worn his war bonnet. In the fight he found the bonnet in his way, so, calling a lad, he bade him take the bonnet back to the village. The boy did so and entered the camp wearing the war bonnet, amid the laughter and jokes of the people. Being a fun-loving lad, he paraded about and played the part of a victorious warrior to the amusement of all; as the event proved, he was really the herald of a notable victory by the Omaha.

In former times a man could not deck his leggings or shirt with a fringe of hair except by the consent of the warriors. Honors had to be counted on the strands of hair as on the feathers used in making a war bonnet, therefore each lock or tuft of the fringe stood for a war honor and no honor could be counted twice. It was this custom that made garments of this character so highly valued. The hair for the fringe was generally furnished by the man's female relatives. Each of the locks forming the fringe usually sewed in a heading of skin, frequently ornamented with quill work.

WEAPONS

The weapons of the Omaha were the bow and arrow, the shield the club, and the spear.

The club, called *zhon'pa'zhna* (fig. 99), was generally made from the root of the ash. It was well shaped, and not infrequently a weasel was carved on top above the rounded end.

The lance, or spear, was called *mon'dehi* (*mon'de*, "bow;" *hi*, "tooth"). This name bears out a tradition that in ancient times the Omaha used to attach a blade to one end of the bow, to be used like a bayonet, for thrusting.

It is said that different kinds of wood have been tried in making the bow. Hickory proved to be worthless, as changes in the weather caused it to warp or to lose its strength. Experience has shown that ash and ironwood make the best bows. These woods polish easily and the bows made from them remain true. When these were not available a kind of elm was used, "that having the drooping branches." The parts of the bow which were to be bent, were well oiled and bent into shape by

pressure with the feet while held over live coals. A bow strung without being shaped in this manner would break the string, however strong. The head of the bow was bent or curved more than the foot. A good bow should be slightly curved at the middle of the back. Two notches (*ma'çki*) were made on the head of the bow and one on the foot. The stringing and unstringing of the bow were termed *uno'n'xpe*, "to loosen," a word applied only thereto. To preserve the elasticity and strength of the wood, the unstrung bow was bent backward before returning it to the sheath. The bow and the bowstring were kept always dry; moisture weakens a bow and causes the string to pull apart.

The bowstring was made from the sinew that lies on the muscle beside the backbone of the buffalo or the elk from the shoulders to the base of the spine. This sinew was prepared by soaking it over night in water slightly mixed with glue, after which the sinew was stripped into strands and all the water squeezed out. A strand com-



FIG. 99. War club (native drawing).

posed of many threads was measured off twice the length of the bow. A pole having on it a small branch was driven into the ground and the strand looped over this branch. The maker of the bowstring took the ends one in each hand, twisted them between his fingers, and swung them twisting until the two strands tightened; then he twisted the cord firmly together into one string and knotted the ends. A loop remained where the cord was over the branch on the pole; this loop was for the head notches on the bow; the other end was left free for convenient adjustment. The bowstring was called *mo'n'de ko'n*, literally, "the bow tendon." Every man kept two strings for his bow—one fastened on the bow, the other carried in the quiver (fig. 100) for use in emergencies.

Dogwood and ash saplings were used in making arrow shafts. The first process in making arrows was to whittle the shafts down to a proper size; they were then hung over the fire for seasoning. Next, all the knots in the wood were cut out or scraped down level

with the surface and the shafts rounded on a sandstone. In later times two pieces of perforated tin were used for this purpose. Fine sand was formerly employed to polish the shafts; later sandpaper



FIG. 100. Quiver.

became the substitute. The length of the shaft was the distance from the inside of the elbow of the left arm to the tip of the middle finger of the left hand and from the tip of this finger over the back

of the hand to the wrist bone. This measurement was made on the wood itself; no string or other device was used. The shaft was then cut at this length and a notch was made, called *moⁿi'taxe zhoⁿka* (*moⁿ*, "arrow;" *itaxe*, "tip;" *zhoⁿka*, "branched or forked"); after that a slit, *moⁿ'hideugthe* (*moⁿ*, "arrow;" *hide*, "shank;" *ugthe*, "to insert"), was made to receive the shank of the arrowhead. Into this slit the arrowhead was inserted, and fastened with sinew soaked in glue. The sinew was dried by the use of burnt mica, which was called *takoⁿ'içoⁿthe*, a descriptive term meaning "whitening for the sinew." The glue (*hiⁿpa*) used with the sinew and to fasten on the feathers was made by boiling horn, turtle shell, or rawhide. The ends of the feathers used in arrowshafts were wound around smoothly and closely with sinew soaked in glue water, *hiⁿpani* (*hiⁿpa*, "glue;" *ni*, "water"). Burnt mica was used for whitening as well as for drying the sinew. The arrow maker took pride in finishing his work neatly and without soiling the sinew. After the arrowheads were attached, waving lines or grooves were made along the length of the shafts. This was done in order to prevent the wood from springing back to its natural bent and not, as has sometimes been stated, to allow the blood to flow along the arrowshaft, or for a symbol of the lightning. Arrowshafts were straightened by passing them through a hollow bone.

There were three kinds of arrows, all which were spoken of by the general term *moⁿ*, "arrow". Two were known by descriptive names: (1) Arrows having heads of flint or stone were used for big game and for defensive warfare. These were always spoken of simply as *moⁿ*. (2) *Hide'gapai* (*hide*, "foot;" *gapai*, "sharpened"). These arrows had no heads; the foot was sharpened. They were used for small game—as squirrels, rabbits, and prairie chickens, and also by both men and boys in practising to secure skill in aiming. Shooting at a mark for stakes (*moⁿki'de ikikoⁿ*—*moⁿ*, "arrow;" *kide*, "shoot;" *ikikoⁿ*, "gamble with each other") was a common mode of gambling. The stakes were usually arrows. In such games many men might engage in the sport. The first player set up the mark, provided there was no boy to serve the party. If there was a boy, he stuck an arrow into the ground at the distance agreed on, generally 200 to 400 yards; this mark was called *washa'begthe* (*washa'be* "a dark object;" *gthe*, "thrust in" the ground). The aim was to strike the arrow where it entered the ground. If an arrow fell beyond the mark, the marksman lost. A stick was used to measure the distances. When the stakes in a shooting match were goods (robes, saddles, etc.) or horses, then only two men could contest. An arrow set up in the ground was always the mark. (3) *Hide'tashe* (*hide*, "foot;" *tashe*, "knobbed"). These arrows were without heads; the shafts were knobbed at the foot. They were used by boys only, generally to kill birds.

For the purpose of identifying the slayer of an animal when hunting, arrows were always decorated in pairs. This custom gave rise to an expression—*moⁿuriⁿ'doⁿ* (literally, *moⁿ*, “arrow;” *wiⁿ'doⁿ*, “together, or united”)—to indicate that things were similar. Among the Omaha the decoration of an arrow was always individual; there was no mark common to a gens. Among the Ponca, as has already been mentioned, certain gentes painted their arrows in a prescribed manner. Sometimes arrows were identified by the shape or color of the stone arrowhead, shaped as a “turtle's tongue,” red, black, or white in color. An unfinished arrow shaft was called *moⁿ'ça*.

Feathers for arrows bore the exclusive name *itha'thage*, an old term. The act of putting on the feather was spoken of as *a'tha*, also an old term. Before the advent of horses bows and arrows were made long, in order to insure accuracy. After the horse came into use the hunter could shoot at closer range and a shorter bow was employed; moreover, the long bow was inconvenient to handle on horseback.

The quiver (*moⁿ'zhiha*), figure 100, was made of skin; a broad strap fastened at the open end and worn over the shoulder served to hold it. Quivers made from otter skins and ornamented with quills or beads were used on dress occasions.

The shield, which was circular, was made of rawhide cut from the shoulder of the buffalo bull. The piece intended for use was held over a fire, where it was allowed to shrink gradually, meanwhile being pulled until there was no spring left in the hide. It was then cut to the proper size. The cover was made of deer skin painted to represent a vision that had come to the owner when fasting.

CONTENTS OF THE TENT OF WAR

In June, 1884, the entire contents of the Tent of War were committed to the writers by the surviving hereditary keeper, to be placed in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, where they now are. The ceremonies connected with these articles had become obsolete owing to the changed conditions brought about by the occupancy by white settlers of the country adjacent to the Omaha reservation; yet the objects were regarded with respect and a sort of superstitious awe. The older men remembered the days when these articles were potent in the tribal life; the younger generation knew of them vaguely, but had inherited a fear of their mysterious power. The keeper, *Moⁿ'hiⁿthiⁿge* (fig. 101), found the charge of these things a serious care and anxiety. He kept them in a tent near his little house, and as he was becoming old and feeble he feared they might inadvertently suffer harm and the tribe be supernaturally punished for the accident. Because of these fears and of the changes that had already taken place and were still going on—as, that chief-

tainship in the tribe had been abolished; the buffalo had been exterminated, so that hunting was no longer possible; wars were at an end; the tribal lands were being divided into individual holdings—he was brought to realize in no uncertain way that the past life of the people was irrevocably gone. Face to face with these evidences of change, the old man met the situation with thoughtful dignity. With his own hands, still as hereditary keeper, he laid away his sacred charge

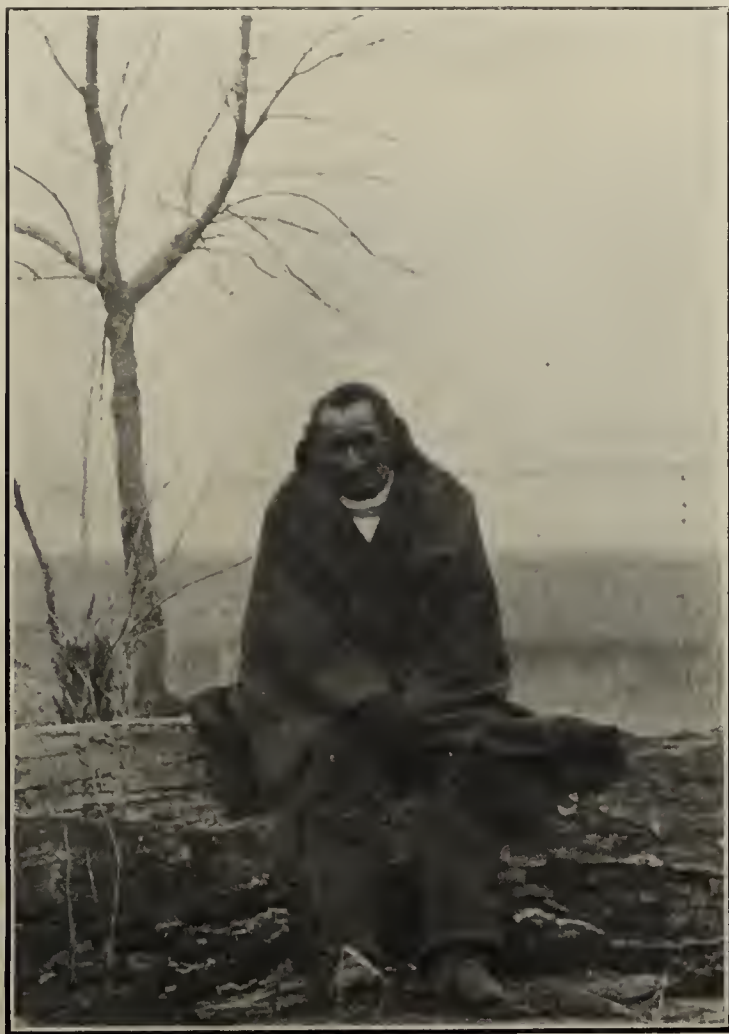


FIG. 101. Mo'hiathige, last keeper of the Tent of War.

where the articles, no longer needed to promote tribal unity and tribal safety, would be made to serve the study and the preservation of the story of his people, saying, as he did so:

These sacred articles have been in the keeping of my family for many generations; no one knows how long. My sons have chosen a path different from that of their fathers. I had thought to have these articles buried with me; but if you will place them where they will be safe and where my children can look on them when they wish to think of the past and of the way their fathers walked, I give them into your

keeping. Should there come a time when I might crave to see once more these things that have been with my fathers, I would like to be permitted to do so. I know that the members of my family are willing that I should do this thing and no others have a right to question my action. There are men in the tribe who will say hard things of me because of this act but I think it best to do as I am doing.

It was late in the afternoon when the writers went to get the articles. The old man was sitting alone outside his dwelling. He had carefully gathered the contents of the Tent of War and was taking his last look at them in the fading light. Then with his own hands and with quiet haste, he lifted them into our wagon. "They are all there," he said, and turned away as the round moon rose over

the valley. This act of Moⁿ'hiⁿthiⁿge drew a sharp line that marked the close of a chapter in Omaha history. It is fitting that the name of one who was brave enough to draw that line should be remembered with honor and sympathy for his courageous act.

THE SACRED SHELL

On the reorganization of the tribal government the rites of defensive warfare were placed in charge of the We'zhiⁿshte gens. This gens had probably held an important place in the previous tribal order to have had given to it such prominence in the



FIG. 102. Bag containing Sacred Shell.

new order. It is likely that the earlier prominence was connected with the rites that were the special care of this people—rites which must have commanded a tribal recognition—and the ancient name of the gens, judging from tribal custom, probably referred to these rites. Both the name and the rites which gave the name have long been lost, but out of the dim past a ceremonial object has come down as a heritage of the gens—the Sacred Shell. No one knew what it stood for, but everyone held it in superstitious dread; in all the tribe there was not a person exempt from fear of this shell. The superstitions that clung about it indicated that its rites related to the cosmic forces and to fundamental beliefs relative to life and death. When it became known in the tribe that the keeper of the Tent of War had

committed its contents to the writers, men drove 30 and 40 miles to give cautions concerning the handling of this shell, as dire consequences would follow any carelessness or undue freedom in touching it.

The shell was encased in a sort of leather bag made from a piece of dressed skin, folded together, the sides fringed and the fringe braided so as to form the receptacle. This bag (fig. 102; Peabody Museum no. 37557) was always hung in the tent, never being allowed to touch the ground. It was believed that should this happen a terrible heat would follow, so great as to dry up the water courses and kill the fish. Mankind would hardly survive the result of the impact of the shell and the earth. When the tribe moved out on the buffalo hunt the Tent of War with its contents was always taken along. The shell was carried on the back of a boy. Promising children in the gens were selected for this purpose, in the hope that the shell might influence the boy's dreams or visions and so bring good fortune not only to the lad but through him to the tribe. He was given a pointed stick with which to steady himself as he walked and when he sat down to rest he stuck the stick into the ground and hung on it the bag containing the shell. If by any chance, as sometimes happened, he tripped and fell as he ran, he must



FIG. 103. Bag opened to show Sacred Shell.

at once utter this prayer: *Hei! moⁿnoⁿ'bthiⁿ*, "I have strayed" (as if one were lost in the woods). The words are applied to an action which may bring disaster, but which is accidental. This acknowledgment on the part of the boy was supposed to avert the consequences which would happen if the shell should touch the ground. Men who in their youth had carried the shell have told of having fallen, thus causing the bag containing the shell to strike stones, but because of this prayer no trouble followed.

When the bag containing the shell was examined at the Peabody Museum, it was opened by being cut at the back, as the skin was too stiff and old for the ends to be unbraided and it was desirable to preserve the outward appearance of the bag. It was photographed

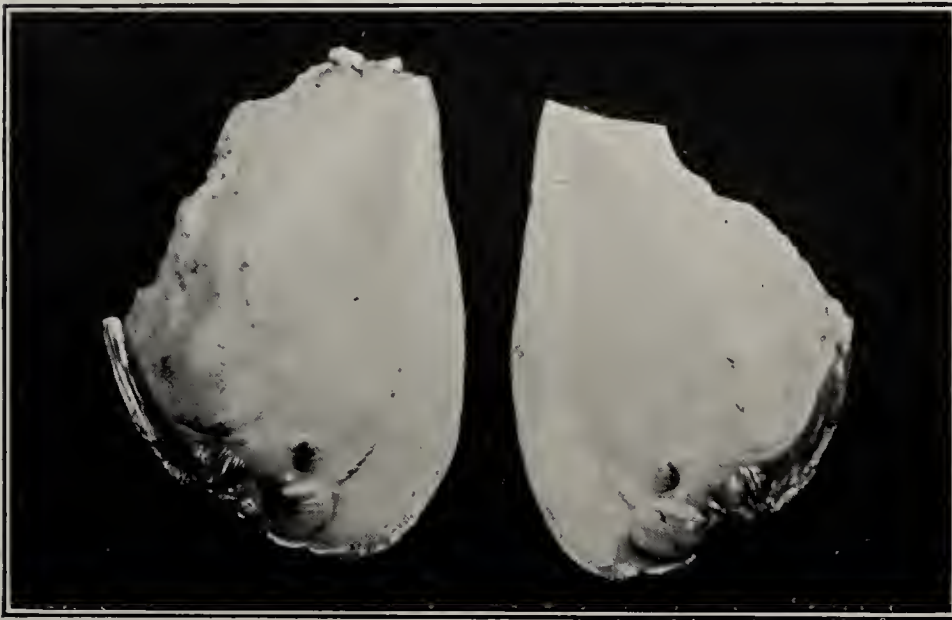
before anything was disturbed. (Fig. 103.) The bag is about 6 inches wide and 9 inches deep. There are indications of a reddish stripe having been painted down the center from the top to the bottom. There appeared to be an inner bag, which was wrapped about four times with strips of tanned skin three-fourths of an inch wide having sprays of cedar tied in. This lining seems to have been painted



FIG. 104. Sacred Shell and contents.

red next the shell. On being removed, the shell and its undisturbed contents were photographed. (Fig. 104.)

The shell (pl. 58 and fig. 104; Peabody Museum no. 47822) was found to be a *Unio alatus*, a species that occurs in the Ohio, Missouri, and northern Mississippi valleys and in the Great Lakes; hence it is not probable that it came to the people from an outside source. The shell is not entire. "The winglike projection which extends



THE SACRED SHELL

from the beak of the shell had been broken or cut away; the surface had been rubbed down." It is possible that the condition of the shell may be due to human agency, although it may be accounted for otherwise—the break, by a fall on stones of the boy to whom the bag containing the shell was entrusted (an accident said to have occurred more than once during the last century), and the rubbed appearance, by the friction caused by long contact with the bag.

The contents (fig. 104) of the shell were wrapped in two pieces of matting, the warp of which is twisted vegetable fiber and the woof, rush. The outer matting is coarse and shows a selvage; the inner wrapping is of the same material, but of finer weave. Near the hinge of the shell was a scalp lock, tied with sinew and doubled over; beside it was a small skin receptacle, greatly compressed, containing a dark substance, probably earth, in which were a few seeds, fragments of what may have been grass, and some hairs. There is no tradition of this bag having been opened or of the shell having been exposed. The bag was said to contain a shell; nothing more concerning it was known.

Shells were formerly used to carry coals of fire. In the ancient ceremonies in which this shell had a part it may have served some such purpose either actually or symbolically. That it was connected with fire seems probable from the superstition that it could cause great heat. The fragments of cedar and the scalp would indicate some association with thunder and death. In the account of the Shell society (p. 509) it will be seen that the shell was connected with death and the continuation of life after death, as well as with water and the beginnings of life. Osage myths associate the shell with the introduction of life on the earth.

If additional light is ever thrown on this Sacred Shell of the Omaha tribe it will probably be the result of study of some of the cognate tribes, which may have preserved some tradition of a ceremony in which a shell of this kind was used.

THE CEDAR POLE

An ancient cedar pole (fig. 57) was also in the keeping of the We'zhiⁿshte gens, and was lodged in the Tent of War. This venerable object was once the central figure in rites that have been lost. In Creation myths the cedar tree is associated with the advent of the human race; other myths connect this tree with the thunder. The thunder birds were said to live "in a forest of cedars." The phenomenon of lightning striking a tree was explained as, "the thunder bird has lit on the tree." What, if any, relation existed between the rites connected with the Cedar Pole and those of the Sacred Shell can not now be ascertained among the Omaha. The fact that both

these relics of past ceremonials were in charge of one gens would seem to indicate some sort of connection.

This Cedar Pole was called Waxthe'xe, a name afterward transferred to the Sacred Pole in charge of the Hoⁿ'ga gens. The Sacred Pole symbolized the power of the chiefs and it is not improbable that the Cedar Pole stood for the power of Thunder, the god of war.

The Cedar Pole was 1 m. 25 cm. in length. To it was bound by a rope of sinew a similar piece of rounded cedar 61 cm. long called the *zhi'be*, or "leg." In the middle of the pole was bound another rounded piece of the wood, steadied by a third and smaller one, as three round sticks can be bound together more firmly than two. It is said that the pole typified a manlike being. As stated above, the lower piece was called "the leg," and it may be that the stick bound to the middle represented a club. The Thunder god, we are told, used a club for a weapon. One of the ritual songs used in the ceremony for awarding honors says:

Behold how fearful is he, your Grandfather.
He lifts his long club, fearful is he.

There is a tradition that in olden times, in the spring after the first thunder had sounded, in the ceremony which then took place this Cedar Pole was painted, with rites similar to those observed when the Sacred Pole was painted and anointed at the great tribal festival held while on the buffalo hunt. If this tradition is true, these ceremonies must have taken place long ago, as no indication of any such painting remains on the Cedar Pole. (See p. 229).

XI

SOCIETIES

There were two classes of societies among the Omaha—social and secret.

Membership in the social class was open to those able to perform the acts required for eligibility. To this class belong the warrior societies as well as those for social purposes only.

The secret societies dealt with mysteries and membership was generally attained by virtue of a dream or vision. Some of these secret societies had knowledge of medicines, roots, and plants used in healing; others were noted for their occult and shamanistic proceedings and furnish the only examples of such practices in the tribe.

There were no societies composed exclusively of women.

SOCIAL SOCIETIES

THE HETHU'SHKA

Among the societies of the social class one of the largest and most important was the Hethu'shka. Tradition and song indicate that this society was known when the Omaha, the Ponca, and their close cognates were living together as one tribe. Among the Omaha the ceremonies of the Hethu'shka formerly partook of tribal importance. The Ko'n'çe, or "Wind people," were the custodians of the two pipes sacred to the rites observed in the opening ceremonies when the members met together. There were occasions when the Hethu'shka members moved in a procession around the *hu'thuga* (tribal circle), following their two pipes, borne by their Ko'n'çe keepers. The office of keeping and filling the two pipes was hereditary in a family of the Ko'n'çe gens that to-day is represented by one surviving member. It is said that the object in establishing the Hethu'shka society was to stimulate an heroic spirit among the people and to keep alive the memory of historic and valorous acts. Thunder was the tutelar god of the Hethu'shka. The destructive power of the lightning, with its accompanying thunder and clouds so terrifying to man and beast, was recognized in the ceremonies and songs of this society. Among the Osage the Hethu'shka society is spoken of as the Ingtho'n'ushko'n, "those who partake of the nature of the thunder." The society is known not only to the close cognates but to the Iowa and Oto tribes as well.

During the last century or more the Hethu'shka has spread among other branches of the Siouan family; tribes differing in language and customs have adopted it, so to speak. Among these are the Pawnee, who, according to tradition, were at one time close allies of the Omaha; they still call the Hethu'shka by its Omaha name. They and other tribes, who, to this day, delight in dancing to the rhythmic cadence of its songs, have songs of their own composition; but all these songs follow the model of the original Omaha songs. Any tribe familiar with the Hethu'shka "dance" at once recognizes one of its songs no matter in what tribe the song was composed. It is important to note that, although the Hethu'shka has so wide a popularity, it is only in the tribe in which it originated that the religious rites and songs of the opening ceremonies are observed; outsiders omit these observances and make use only of the dramatic dance, the songs, and the feast that closes the gathering of the members.

The membership of the Hethu'shka in the Omaha tribe was restricted to warriors; it included chiefs and "privates" but all were on an equal footing. The one requisite for eligibility was that the man should have received public war honors before the Packs Sacred to War. Entrance to the society was by unanimous consent. A desirable candidate was "picked" by a member and invited to a meeting, where, if no one offered objection to his joining the society, he was accepted as a member from that time.

The officers of the society were the hereditary keepers of the Hethu'shka pipes held as sacred, a leader, and a herald. The leader held his office during lifetime or until he chose to resign. When the office became vacant, the aspirant for the position had to be a man high in the respect of the tribe and a successful leader in war. The candidate made known his desire for the vacant office by inviting the members to a feast. At the feast his candidacy was discussed and if no objection to him were raised, he was accepted as leader. The herald had to be a reputable warrior and possessed of a strong, clear voice so that his messages might be distinctly heard. At each meeting the leader appointed two or more young men to act as servants in attending to the fire and assisting in the ceremonies. These servants were sometimes young men who had not yet attained to the distinction requisite for membership and it was considered an honor to be thus chosen and permitted to serve.

The meetings were held at irregular intervals, usually about once a month, always in the same place—in the commodious dwelling of some member who was respected in the tribe. He did not contribute anything besides shelter to the society, except when he chose to be the host, or feast-giver. Some member always volunteered to act in this capacity for each meeting; it was the duty of the host to

furnish the requisite food for the "feast" and the tobacco for the pipes, though he could not fill these or prepare them for smoking, as that could be done only by the hereditary Ko'çe keeper. The host had also to prepare the black paint, made of charred box-elder wood mixed with water, and put it ready for use into a wooden bowl, the property of the society, kept for this purpose.

At the meetings of the society each member had his appointed place in the circle within the lodge. The leader, who must always belong to the highest grade of warriors, sat in the middle at the back part of the lodge, opposite the door. The men who were his equals in their grade of war honors sat next to him on his right and left; then came those of the next lower grade and so on, by grades, down to the door. The honors by which the places of the members were graded were those that had been publicly given the warriors at the Wate'giçtu (see p. 434). On each side of the entrance sat the servants appointed by the leader. Near the door on the right as one entered was the place set apart for the host or feast-giver of the meeting. Regardless of rank, the leader or anyone else had to leave his appointed seat and occupy this place on the evening when he acted as host.

The drum was placed at the left of the leader's seat. The men singers, two to four of whom used drumsticks, were grouped around it. Immediately behind the men sat a few women who possessed fine voices. This choir led in the singing of the songs, in which all the members, when not dancing, generally joined.

No clothing except the breechcloth was worn by the members and a long bunch of grass representing scalps the wearer had taken was fastened to the belt at the back. Later, but how long ago it is now impossible to ascertain, the members entitled to wear the scalps substituted therefor the bunch of long grass. In time this decoration became part of the Hethu'shka dress or regalia and as such was worn by all the members without regard to personal achievements. When the "dance" became known to the Dakota tribes and the Winnebago, the significance of the bunch of long grass having been forgotten, they gave the name "Grass dance," or the "Omaha dance," the latter name in recognition of the tribe from which the "dance" had been obtained. Each man painted himself in accordance with the directions given him at the Wate'giçtu and wore the decorations conferred on him at that public ceremony when he received his grade of war honors. The leader had to be of sufficient rank to be able to wear "the Crow" (see p. 441), a decoration of the highest order. Sometimes bells were tied about the legs and ankles, adding a sort of clicking, castanet accompaniment to the song and dance.

Not only were the members of the Hethu'shka chosen from among the brave men but the rules and influence of the society tended to enforce peace and harmony in the tribe. If a member became quarrelsome, a disturber of domestic or tribal affairs, the herald was sent to proclaim him to the people. He would give the man's name and say: "My friend, the door of the society is closed against you, that you may remain among the common people where such acts [naming his offense] are committed." This punishment was considered a great public disgrace.

When a meeting was to be held, all the belongings of the family were removed from the lodge for that evening and the place was left vacant for the society. The young men who had been appointed servants brought the necessary wood for the fire and the host sent the food to be cooked, for nothing was prepared beforehand. Just before the hour for assembling the host placed the bowl of paint and the two pipes, which had been filled and made ready for smoking, before the place belonging to the leader. Everything was then in readiness. When all the members were in their places the leader took up the bowl of black paint and the following song was sung by all present:

Mysteriously Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Double beat ♩ = 138 (Aria as sung in octaves)

Nu²-xthe-the-te hi-tha-ki-u² te thu²-ahi-de nu²-xthe-the te

Con Ped.

hi - tha ki - u² - te thu² - ahi - de nu² - xthe the - te

hi-tha ki-u-te thu-a-hi-de Nu-xthe-the-te hi-tha ki-u-te

thu-a-hi-de nu-xthe-the-te hi-tha-ki-u-te thu-a-hi-de

Nuⁿxthe the te hithakiuⁿte thuⁿahide
 Nuⁿxthe the te hithakiuⁿte thuⁿahide
 Nuⁿxthe the te hithakiuⁿte thuⁿahide
 Nuⁿxthe the te hithakiuⁿte thuⁿahide
 Nuⁿxthe the te hithakiuⁿte thuⁿahide

Literal translation: *Nuⁿxthe*, charcoal; *the te*, this standing before me; *hithakiuⁿte*, to paint or decorate himself with; *thuⁿahide*, I wearily wait, or wait until I am weary.

Free translation

Before me stands, awaiting my touch, coal-black paint,
 Heavy black clouds filling all the sky o'er our head.
 Upon our faces now we put the black, coal-black cloud.
 Honoring war, wearying for the fight, warriors' fight,
 Waiting to go where the Thunder leads warriors on.

The words were not intended to convey the idea that the members were literally tired of waiting for the wood to char in order that the ceremony of painting might take place, but rather that the desire for action was so strong within the warrior's breast that he was weary of the restraint, of the lack of opportunity that withheld him from heroic deeds of war. The music expresses more than the

words alone convey. It expresses not only the warrior's eagerness but the portentous stir that filled the air with flying birds when the black storm clouds arose. The song strikingly suggests both the psychical and natural influence of the symbolic thunderstorm, the visible sign of the warrior god. During the singing of the song the leader dipped the fingers of his right hand into the paint and touched his forehead, cheeks, and chin, and both sides of his chest. Then the bowl was passed by the servants about the lodge and as the song was repeated each member put on himself the black paint, the insignia of the Thunder god.

When all had been painted, the leader took the pipes, dropped some tobacco on the earth, lifted the stems upward, paused a moment, and slowly turned and pointed them to the north, east, south, and west; he then lighted the pipes and handed them to the servants while this prayer was sung:

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Religioso Double drum beat ♩ = 138 Song ♩ = 69

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes a vocal line (treble clef, key of D major, 6/8 time), a piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs, 4/8 time), and a drum part (bass clef, 4/8 time) with a pedal line. The second system continues the vocal and piano parts. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

Wa - koⁿ - da tha ni ga the ke, Wa - koⁿ - da tha ni
 ga the ke Wa - koⁿ - da tha ni ga the ke E -



Wako^{n'}da thani ga the ke
 Wako^{n'}da thani ga the ke
 Wako^{n'}da thani ga the ke
 Eha thani hiⁿga we tho he thoe
 Wako^{n'}da thani ga the ke
 Wako^{n'}da thani ga the ke
 Wako^{n'}da thani ga the ke
 Eha thani hiⁿga we tho he thoe

Literal translation: Wako^{n'}da, the power that moves and gives life; *thani*, modification of *nini*, tobacco; *ga*, here; *the*, this; *ke*, something long—indirect reference to the pipe; *eha*, now; *hiⁿga*, modification of *iⁿga*, to draw with the lips, as in smoking.

The indirect reference to the pipe indicates that the article is unimportant, a mere vehicle, the real offering being the tobacco smoke.

Free translation

Wako^{n'}da, we offer this smoke,
 Wako^{n'}da, accept now our prayer,
 Let the smoke rise upward to thee,
 It bears our prayer, Wako^{n'}da, to thee.

The words and music of this song are in marked contrast to the one that preceded. The descriptive character and the impatience expressed in the opening song here give place to stately measures in which the thoughts of the members are turned from the objective display of the Thunder gods toward the invisible Wako^{n'}da, the directive life force which permeates nature and all forms of life. The beat of the drum is in 4/8 time while the music is in 6/8 time. The contrasting rhythm and syncopation express the restraining influence of the rite.

The pipes were passed in the following order: One pipe was started at the door and was smoked by all seated on the half of the circle between the left side of the entrance and the leader. The other was started with the leader and ended with the member at

the right side of the door. As the pipes were passed among the members, the ascending smoke carried with it each warrior's appeal, voiced in the prayer to the invisible Wakoⁿ'da. With this rite the opening ceremonies of the Hethu'shka came to a close.

Shortly after, the choir began a song in fast time and whoever was so inclined arose, dropped his robe in his seat, and stepped forth. Then, in a conventionalized pantomime he acted out one of his experiences in war from which he had gained a public war honor at the Wate'giçtu. A good dancer was light of foot and agile. A variety of steps was taken; the foot was brought down on the ground with a thud, making a synchronous accompaniment to the resonant drum beat and the voices of the singers; the limbs were lifted at sharp angles; the body was bent and raised with sudden and diversified movements, as in a charge, or as if dodging arrows or averting blows from weapons. In all this dramatic presentation of an actual scene there was not a motion of foot, leg, body, arm, or head that did not follow the song in strict time, yet keeping close to the story that was being acted out. The throb of the drum started the pulses of the spectator and held him to the rhythm of the scene as the eye followed the rapid, tense action of the dancer, while the ear caught the melody which revealed the intent of the strange drama, so full of color, movement, and wild cadences. The intense character of the dance made it impossible to sustain it for any considerable time; therefore the dance and song, although the latter was repeated, were always short. Rest songs, slower in time, followed a dance and during these songs the dancers sat muffled in their robes, often dripping with perspiration and panting to recover their breath.

When the food was ready, two men each of whom had broken the neck of an enemy, were designated by the leader to act as servers. Then the choir began the song that was the ceremonial call to the feast, to which the two men danced.

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Smoothly ♩ = 66

U-ha the-te ni-de tho U-ha the-te ni-de tho

Con Ped.

Iⁿ - da - ku - tha ni - de tho U - haⁿ the - te ni - de tho - he

Repeat ad lib.

e Iⁿ - da - ku - tha ni - de tho he tho

Uhoⁿ thete nide tho
 Uhoⁿ thete nide tho
 Iⁿdakutha nide tho
 Uhoⁿ thete nide tho he
 Iⁿdakutha nide tho he tho

Literal translation: *Uhoⁿ*, the food now cooking, the feast; *thete*, this; *nide*, it is cooked or ready to eat; *iⁿdakutha*, an ancient term meaning friend or comrade; *tho*, *he*, *tho*, vocables.

Free translation

The feast awaits you—come, eat,
 The feast is awaiting you,
 Members, comrades, come and eat.
 The feast awaiting stands before you, come,
 Members, comrades, come and eat! He tho.

Two sticks were used in serving, and the choicest pieces were given the bravest man present. After all had been served except the host, or feast-giver (for he observed the tribal custom of not partaking of the food he had provided for his guests), the leader arose and made an address, in which he thanked the feast-giver and discoursed on the need of food for the preservation of life. He told of the trials, dangers, and hardships encountered in securing food, so that the quest represented both a man's valor and his industry; and, since no one could live without it, food was a gift of the greatest value. Therefore no one should partake of it without thanking the giver and he

should not forget to include the giver's wife and children who relinquished to outsiders their share in this great necessity of the family. At the close of this speech each member partook of the food provided. When the repast was over, the member who had received the choicest part of the meat held up the picked bone and acted out in a dramatic dance the story of his exploit. Sometimes this exhibition was of a remarkable histrionic character.

When the time to disperse came, usually shortly after this dance, the choir began the song of dismissal. During the singing of the first part the members rose in their places and at the beginning of the second part the member who sat with the door to his right passed around the lodge and fire place and was the first to leave, each one following in his turn, all singing as they walked and passed out under the stars. When all had gone, the choir rose from about the drum and left the lodge in silence. This dismissal song is choral in character and yet has the rhythm of a march.

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

(Sung in octaves)

Ko - tha noⁿ-zhi^a the, Ko - tha noⁿ-zhi^a the Ko - tha noⁿ-zhi^a the E -

ha noⁿ-zhi^a tho the he the tho-e Ko - tha moⁿ-thi^a the Ko -



1

Kotha noⁿzhiⁿ the
 Kotha noⁿzhiⁿ the
 Kotha noⁿzhiⁿ the
 Eha noⁿzhiⁿ hi thame tho he thoe

2

Kotha moⁿthiⁿ the
 Kotha moⁿthiⁿ the
 Kotha moⁿthiⁿ the
 Eha moⁿthiⁿ hi thame tho he thoe

Literal translation: *Kōtha*, an archaic term for friend; *noⁿzhiⁿ*, arise or stand; *the*, vocable; *cha*, now; *hi thame*, they say; *cha he*, vocables; *thoe*, close of stanza; *kotha*, friend; *moⁿthiⁿ*, walk. The words indicate that the members address one another: "Friend, we stand; Friend, we will walk."

Free translation

1

We say, Friend, arise!
 Arise, Friend, we say.
 Arise, Friend, and stand.
 We say, Now arise and stand.

2

We say, Friend, now walk,
 Now walk, Friend, we say.
 We say, Friend, now walk.
 We say, Friend, now walk we away.

The songs of the Hethu'shka are of much interest musically and they have also an historic value. It was a rule of the society that when a member performed a brave deed the society was the authority to decide whether the name of the doer and the record of his deed should be preserved in song. No one would dare to have a song composed in his honor without this consent. When consent was given, the song was composed, learned by the members, and then became a part of the record of the Hethu'shka society. In rendering such a song,

when that part was reached where the warrior's name was mentioned the drum was not struck, that the name might be the more distinctly heard.

The words of the songs of the Hethu'shka were never intended to be complete in themselves, being for the sole purpose of recalling the incident or story which the song commemorated. Frequently a single word referred to a known tribal ceremony or recalled a teaching or precept, so that to the Omaha the word was replete with meaning and significance. For this reason a literal translation of the songs can not be made intelligible to an English reader; moreover, an attempt to make them thus intelligible would take from, rather than unfold, the meaning of the original and would rob the words of their native sense and dignity.

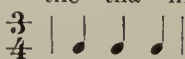
The songs of the Hethu'shka society number a hundred or more, each one commemorating some historical incident or bringing to mind the duties that devolved on the warrior members. Some of the songs reveal the ideals held up to inspire the conduct of the warriors. Although the songs belonged to the society, they were not restricted to the membership, non-members also being permitted to use them. By this custom the teachings set forth in the songs spread beyond the membership and so tended to enforce the Hethu'shka standards of conduct throughout the tribe.

The following eight songs are selected to show how the young men were stimulated to loyalty to the Hethu'shka society, to the tribe, to the family, and to perform acts which accorded with the Omaha ideal of a brave man:

FIRST SONG—BROTHERHOOD AND LOYALTY

(Sung in octaves)

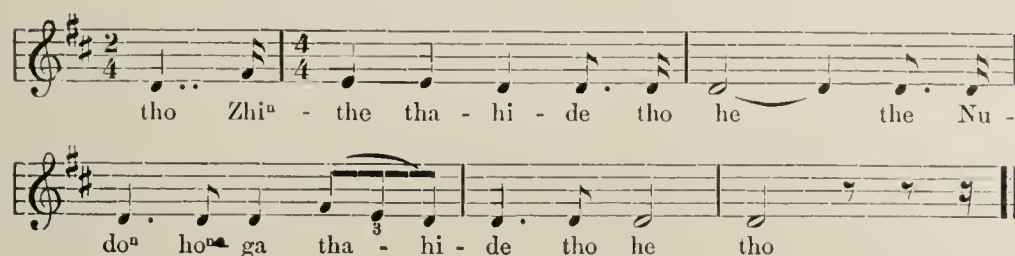
Zhi^a - the tha - hi - de tho he tha - hi - de Zhiⁿ

Drum $\frac{3}{4}$ | 

the tha - hi - de zhiⁿ the tha - hi - de zhiⁿ the tha - hi - de tho

he the Nu - doⁿ hoⁿ-ga tha - hi-de tho he tho - e Nu -

doⁿ - hoⁿ-ga ish-a - ga ma i - a - ba wiuⁿ wa - ka-be



1

Zhiⁿthe thahide tho he thahide
 Zhiⁿthe thahide zhiⁿthe thahide
 Zhiⁿthe thahide tho he the
 Nudoⁿhoⁿga thahide tho he thoe

2

Nudoⁿhoⁿga ishagama iaba
 Wiuⁿwaka be tho
 Zhiⁿthe thahide tho he the
 Nudoⁿhoⁿga thahide tho he tho

Translation: *Zhiⁿthe*, older brother; *thahide*, I longingly wait; *tho he*, oratorical close of sentence; *nudoⁿhoⁿga*, leader, captain; *ishagama*, old men (*ma*, a plural sign); *iaba*, they spoke; *wiuⁿwaka*, they refer to me; *he tho*, oratorical ending of sentence. "Elder brothers! I longingly wait [to share in the duties of the society]. Captains! the old men have spoken [of these duties]; their words now refer to me. Elder brothers! Captains! I longingly wait to take part in them [the duties]."

This song enforced the bond of brotherhood which bound together the members of the Hethu'shka. There were two ways in which the relation of brother could be expressed in the Omaha language: "Elder brother" and "younger brother." In the song the newly admitted member speaks, addressing the members of the society as "elder brothers." As war honors were requisite to membership, those whom he addressed were all men of more or less distinction. In his form of address he not only recognizes this but also his own inclusion in the brotherhood and proclaims his eagerness to do his part in maintaining the honor of the society and to share in its duties. By calling his "elder brothers" *nudoⁿhoⁿga*, "captains," he not only acknowledges their attainments but expresses his willingness to follow their leadership. In the second stanza he lays claim to share in the traditions of the society, that he may in his own career carry out the exhortations of the aged men whose words have been an inspiration to his "elder brothers" and "captains."

SECOND SONG THE HETHU'SIKA, REPRESENTING THE TRIBE, DEFY THE ENEMY

(Aria as sung in octave unison) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Song $\text{♩} = 60$

She thu i ba uⁿ - woⁿ ne - a ma she - thu i ba uⁿ

Drum beat $\text{♩} = 120$

Con Ped.

woⁿ ne - a ma tho he..... Ha - i - ba She- thu i ba uⁿ -

woⁿ ne - a ma tho he..... tho - e U - moⁿ - hoⁿ thiⁿ a -

wa - thi^a i^a thi^a ge she - a i ba do^a The thua - no^a - zhia

tha Du - da i ge tho he - - - tho

Shethu i ba uⁿwoⁿ neama
 Shethu i ba uⁿwoⁿ neama tho he
 Haiba shethu i ba uⁿwoⁿ neama tho he thoe
 U'moⁿhoⁿ thiⁿ awathiⁿ iⁿthiⁿge
 Shea i ba doⁿ thethu anoⁿzhia tha
 Duda i ge tho he tho

Literal translation: *Shethu*, there, yonder; *i ba*, coming; *uⁿwoⁿ neama*, are seeking for me; *tho he*, oratorical end of sentence; *haiba*, they are coming; *U'moⁿhoⁿ thiⁿ*, the Omaha; *awathiⁿ*, where is he?; *iⁿthiⁿge*, they are saying of me; *shea i ba doⁿ*, yonder they come; *thethu*, here; *anoⁿzhia*, I stand; *tha*, end of sentence; *duda*, hither; *i ge*, come; *tho he tho*, end of sentence.

In this song the Hethu'shka personifies the tribe. The enemy is pictured as advancing from all sides, angrily calling: "Where are the Omaha?" The Hethu'shka, the men in whom "the fear of death has been dispelled," shout back as one voice: "Here I stand; come hither!" While the song is defiant, there is also in it the note of tribal unity as against enemies.

THIRD SONG—THE HETHU'SHKA THE PROTECTORS OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN

(Sung in octaves)

Wi gon thoⁿ she ta be Wi gon thoⁿ she ta be

Wi gon thoⁿ she ta be Wi gon thoⁿ she ta be

hi - e the tho-a He thu - shka wa - shu - she she noⁿ

wi - e ta thiⁿ he Wi gon - thoⁿ she - ta - be he the tho

Wi^othoⁿ she ta be
 Wi^othoⁿ she ta be
 Wi^othoⁿ she ta be
 Wi^othoⁿ she ta be tho he tho
 Hethu'shka washushe shenoⁿ
 Wie ta thiⁿhe
 Wi^othoⁿ she ta be tho he tho

Literal translation: *Wi^othoⁿ*—*wi*, my; *gon*, abbreviation of *ithoⁿga*, younger brother; *thoⁿ*, a term of endearment; *she*, abbreviation of *eshe*, *shetabe*, you shall cry; *Hethu'shka*, the society; *washushe*, brave; *shenoⁿ*, of; *wie ta thiⁿhe*, so shall I be (the younger brother, who has become an *Hethu'shka*, speaks).

This song sets forth the obligation that rested on the Hethu'shka as the protectors of the women of the tribe, who were spoken of collectively under the term "sisters;" this term is implied in the song. It is the women, the "sisters," who "cry" to the "younger brothers." In the song the women are bidden to call on the younger brothers when danger threatens, the young and active men, "the younger brothers," those who were free from domestic responsibilities and at any moment could spring to the cry of sisters in trouble. The song tells who the younger brothers were to whom the sisters could always appeal when a foe came near—they were of the brave Hethu'shka, who were in duty bound to be ready at all times to guard the women and children of the tribe.

FOURTH SONG—MAN'S LIFE IS TRANSITORY

(Sung in octaves)

Moⁿ - zhoⁿ shoⁿ - ge - te tho moⁿ - zhoⁿ shoⁿ - ge - te tho he tho Hoⁿ -

thiⁿ - ge de shoⁿ ge te tho Moⁿ - zhoⁿ shoⁿ - ge - te

tho moⁿ - zhoⁿ shoⁿ ge - te tho he tho Shoⁿ -

ge - te tho he tho Hoⁿ thiⁿ - ge de shoⁿ ge te tho Moⁿ -

zhoⁿ shoⁿ - ge te tho moⁿ - zhoⁿ shoⁿ - ge te tho he e tho

Moⁿzhoⁿ shoⁿgete tho
 Moⁿzhoⁿ shoⁿgete tho he tho
 Hoⁿthiⁿge de shoⁿgete tho
 Moⁿzhoⁿ shoⁿgete tho
 Moⁿzhoⁿ shoⁿgete tho he tho
 Shoⁿgete tho he

Literal translation: *Moⁿzhoⁿ*, the land, the scene one beholds; *shoⁿgete*, shall long endure; *tho he tho*, oratorical end of sentence; *hoⁿthiⁿge de*, when I am gone.

This admonitory song was explained as follows: "The natural fear of death that is in every individual sometimes so overpowers a man that in a time of danger he may lose self-control and abandon to their fate those whom he is in duty bound to protect. To drive away the fear of death and to vitalize the courage so necessary to a man who by nature and by tribal law is obligated to protect his family and the families of the tribe, the example of men who had hazarded their lives in the performance of duty was held up by the society; the members were persistently taught that man's life is transitory, and being so it is useless to harbor the fear of death, for death must come sooner or later to everybody; man and all living creatures come into existence, pass on, and are gone, while the mountains and rivers remain ever the same—these alone of all visible things abide unchanged. The song represents the Hethu'shka as saying: 'I shall vanish and be no more but the land over which I now roam shall remain and change not.'"

FIFTH SONG—AN ADMONITION

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

(Aria as sung in octave unison)

Ka-ga wi-gi-çi-tha thi^a- he-no Wi-gi-çi-tha thi^a- he-no

Wa-zhi^a-ga shti thi thi^a - ge doⁿ wi- gi - çi-tha thi^a he no! Wa-koⁿ -

da da i doⁿ he - goⁿ ta thi^a he no! Ka-ga the - thu

hoⁿ - ba çi- tha thi^ahe no wi- gi - çi-tha thi^ahe no

Con Ped.

1



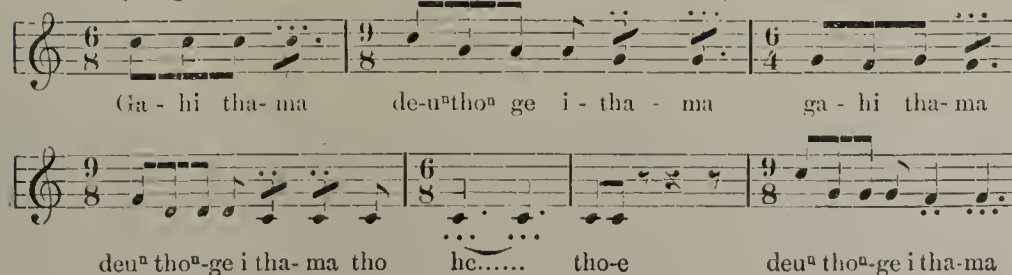
Kaga wigiçitha thiⁿhe no
 Wigiçitha thiⁿhe no
 Wazhiⁿga shti thithiⁿge doⁿ, wigiçitha thiⁿhe no
 Wakoⁿda da i doⁿ hegoⁿ ta thiⁿhe no
 Kaga thethu hoⁿbaçkitha thiⁿhe no
 Wigiçitha thiⁿhe no
 Wazhiⁿga shti thethiⁿge doⁿ wigiçitha thiⁿhe no
 Wakoⁿda da i doⁿ hegoⁿ ta thiⁿhe no
 Kaga thethu hoⁿbaçkitha thiⁿhe no
 Wigiçitha thiⁿhe no

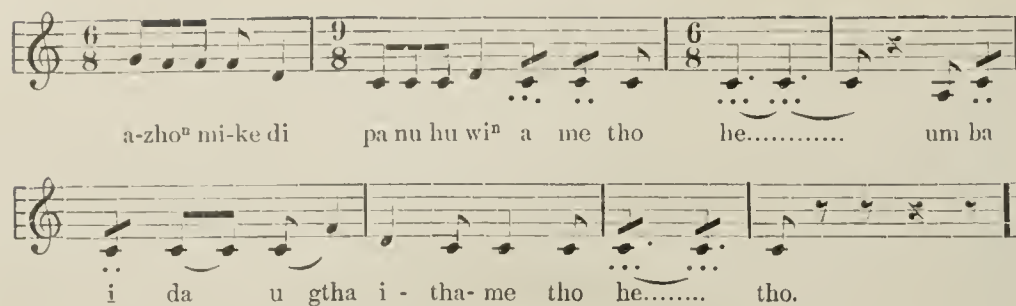
Literal translation: *Kaga*, friend; *wigiçitha*, I remember you who are mine; *thiⁿhe*, as life passes; *no*, vocable; *Wazhiⁿga*, a personal name; *shti*, you also; *thithiⁿge*, you are no more; *Wakoⁿda da*, the thunder gods; *i*, they; *doⁿ*, when; *hegoⁿ*, so shall my acts conform (to their decrees); *thethu*, here; *hoⁿbaçkitha*, I am angry.

The burden of this song is the remembrance by the Hethu'shka of comrades slain in battle and the strong desire for revenge stirred by such memories; but the men are reminded of the teaching that to the Thunder gods belongs the power to decree death and that man must conform his acts to the will of the gods even though his spirit chafes under the restraint. It is thought that the song is a very old one and that several names were used, one superseding another as the memory of the fallen hero faded. *Wazhiⁿ'ga*, who is mentioned in the song, was killed before the middle of the last century.

SIXTH SONG—NECESSITY FOR ALERTNESS

(Sung in octaves; dots indicate pulsations of the voice)





Gahithama deuⁿthoⁿge ithama
 Gahithama deuⁿthoⁿge ithama tho he thoi
 Deuⁿthoⁿge ithamaazho^a mikide panuhu wi^a me tho he the
 Umba ida ugtha ithame tho he tho

Literal translation: *Ga'hithama*, yonder far away (the voices I hear); *deuⁿthoⁿge*, they are saying something to me; *ithama*, they send (their words); *azho^a*, I lay; *mikide*, where; *panuhu*, owl; *wi^a me*, one speaks; *tho he the*, vocables; *umba*, morning; *ida*, comes; *ugtha*, shout; *ithame*, directed toward one.

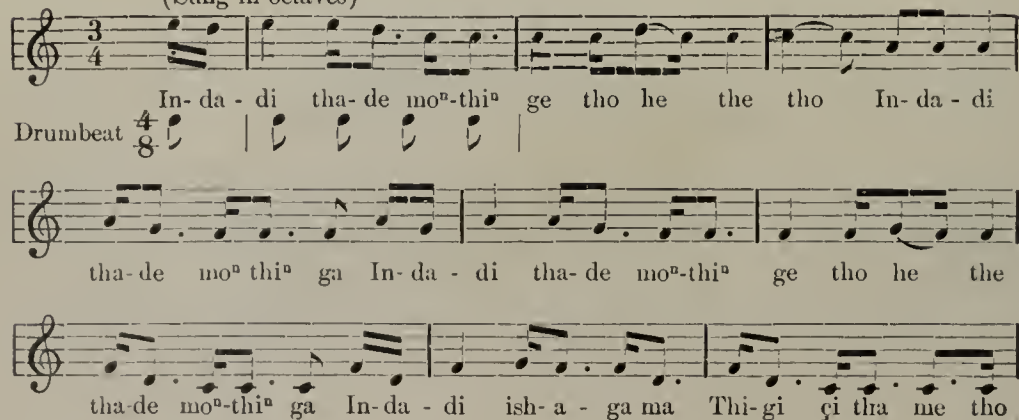
The song may refer to the time when the Omaha were a forest people; it preserves the memory of a timely discovery by which a disaster was averted and a victory won. The story runs as follows:

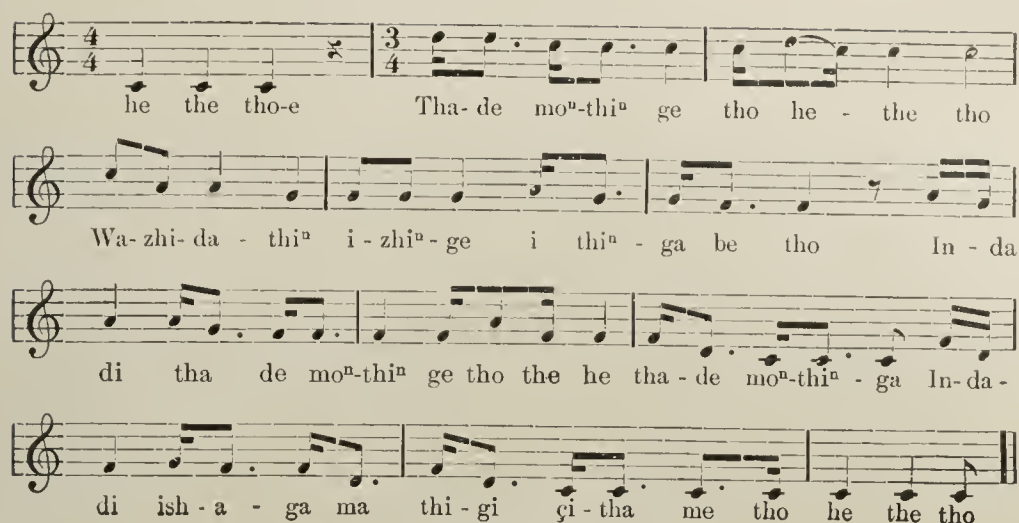
The Omaha were camped in a forest. One dark night a warrior was awakened by the hooting of an owl. He was an observant man, familiar with the cries of birds and the sounds made by animals. As he listened, he heard answering hoots in the distance. He thought the sounds not genuine, but imitations probably made by men. He arose silently, slung his quiver over his shoulder, took his bow, and crept among the trees. At a distance from the camp he detected signs of men—enemies. He stealthily made his way back and awakened the sleeping warriors of the tribe, who at once made themselves ready for defense. At daybreak the enemy rushed from all sides on the Omaha camp but the men were prepared and met the onslaught so successfully that few of their foes escaped.

The song commemorates the alertness of the man whose ear was trained to know the calls and cries of birds and holds him up as an example.

SEVENTH SONG—FIDELITY TO PARENTS

(Sung in octaves)





Indadi thade moⁿthiⁿge tho he e the tho
 Indadi thade moⁿthiⁿga
 Indadi thade moⁿthiⁿge tho he e the
 Thade moⁿthiⁿga
 Indadi ishaga ma
 Thigi ċithame tho he thoi
 Thade moⁿthiⁿ ge tho he the tho
 Wazhidathiⁿ izhiⁿge ithiⁿga be tho
 Indadi thade moⁿthiⁿge tho he the
 Thade moⁿthiⁿga
 Indadi ishaga ma
 Thigi ċithame tho he the tho

Literal translation: *Indadi*, my father; *thade*, call forth, proclaim; *moⁿthiⁿge*, go; *ga*, sign of command; *tho he e the tho*, vocables; *ishaga ma*, the aged men; *thigi ċithame*, they will remember you; *Wazhidathiⁿ*, personal name; *izhiⁿge*, his son; *ithiⁿga*, say of me.

The words of the song are few and impossible to render literally. They are mnemonics merely but they serve to carry the memory of the act which the song commemorates. The song is said to be very old and has been handed down through many generations, an indication of the estimation placed on the teaching it sets forth—the unselfish regard for the fame of his father shown by the hero of the story and song. The account runs as follows:

A young man, whose name, according to his expressed wish, is unknown, said to his comrades as he lay dying on the field of battle, where he had fought valiantly: “When you proclaim my death,” referring to the custom of calling out the names of the slain when the war party returned to the village, “speak not my name, but that of my father. Say, ‘The son of Wazhi’dathiⁿ is slain.’” Having made this request, the young man spoke again but as if he were addressing his father. He said: “Father, in my death shall the aged men remember you!” The aged men were the historians, so to speak; they were the ones who treasured the memory of tribal incidents and passed them on to younger generations. By this act of the son he caused his father’s name to be held in remembrance, but at the same time his own act was such that he was held up to future generations as an example of filial regard.

EIGHTH SONG—AGAHAMONⁿTHIⁿ

The song is eulogistic of a warrior hero.

(Sung in octaves)

She - thiⁿ the thiⁿ doⁿ - ba ge tho he the the She

thiⁿ the thiⁿ doⁿ - ba ga Ha doⁿ - ba ga Ha doⁿ - ba ge tho he

the the A - ga - ha - moⁿ - thiⁿ doⁿ - ba ge tho he the tho-e She

thiⁿ the thiⁿ doⁿ - ba ga Ha doⁿ ba ga Ha doⁿ - ba ge tho he

the the A - ga - ha - moⁿ - thiⁿ don - ba ge tho he the tho

Shethiⁿ the thiⁿ doⁿ ba ge tho he
 Shethiⁿ the thiⁿ doⁿ ba ga
 Ha! doⁿ ba ga Ha! doⁿ ba ge tho he the
 Agahamoⁿ thiⁿ doⁿ bage tho he thoe

Literal translation: *Shethiⁿ*, yonder; *the*, one; *thiⁿ*, going; *doⁿba*, behold; *ge*, *ga*, sign of command; *tho he the the*, vocables; *ha*, exclamation; *doⁿbage*, behold him; *Agahamoⁿthiⁿ*, personal name; *doⁿbage*, behold him.

The words are few, an exclamation bidding the people to behold, to look on A'gahamoⁿthiⁿ!, and would be quite unintelligible but for the story which gave rise to the song. A'gahamoⁿthiⁿ died in the early part of the last century. He was a man of great valor. He had won and received all the public war honors but he was not satisfied. At each meeting of the Hethu'shka society all through one fall and winter he would rise and declare: "During the next battle in which I take part I will drag an enemy from his horse or die in the attempt!" The following summer, when the Omaha were on the buffalo hunt, the tribe was attacked by the Yankton and a fierce encounter took place. True to his word, A'gahamoⁿthiⁿ charged the line, dragged a Yankton from his horse, and slew him. Almost immediately A'gahamoⁿthiⁿ was killed. In emulation of his courage the Omaha made a desperate charge on the Yankton and defeated them. This song was composed to commemorate the warrior who made good his promise and in so doing saved his people. Of A'gahamoⁿthiⁿ it was said, "He spoke a word and chased it to his death."

THE PU'GTHO^N

Chiefs only could become members of this society. It was, therefore, what might be called exclusive, as compared with the more democratic Hethu'shka, which was open to every man who had won public war honors. The songs of the Pu'gthoⁿ society were restricted to the members, outsiders not being permitted to sing them. The society ceased to exist some fifty years ago; the few members who were living twenty years ago clung to their exclusiveness and were chary of speaking about or singing the songs. For this reason only a few songs were obtainable, and also for another reason, which, it is said, had much to do with the final breaking up of the society. There was an officer in the organization known as the keeper of the songs. This office was held for life and it was the duty of the keeper to train his successor in the knowledge of the songs and their stories. Through a series of coincidences a superstition grew up that whenever the keeper sang one of the old songs death would visit his family. Members became loath, therefore, to take the responsibility of asking for the songs and whenever the request was made it was accompanied by large gifts; these gifts were offered the keeper to atone for any ill fortune that might come to him because he had sung the songs. As all the songs referred to the acts of chiefs, such songs were historical and were of tribal import. Moreover, these songs were necessary for the ceremonial dances that could be performed only at meetings of this society. On these occasions the chiefs wore their full regalia and headdresses made from the head of the buffalo, which partook of the nature of a mask. This was the only society among the Omaha in which headgear that approximated the character of a mask was used. It is said that the last time the keeper was prevailed on to sing an old song, while he was in the act of singing a Sioux warrior crept stealthily into the camp, made his way to the singer's tent, and there shot dead the daughter of the keeper. This event put an end to the meetings of the society. No one knows for whom or by whom the Pu'gthoⁿ songs were composed or the events they celebrated. Not a half dozen of the songs survive and of these the incidents which gave rise to them all but one are lost. The Pu'gthoⁿ songs are unlike the Hethu'shka songs in that they do not present contrasting rhythms, which so frequently occur in the latter. The rhythm is simple and forceful and the music wilder than in any other class of Omaha songs.

The songs that survive are warlike in character and their marked rhythm is attractive, but they are rather bombastic in both words and music, as became the expressions of a society composed exclusively of chiefs—men who had won distinction and achieved public recognition

and who enjoyed their power and position. These songs afford an interesting contrast to those belonging to the Hethu'shka society. While many of the latter's songs referred to war, as befitted a society of warriors, they did not emphasize personal distinction but generally appealed to the people through some heroic experience or by the expression of some valorous feeling, frequently of a noble and self-forgetful character. Their songs therefore cover a wider range of musical expression than do the Pu'gthoⁿ songs, which bear the stamp of self-consciousness and self-satisfaction.

FIRST SONG

PU'GTHO^N

Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Dignified ♩ = 76 (Aria as sung in octave unison)

Ya e hi tha e hi tha ya e hi tha e hi tha

f

Con Ped.

Ya e hi tha e hi tha ya e hi tha e hi tha

lu-da ku-tha wa ha-to-ga e - a-me Ya e hi tha e hi the

Ya e hi tha e hi the Ya e hi tha e hi the.....

Yae hi tha e hi the
 Yae hi tha e hi the
 Yae hi tha e hi the
 Yae hi tha e hi the
 Iⁿdakutha wahato^{nga} eame
 Yae hi tha e hi the
 Yae hi tha e hi the
 Yae hi tha e hi the

Literal translation: *Iⁿdakutha* is an old word meaning "friend;" *wahato^{nga}*, shield; *eame*, they say; *yae hi*, etc., are vocables.

It is probable that Wahato^{nga} was a personal name and the song plays on the meaning of the word. The meaning of the song was said to be that Wahato^{nga} was a friend and a shield to the people.

SECOND SONG

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

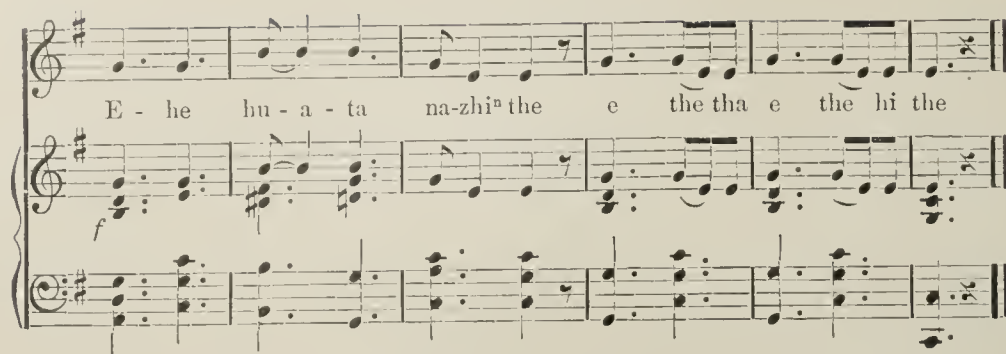
$\text{♩} = 84$ *Dignified*

Shu - pi da hu - a - ta na-zhiⁿ the Shu - pi - da hu -

ff Con Ped.

a - ta na-zhiⁿ the a - e the tha e the he the

p



Shupida huata nazhiⁿ the
 Shupida huata nazhiⁿ the
 Aethe tha ethehi the
 Ehe huata nazhiⁿ the
 Ethetha ethe hi the

Literal translation: *Shupida*, when I come; *huata*, I shout; *nazhiⁿ*, stand, meaning to stand in a given place; *ehe*, I say or command.

Free translation

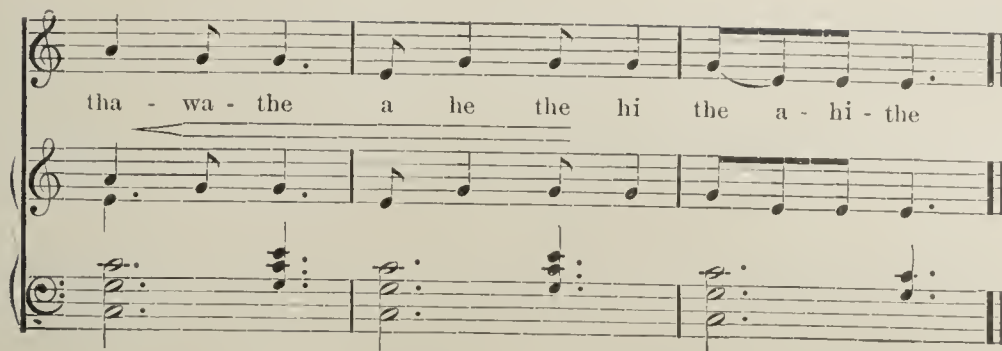
When I come to the battle I shout,
 I shout as I stand in my place,
 I shout my command as I stand.

THIRD SONG

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by John C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano
 ♩ = 100 *Dignified*

Shu - pe - da wea - wa - ta tha - wa - the Shu - pe -

da wea wa - ta tha - wa - the Pa - tha - ga - ta



Shupida weawata thawathe
 Shupida weawata thawathe
 Pathagata theawathe
 Ahe the hi the ahi the

Literal translation: *Shupida*, when I come; *weawata*, where; *thawathe*, do I send them; *pathaga*, to the hills or mounds (i. e., graves); *ta*, yonder; *thawathe*, all the rest are vocables.

Free translation

When I come, where do I send them?
 When I come, where do I send them?
 To their graves do I send them!

This song is very old, dating back perhaps to the time when the Omaha and Ponca were one tribe. The Ponca claimed the chief and told the following story: The people had been attacked and some women had been killed. The chief this song commemorates came late on the scene and by his valor turned the tide of the battle. He was armed with a long lance of ash wood, the end of which was pointed and hardened by grease and scorched in the fire. With this lance he rushed on the enemy, thrusting it between the legs of a man and tossing him in the air to be killed by the fall. His great strength and courage caused the death of many. The song was composed to commemorate his coming and by his spirited action sending the foe "to their graves."

THE KI'KUNETHE

The name Ki'kunethe (*ki'ku*, "to gather together;" *nethe*, "to build a fire") indicates the social purpose of the society—to gather about a fire. This society was composed of the leading men of the tribe. There was no formal membership. There was an officer, a sort of "chairman" or leader, who was chosen to preside. The gathering was for social pleasure and to talk over and discuss subjects of interest. There was a custom which may refer to some ancient forms once observed. The place in the middle at the back part of the lodge was always kept vacant. This was the seat that would be assigned to an honored guest. Before this empty

seat was placed a bowl or platter with a horn spoon. It was explained that this place was kept in recognition of Wakoⁿ'da, the provider and ruler of mankind, who was thus present with the men as they met together and talked. This society was given up about 1870, when the changes incident to contact with the white settlers and the Government had begun seriously to affect the tribe.

THE T'E GA'XE

T'e ga'xe (*t'e*, death; *gaxe*, to make, to simulate—to simulate death) was the name of an ancient social society that disappeared before the middle of the last century. This society had songs which were sung at its gatherings but they are lost, together with the customs once observed.

THE MOⁿWA'DATHIⁿ AND THE TOKA'LO

The Moⁿwa'dathiⁿ (Omaha term for Mandan) and the Toka'lo (meaning unknown) were social societies that were borrowed or introduced from the Dakota. Both of these societies ceased to exist about the middle of the last century. The meetings of both were public; they had a formal membership open to any man of good repute. The members sometimes paraded on horseback around the camp, moving to the rhythm of the songs of the society. Their dances were said to be dignified rather than dramatic—a statement borne out by the surviving songs. Whether the music was composed by the Omaha or came from the Dakota is not known. There are no words to the songs, a fact which makes it probable that the music was adopted from another tribe, the foreign words being dropped.

SECRET SOCIETIES

All of the secret societies had to do with mysteries and were spoken of by the general term Xu'be wachi, (*xube*, "sacred," "mysterious," "occult;" *wachi*, "dance"—that is, rhythmic movements of the body keeping time with the melody sung and also expressive of the emotion aroused by the music).

THE MOⁿCHU' ITHAETHE

Entrance into the Moⁿchu' ithaethe (*moⁿchu*, "bear;" *i'thaethe*, "to show compassion"—"those to whom the bear has shown compassion," by appearing in a dream or vision and giving power) society was by virtue of a dream of the bear. To this society belonged the knowledge of the practice of sleight of hand, as the thrusting of wands down the throat and similar performances. This knowledge was said to have been gained originally from the animals. This society should not be confused with the Waça'be itazhi (Bear sub-

gens) of the Tha'tada gens, which took part in the ceremonies held in the Sacred Tent in charge of the We'zhiⁿshte gens when the thunder first sounded in the spring. The two were distinct and unrelated. The Moⁿchu' ithaethe society has been extinct for half a century. The following song belonged to this society:

BEAR SONG

(Sung in octaves)

The thu a-ti a noⁿ-zhiⁿ i tha e he tha..... the -

thu tia noⁿ zhiⁿ i tha e he tha Xu - ga b'thi-a the -

thu a-ti a noⁿ zhiⁿ i-the e thoⁿ-be pi-a-doⁿ the-thu a-ti noⁿ-zhiⁿ

Literal translation: *Thethu*, here, at this place; *ati*, I came; *anoⁿ-zhiⁿ*, I stood; *xuga*, badger (this word was sometimes used to designate animals with claws; in this instance the grizzly bear was really meant); *bthia*, I was; *ethoⁿbe piadoⁿ*, as I appeared.

The words refer to the time when the man went out to fast. When he came to a particular place (*thethu*), the grizzly bear appeared as he stood there and the man felt that he was mysteriously related to the bear. The song set forth the man's credential or title to membership in the Bear society.

THE TE' ITHAETHE

To the Te' ithaethe (*te*, "buffalo;" ithaethe, "to show compassion"—"those to whom the buffalo has shown compassion," by coming to them in a vision and giving power) society was committed the knowledge of medicines for the curing of wounds. Membership was accorded to persons of both sexes to whom the buffalo appeared in dreams. The roots of the wild anise, the hop (*Humulus lupulus*), and *Physalis viscora* were used for healing. Bits of these roots were ground between the teeth, then water was taken into the mouth, and the medicated liquid was blown with force into the wound.

The following account by one of the writers details a scene witnessed in his boyhood when one of his playmates was accidentally shot by a young man who, with some companions, was firing a pistol at a mark:

After the shooting the excitement was intense, and above all the noise could be heard the heartrending wails of the unfortunate man who had wounded the boy in the head. The relatives of the lad were preparing to avenge his death, and those of the

man to defend him. I made my way through the crowd, and, peering over the shoulders of another boy, I saw on the ground a little form that I recognized. Blood was oozing from a wound in the back of the boy's head and from one under the right eye near the nose. A man ordered the women to stop wailing and bade the people to stand back. Soon through an opening in the crowd I saw a tall man wrapped in a buffalo robe come up the hill and pass through the space to where the boy lay. He stooped over the child, felt of his wrist, and then of his heart. "He is alive," the man said; "set up a tent and take him in." The little body was lifted on a robe and carried by two men into a large tent that had been hastily erected. Meanwhile a young man had been sent in all haste to call the buffalo doctors. Soon they were seen galloping over the hill on their horses, one or two at a time, their long hair flowing over their naked backs. They dismounted and one by one entered the tent, where they joined the buffalo doctor who lived near by and had already been called. A short consultation was held. The sides of the tent were drawn up to let in the fresh air and to permit the people to witness the operation.

All the buffalo medicine men sat around the boy, their eyes gleaming over their wrinkled faces. Then one of the men began in a low voice to tell how in a vision he had seen the buffalo which had revealed to him the secret of the medicine and taught him the song he must sing when using it. At the end of every sentence the boy's father thanked him in terms of relationship. Then he compounded the roots he had taken from his skin pouch and started his song at the top of his voice. The other doctors, some twenty or more, joined in, and sang it in unison with a volume that could be heard a mile away. The song was accompanied by a bone whistle imitating the cry of the eagle. After the doctor had started the song he put the bits of roots into his mouth, ground them with his teeth, and taking a mouthful of water he approached the boy bellowing and pawing the earth like an angry buffalo at bay. When near the boy he drew in a long breath, and with a whizzing noise forced the water from his mouth into the wound. The boy spread out his hands and winced as though he had been struck. The man uttered a series of short exclamations: "Hi! hi! hi!" Then the father and the man who had wounded the boy lifted their outspread hands toward the doctor to signify their thanks. During the administration of the medicine all the men and two women doctors sang with energy the following song which had been started by the operator:

(Sung in octave unison)

Ni - uⁿ shka-xe ni - uⁿ shka - xe the-xe ni - uⁿ shka-xe

he the he..... E-gon the-thu toⁿ the - a..... the e-gon the

thu kom btha tha the he kom btha he he the - a..... the

Literal translation: *ni uⁿshka xe* (*nia*, part of me, hurt; *uⁿ*, me, you; *shkaxe*, make—you hurt me); *egoⁿ*, then; *thethu*, here; *toⁿ*, from; *theathe*, I send; *kombtha*, I want or desire—from here I desire to send it.

A second doctor now repeated the treatment and started his song, all the others joining in the singing as before, while he administered the remedy.

At the completion of the song a third doctor made ready to give his application, starting his song and all the other doctors joining as before in the singing.

At the end of the song the fourth doctor began to compound the roots, and when he was ready he began the following song, which was taken up by all the others and sung with forceful energy:

(Sung in octave unison)

Ni thu^a tha-de a-ma Ni thu^a tha-de a - ma..... u - he-ke the i the

e a ma e tho he Ni thu^a tha - de e - a - ma tho he

Literal translation: *ni*, water; *thuⁿ*, round; *thade*, to designate; *ama*, they; *uhekethe*, to yield to him; *itheama*, they say.

This song conveys to the Omaha mind a picture of the prairie, the round wallow standing like a pool with water, and the wounded buffalo being healed near it by its companions. There is a belief among the Omaha that the buffalo cure their wounds with their saliva; therefore the doctors prepare the herbs in the mouth and blow the water into the wound.

The doctors remained all night, applying their medicine and dressing the wound. Four days the boy was treated in this manner. On the evening of the third day the doctors said the lad was out of danger, and that in the morning he would be made to stand and meet the rising sun, and so greet the return of life.

I went to bed early, so as to be up in time to see the ceremony. I was awakened by the sound of the singing, and hurried to the tent. Already a crowd had gathered. There was a mist in the air, as the doctors had foretold there would be, but as the dawn drew nearer the fog slowly disappeared, as if to unveil the great red sun that was just visible on the horizon. Slowly it grew larger and larger. The boy was gently lifted by two strong men, and when on his feet was told to take four steps toward the east [note the resemblance to the ceremony of Turning the Child, p. 121], while the doctors sang the mystery song which belonged to this stage of the cure. The two men began to count as the boy feebly attempted to walk—one, two, three. The steps grew slower, and it did not seem as if he could make the fourth, but he dragged his foot and made the fourth. "Four!" cried the men; "It is done." Then the doctors sang the song of triumph.

The fees were then distributed. These were horses, robes, bear-claw necklaces, eagle feathers, embroidered leggings, and other articles of value. Toward these the relatives of the man who shot the boy contributed largely. One or two doctors remained with the boy for a time. In a month or so he was back among us, ready to play or to watch another pistol practice by the young men.

THE WANO^{n'}XE ITHAETHE

Men and women to whom ghosts appeared in dreams or visions were eligible to membership in the Wano^{n'}xe ithaethe (*wano^{n'}xe*, "a form that is transparent," "a ghost;" *i'thaethe*, "shown compassion by"—"those to whom ghosts have shown compassion") society. Members were believed to have the power to *wathigthoⁿ*, divine or foretell events, particularly approaching death. If death was foretold, the

relatives of the doomed person might ask the member foretelling the death to seek to avert it. To bring about this result he heated water as he sang his songs and then cast the water on the ground to the right or the left of the entrance of the lodge of the threatened person—never in a straight line from the door. By this act the spirit is thwarted in its onward progress toward the spirit world and is forced to return, so that person continues to live. The members of this society could also stop rain. This power was exercised only by request. When a member was asked to stop the rain, he filled a small, unornamented pipe (in token of his modesty in addressing the cosmic forces), elevated the stem, and smoked, singing his song as the smoke was wafted upward; the act was believed to secure the desired result.

The following is one of the songs of this society:

GHOST SONG

I a ha ha a-ia ho a-ia ho e e a e tho
 ne tho he e he tha the Hoⁿ thiⁿ the - thiⁿ i ne e a
 e tho i ne tho-he tho-i the - thu i ne tho he tho

Translation: The first eight measures are vocables. *Hoⁿ*, night; *thiⁿ*, moving; *thethiⁿ*, yonder moving; *i*, come; *ne*, modification of *thiⁿ*, moving; *thethu*, here. "Night is moving toward us here." Night refers to death, by which one enters the realm of ghosts.

THE IⁿGTHU^{n'} ITHAETHE

Membership in the Ingthu^{n'} ithaethe (*Ingthuⁿ*, "Thunder;" *ithaethe*, "shown compassion by"—"those to whom the thunder has shown compassion") society was open only to the man or woman who had heard the Thunder beings in dreams or visions. It was believed that through this medium occult powers were imparted and that by means of the songs given the elements could be controlled—rain could be brought or the storm driven away. Future events could also be foretold, for in most of these secret societies magic powers were supposed to be exercised. Sometimes the members pitted their powers against one another. The following song commemorates one of these contests, which occurred many years ago when a number of the Omaha went on a visit to the Ponca. Among the visiting party was a member of the Thunder society noted for his occult powers. In the Ponca Thunder society was a man who had a similar reputation. These

two men met and while they feasted each other they secretly sought each other's death by means of their magic. The Ponca drew on the ground a picture of the Omaha and struck it with his club (the club being the weapon of the Thunder beings), at the same time calling on the Thunder beings similarly to strike the original of the picture. The Omaha suspected some magic attempts, so he sang his songs, relying solely on them for his protection. The visit of the Omaha party came to an end and the people returned home; a few days afterward the Ponca who had drawn the picture of the Omaha and invoked the Thunder was himself struck by lightning. The incident became speedily known to the Omaha magician and this song was composed to commemorate the event. The name of the Ponca, Gati'demoⁿthiⁿ, is mentioned in the song, where he is represented as weeping because his request to the Thunder beings to strike the Omaha had been turned upon himself.

THUNDER SONG

He ka - ge te - de xa - ge a - me tho he.... He ka -
ge te - de xa - ge a me tho he the ha xa - ge a
me tho he the e ha tha The - thu hiⁿ - wiⁿ tha ma
he tho..... Ga - ti - de - moⁿ thiⁿ hoⁿ..... thi xu
hiⁿ tha ma - zhi^a tha xa ge a - me tho he..... e - ha
tha The - thu hiⁿ - wiⁿ tha ma he tho

He! Kage tede xage ame tho he
He! Kage tede xage ame tho he, the ha
Xage ame tho he the e ha tha
Thethu hiⁿwiⁿtha ma he tho
Gati'demoⁿthiⁿ hoⁿthixu hiⁿtha moⁿzhia tha
Xage ame tho he he a tha
Thethu hiⁿwiⁿtha ma he, tho

Literal translation: *He! kage*, *He!* friend; *tede*, a contraction of *intede*, and now, or for that cause; *xage*, weep or cry; *ame*, they say; *tho*, musical syllable; *he*, end of sentence; in the second line *the ha*, vocables; *thethu*, here; *hiⁿwiⁿtha*, tell me; *ma*, they; *he*, end of sentence; *Gati'demoⁿthiⁿ*, a Ponca personal name, that of the man who was the subject of the song and drew the picture; *hoⁿthiru*, a picture or sketch; *hiⁿtha*, pleased; *moⁿzhia*, I not; *tha*, end of sentence.

The song represents the Omaha narrating the experience. "My friend, they say Gati'demoⁿthiⁿ made a picture of me. I was not pleased; here they tell me that he it was who cried."

A member of this society dreamed that the Thunder gods wanted to take him but, not wanting to go to the gods, he persuaded them to take a substitute. Shortly afterward a friend of his was killed by lightning, an incident which he regarded as the result of his appeal. This incident is preserved in the following song:

Words

Wi shutheakithe a
 Wi shutheakithe
 Wi shutheakithe a
 Pahoⁿgamoⁿthiⁿ shutheakithe a
 Wi shubtha moⁿzhie tho he thoe
 Wi shutheakithe a
 Wi shitheakithe a

Literal translation: *Wi*, I; *shⁿtheakithe*, send to you; *Pahoⁿgi-moⁿthiⁿ*, name of the man struck by lightning; *wi*, I; *shubthamoⁿzhie*, do not come; *tho he thoe*, vocables.

The above songs can not be classed with those which were regarded as potent and as directly connected with the Thunder beings, although they refer to incidents which might be regarded as showing the power of man's appeal.

The following song refers directly to the dream experience of the singer and is of the class that was believed to bring a direct response from the Thunder beings:

THUNDER SONG

E..... tho he wa - koⁿ - - da.....

hiⁿ- wiⁿ tha me..... tho he wa - koⁿ - - da

hiⁿ - wiⁿ - tha me tho he Hiⁿ ka - ge
 ha xa-ge thiⁿ hiⁿ wiⁿ tha me e e tho the tho - i
 wa - koⁿ - da..... hiⁿ-wiⁿ-tha me tho he wa - koⁿ - da
 thiⁿ xa-ge thiⁿ hiⁿ-wiⁿ-tha me - e e - he the..... tho

E tho he

Wakoⁿda hiⁿwiⁿtha me tho he

Wakoⁿda hiⁿwiⁿtha me tho he

Hiⁿ kage ha! xage thiⁿ hiⁿwiⁿtha me e e tho he thoi

Wakoⁿda hiⁿwiⁿtha me tho he

Wakoⁿda thiⁿ xage thiⁿ hiⁿwiⁿtha me e e tho he tho

Literal translation: *E tho he!* exclamatory syllables but subjective in character; *Wakoⁿda*, here does not refer to the permeating life and power throughout nature but to the manifestation of power in the thunder; *hiⁿwiⁿtha*, told me; *me*, they; *tho*, musical vocable; *he*, end of sentence; *hiⁿ kage ha*, my friend; *xage*, to weep or cry; *thiⁿ*, sign of one moving; *hiⁿwiⁿtha*, tell me; *me*, they; *e tho he the*, vowel prolongation; *thoi*, vocable marking the close of the musical clause; *tho* in the last line marks the close of the song.

This song speaks of the time when the man went out to fast and pray; as he went the Thunder beings spoke to him and called him "friend." The music presents points of interest, as to both rhythm and melody, as expressive of the meaning of the song.

THE HOⁿ'HEWACHI

This was the name of a society or order of honorary chieftainship, composed of men who had accomplished one hundred or more *wathiⁿ'ethe* (certain prescribed acts and gifts; see p. 202). To achieve membership in this order was accounted one of the highest honors a man could secure, although it carried with it no political prominence.

The literal translation of the name is: *Hoⁿ'he*, "in the night;" *wa'chi*, "dance;" but this does not convey the true meaning of the word.

Wa'chi does not mean "dance" in our sense of the word but dramatic rhythmic movements for the expression of personal emotion or experience, or for the presentation of mythical teachings. *Hoⁿ'he*

refers to creative acts, for through the mysterious power of Wakoⁿ'da night brought forth day. Night was therefore the mother of day, and the latter was the emblem of all visible activities and manifestations of life. The feminine cosmic force was typified not only by night but by the heavenly bodies seen by night, as the masculine cosmic force was symbolized by day and the sun. The credential of a man's attainment to membership in the Hoⁿ'hewachi was the right to tattoo on a maid certain cosmic symbols of night and day. The woman thus tattooed was called a *Ni'kagahi wau*, woman chief (*ni'kagahi*, "chief;" *wau*, "woman"). The origin of the Hoⁿ'hewachi is lost in antiquity; it is said to have been "given by Wakoⁿ'da to help the people." This society exists in some of the cognate tribes and is as highly regarded among them as among the Omaha.

So great were the requirements demanded of a man for admission to the Hoⁿ'hewachi that the successful candidate was said to have been "pitied" (compassionately helped) "by Night," as otherwise he could not have accomplished the tasks required. The symbols tattooed on the girl were designated *xthexe*, an untranslatable name meaning a mark of honor or of distinction. It will be remembered that the Sacred Pole (see p. 219) was called *Waxthe'xe*, signifying "that which has the power to bestow honor or distinction." The Sacred Pole, as its name implies, was representative of the authority which was the fount of honor in the tribe. Permission to place this mark of honor on a girl had to be given by the Seven Chiefs, as well as by the members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi. The Hoⁿ'hewachi is claimed to be very old and in connection with this claim it should be remembered that the ancient name of the Cedar Pole (see p. 219) was *Waxthe'xe*, and that the name of this ancient and sacred object, whose ceremonies had become lost, was transferred to the new Sacred Pole when the latter emblem was set up in the interests of tribal unity and stability of government. The ancient pole of cedar, according to tradition and myth, was allied to ceremonies connected with Thunder and with the creation of the human race. It was kept, as was the Sacred Shell, in the Sacred Tent in charge of the We'zhi'shte gens. According to traditions and beliefs, the rites pertaining to the Shell were connected with the cosmic forces which brought the universe into being and maintained its life. While it is impossible clearly to trace connection between the Hoⁿ'hewachi and the ceremonies that once clustered about the ancient Cedar Pole and the Sacred Shell, yet the name given to the mark of honor, (*xthexe*), the symbols used, and the sex of the person on whom they must be tattooed, as well as the name of the society to which they belonged, all afford a strong probability that the ancient cosmic rites, long since lost, were related to the Hoⁿ'hewachi, if they do not in part survive in the ceremonies of this society, ceremonies which

in songs and symbols refer to the creative cosmic forces typified by night and day, the earth and the sky, forces which were also represented in the fundamental ideas on which the tribal organization rested.

THE ONE HUNDRED WATHI^{n'}ETHE

As has been said, the requisite for entrance into the Ho^{n'}hewachi was that the candidate should be able to count at least one hundred *wathi^{n'}ethe* (see p. 202); but in making this "count" he could not include those *wathi^{n'}ethe* (gifts) which he had made to the Seven Chiefs in order to insure admission into the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de, as he had made these gifts for another purpose, one that pertained solely to his ambition to become a chief. The *wathi^{n'}ethe* which could be "counted" in order to secure entrance into the Ho^{n'}hewachi were similar in character to those already described as requisite to entrance into the Ni'kagahi xu'de but they were not directly connected with the Seven Chiefs. Among the classes of acts and gifts that "counted" and ranked high were those benefiting the tribe and those made to a very poor man or woman.

The following story was told of Waha'xi, a noted chief who died before the middle of the nineteenth century: One day an old woman came to his tent, entered, and sat down near the door. No one noticed her for quite a while, but presently the chief bade his wife clothe the old woman. So the packs were opened and Waha'xi's wife took out various garments, dressed the woman in fine leggings, a tunic of red cloth, and wrapped about her a red blanket. Then the chief arose and placed corn in her hand and sent her home. The appearance of the gayly clad old woman bearing corn attracted the attention of the people, and the chief, already of high rank, was permitted to "count" this act of clothing the beggar as a *wathi^{n'}ethe*.

Making contributions for bringing about peace both within and without the tribe was an act of public merit and could be "counted;" so also could gifts which were made to put an end to a period of mourning, as the following will illustrate: On the death of a member of the tribe who was greatly respected all societies suspended their meetings and all dances ceased. Sometimes a year might pass, the village keeping silence to honor the memory of the dead. At length a chief would call the people together and whoever chose to contribute toward the gifts to be made to the mourners could "count" his gift. The collected gifts were borne by two men to the lodge of the mourners. For the honor of bearing the gifts each of these men gave a horse. When the bearers of the gifts arrived at the lodge, the relatives of the deceased were thus addressed: "You have grieved many days. Your hair has grown long. We have brought these gifts that you may cut your hair and return to the people." Then the chief

mourner cut his hair, put on gala dress, and distributed the gifts among his near kindred, while the herald proclaimed throughout the village: "You, the people, are told to be joyous again!" Songs and dances were resumed and the people made merry after their long silence. This ceremony has not been performed since the middle of the last century.

Another form of giving was to place a robe on the arm of a child and bid it take the gift to the lodge of a leading man, who, on receiving the gift, would emerge from his tent and call aloud the name of the giver.

All contributions to a Wa'wan party, or gifts made through this ceremony, could be "counted," as these were in the interest of peace within and without the tribe. For similar reasons the gifts made during the festival of the He'dewachi were "counted."

Gifts of horses were accounted among the most valuable. Sometimes the "count" of a horse was connected with peculiar circumstances, as in the following case: Waha'xi had a son whom he hoped would one day be a chief, but who died prematurely. At his funeral a fine white horse was about to be killed, when the father of Kaxe'noⁿba brought forward a mule and asked that it be killed and the fine horse spared. Knowing that the mule also could not well be spared by the man, Waha'xi decided not to kill either the horse or the mule but bade the man to "count" both horse and mule as *wathiⁿ'ethe*. Such gifts were classed as "gone to see the dead."

The We'ku feast offered another occasion for men to make gifts which could be "counted." This feast occurred when there had been a difference between two tribes and the chiefs wished to make peace. The Seven Chiefs called the various chiefs and young warriors together and told them of the proposed We'ku feast, to which the tribe with whom there had been trouble had been invited. The men then volunteered to make gifts toward receiving the tribe. He who intended to offer a large gift would say, "I will give some small article." Those who could make only a small donation said nothing. When all the gifts were gathered, three or four of the donors who were men of rank and respected by the people were sent to invite the other tribe to the feast. As the guests were seen approaching, all the men who had contributed gifts mounted their horses and rode out to meet the coming tribe, charging upon them as if upon an enemy. The leader bore a pipe prepared for smoking and offered it to the leader of the guests who, after it was lighted, accepted it. The gifts were then distributed, the feast eaten, and peace concluded between the tribes. After the feast the guests were entertained as individuals among Omaha families. All gifts made on such an occasion could be counted as *wathiⁿ'ethe*. The We'ku feast took place for the last time shortly before the middle of the nineteenth century.

Another act that could be counted as *wathiⁿ'ethe* and that ranked among the highest was saving the life of a comrade in battle or preventing his capture, as such an act could be done only by risking one's life.

A thrifty man could seldom "count" his hundred before he was near middle life, even though he wasted no opportunity. During all the years of his preparation he must work silently and not reveal his purpose to anyone for fear he might fail. Nor did he tell which maid he had chosen to receive the mark of honor. There was a general belief that if a man made his choice known before he was ready to have the tattooing done, either the girl would die or some misfortune would befall him.

Passing the long test required for entrance into this society was regarded as proof not only that the members were favored by Wakoⁿ'da but that they possessed will power capable of producing results; consequently a form of punishment, *wazhiⁿ'agthe* (*wazhiⁿ*, "directive energy" or "will power;" "*agthe*," "to place upon"), was exercised by them. A disturber of the peace within the tribe or one whose acts were offensive to the chiefs was sometimes punished by the concerted action of the Hoⁿ'hewaehi through *wazhiⁿ'agthe*, the members fixing their minds on the offender, placing on him the consequences of his actions so that he was thrust from all helpful relations with men and animals. Misfortune and death were believed to follow as the result of this treatment. *Wazhiⁿ'agthe* belongs to the same class of acts as *wazhiⁿ'thethe* (p. 583); the former was believed to send disaster and the latter to help by the exercise of will power.

THE WATHA'WA (FEAST OF THE COUNT)

When a man had all his arrangements made, could "count" the required number of *wathiⁿ'ethe*, had accumulated the required fees, and had secured the food necessary to entertain the chiefs and other guests for the initiatory ceremonies, which lasted four days, he notified the man whom he had selected to be his sponsor. The sponsor called together the members of the Hoⁿ'hewaehi, the candidate furnishing the food for the required feast, and the candidate's name was then proposed. If no objection was made, he was told that he could prepare for the ceremony of initiation.

The tribal herald summoned the Council of Seven and the members of the Hoⁿ'hewaehi to the lodge of the candidate, which had been prepared for the ceremony. On this occasion every article except those intended as gifts to the chiefs and members of the order must be removed, as the candidate could retain nothing that was

in the lodge at the time the Seven Chiefs entered, wearing their robes in the ceremonial manner and bearing the pipe to be used in the ceremony. A buffalo skin was placed back of the fireplace, on which were two bunches of grass that were to serve as rests for the pipe. Near the fire at the edge of the robe was a board on which the tobacco to be used in filling the pipe was placed. The two Ni'kagahi u'zhu took their seats in the center at the back of the lodge and the other members of the Council of Seven occupied their official places. Next to them, on both sides of the lodge, sat the members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi. The candidate took his seat by the door to the left as one entered. On the opposite side of the door sat the herald.

During all the years that the candidate had been preparing for this occasion he had kept a number of willow sticks about a foot long, each one of which represented a *wathiⁿ'ethe*. These hundred or more sticks, tied in a bundle, were handed by the candidate to the herald, who laid them before the Ni'kagahi u'zhu. The u'zhu chief to the left, representing the Hon'gashenu side of the *hu'thuga* (tribal circle), took up the bundle and passed it to the other u'zhu, representing the Iⁿshta'çuⁿda side, who in turn handed it to the chief next to him. In this way the bundle representing the candidate's "count" was passed by the left around the circle. When it again reached the u'zhu chief who first took it up, he called the herald, who came and received the bundle of sticks from the Ni'kagahi u'zhu and carried it back to the candidate sitting at the door.

Meanwhile the concourse outside the lodge had steadily increased in numbers and among them were those who secretly aspired to the honor of becoming members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi. The immediate relatives of the candidate moved anxiously about, desirous of helping his memory during the ordeal of "counting," for his statements could be controverted by the outsiders and there were always those who were envious of his attainments and sought to confuse and disconcert him. The excitement outside the lodge contrasted sharply with the decorum within, where the candidate stood before the assembled chiefs, muffled in their robes, and the members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi, who sat closely watching the man as he took up reed after reed and told what kind of gift it represented, when, where, and to whom it was made. All the *wathiⁿ'ethe* had to be classified as to kind in this public recital. First the candidate "counted" the gifts of horses. When the statements regarding a gift were controverted, a witness was called to testify to the truth of the statements. Robes, bows and arrows and quivers, pipes, and shell disks were "counted" in groups or classes. The "count" began in the early morning and lasted all day. It was a severe tax on a man's memory, for these gifts often extended over a period of ten or twenty years. At the close of his "count" the chiefs bade the man enumerate the

articles he had gathered for fees. The chief then sent the herald to proclaim the completed "count" to the people. He would state that So-and-so (naming the candidate) had given away so many horses, so many robes, and so on through the list of classified gifts. Thus the man's record was made public and thereafter no one could challenge his "count" as it was then given forth.

The ceremony of smoking the pipe followed the completion of the count. This was in the nature of a formal presentation to Wakoⁿ'da of the *wathiⁿ'ethe* which had just been publicly "counted;" it also represented the taking of an oath of membership. The smoking was a solemn and elaborate ceremony. A firebrand could not be used to light the pipe, for which purpose a live coal was taken from the fire with a split stick. When ready to be lighted the pipe lay with the stem toward the south. The herald took it up and held it for the Ni'kagahi u'zhu who sat toward the south while the latter lighted it. The herald then passed the pipe in turn to the Ni'kagahi u'zhu who sat toward the north, and to the chief at the latter's left. While being smoked the pipe was always held by the herald. It was said: "The pipe must pass in an unbroken circle from south to north, and when laid down after this circuit the stem must point to the north." A pause followed the smoking; then the herald took the pipe from its grass rest and walked with it around the fireplace. He held it up to the zenith before laying it to rest with the stem to the north. The chief who had lighted the pipe now grasped its stem in his left hand and the bowl in his right, and swung the pipe slowly in a circle from right to left until it was in an upright position at the left side of his body. Then he proceeded to clean the pipe and lay it back on its grass rest on the robe, with the stem to the south. The herald then took up the pipe and again walked with it about the fire. At the completion of the circuit he laid it beside the fireplace. The chief who had cleaned it then rose and put it back on the buffalo robe. This last act completed the ceremony of smoking. The varied and complicated movements connected with passing the pipe and placing it at rest had reference, it is said, to the movements of the heavenly bodies. The herald then arose and put together the grass rest of the pipe and the bundle of sticks used in the counting and laid them in the back part of the lodge.

Members of the candidate's family outside the lodge now filled two large wooden bowls with a kind of porridge made of pounded maize and passed them through the door into the lodge. The herald took one of the bowls and placed it in front of the chief who had lighted the pipe. The latter took four spoonfuls of the food and passed the bowl to the next chief without lifting it from the floor. The other bowl was passed from the door up to the chief who had partaken first from the first bowl. Each person took four

spoonfuls of the porridge. Care was taken by all not to spill any of this sacred food and not to make a noise with the lips in eating. When the second bowl reached the chief who sat toward the south, he poured a few drops of the food into a depression in the ground near the fireplace made by the knuckle of the forefinger of the right hand.^a The other bowl was now brought from the door and the two bowls were placed side by side in front of the two Ni'kagahi u'zhu. Considerable food remained in both of the bowls. The chief toward the south then designated a chief on the north side of the lodge, to whom one of the bowls was taken; next he selected a chief on the south side to whom the other bowl was taken. Then the herald was called and bidden to take the bowls to the lodges of these chiefs. Outside of the tent the herald was relieved of his burden by the wives and daughters of the chiefs designated, who carried the food to their homes. After the bowls were emptied they were brought back and placed near the door of the lodge, to be returned to their owners.

At this point, if any chief of the Council of Seven was not a member of the Hoⁿ'hewachi he was excused. He at once arose, thanked the assembly, and left the lodge, which now contained only the candidate and the members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi.

THE FEAST OF THE HO^N'HEWACHI

The candidate now selected two of the bravest men to act as his heralds and to summon all the chiefs who were entitled to be present at the Feast of the Hoⁿ'hewachi. The heralds put on the buffalo robes with the hair outside, girding them about the waist, painted their faces black, and placed eagle down on their heads. Then they proceeded to the lodges of the chiefs entitled to attend the feast, addressing them by name, and giving the official call of invitation: *Waçkathiⁿ ho!* The meaning of this word is lost. When the heralds had passed around the camp circle they returned to the lodge of the candidate, where the feast was to be held. Even if all who had been thus invited were already present in the lodge, the two heralds went to the door of the tent and again gave the official call of invitation, mentioning the names of those who had the right to attend the feast. The leader of the Hoⁿ'hewachi then ordered the drum, rattles, and bells to be sent for and food to be prepared for those present, as they had been sitting since early morning and had only eaten ceremonially of the "Feast of the Count." If the count lasted more than one day this feast could not take place until the count was completed. The right to "beat the drum" belonged to the man who could count the highest war honors. It has become diffi-

^a Note the resemblance between this taking of food and pouring of drops into a depression made by the knuckle and the Ponca ceremony at the Feast of Soldiers (p. 309).

cult in recent years to complete this ceremony after the ancient manner, on account of the dying out of the men who could count war honors, for these honors had to have been accorded a man in the public ceremony of Wate'gigtu, already described (see p. 434). The story is told of an Oto who, in order to complete the ceremony of initiation, had to send to a cognate tribe to secure the services of a man who was properly entitled to "beat the drum."

After the meal had been eaten the chiefs and members resumed their seats, the drum was placed, and the following song was sung:

U - thi - tha sha - ya ma U - thi - tha sha - ya ma

E-goⁿ-shoⁿ doⁿ u-thi-tha sha-ya ma U-thi-tha sha-ya ma

U - thi - tha sha - ya ma U - thi - tha sha - ya ma

1

Uthitha shaya ma
 Uthitha shaya ma
 Egoⁿ shoⁿ doⁿ uthitha shaya ma
 Uthitha shaya ma
 Uthitha shaya ma
 Uthitha shaya ma

Literal translation: *Uthitha*, to tell you; *shaya*, coming; *ma*, he, they; *egoⁿ*, now, for that reason; *shoⁿ*, done, completed; *doⁿ*, therefore.

The words of this song are meager and difficult to translate. Their meaning was explained to have reference to the sponsor coming to the members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi and reporting that the candidate for whom he stood had now completed the required number of *wathiⁿ'ethe*, or prescribed gifts, and awaited their acceptance of him.

2

Athigi shaya ma
 Athigi shaya ma
 Egoⁿ shoⁿ doⁿ uthudoⁿbe taya ma
 Athigi shaya ma
 Athigi shaya ma
 Athigi shaya ma

Literal translation: *Athigi*, to fetch, bring, cause to come; *shaya*, coming; *ma*, they; *egoⁿ*, now, for that reason; *shoⁿ*, done; *doⁿ*, there-

fore; *uthudoⁿbe*, to consider, to look into; *taya ma*, coming for that purpose, they.

This stanza was explained as referring to the response to the official call of the herald which caused the chiefs and members to gather together for the purpose of considering the count of the man who aspired to become a member of the Hoⁿ'hewachi, and who was publicly to present the record of his acts.

3

Thidoⁿ be shaya ma
 Thidoⁿ be shaya ma
 Egoⁿ shoⁿ doⁿ uthudoⁿ be taya ma
 Thidoⁿbe shaya ma
 Thidoⁿbe shaya ma
 Thidoⁿbe shaya ma

Literal translation: *Thidoⁿbe*, see you, as the result or outcome of a decision; *shaya*, coming; *ma*, they; *uthudoⁿbe*, to look into, to consider, to judge; *taya ma*, coming for that purpose, they.

This stanza refers to the final judgment of the men who had come together to consider the claim of the candidate to membership. In this stanza the three preliminary steps already taken are summed up. It was during this summing up that the young girl on whom the mark of honor was to be placed entered and danced before the assembled Hoⁿ'hewachi. The act dramatized the awakening of the feminine element—an awakening everywhere necessary for a fulfillment in tangible form of the life-giving power. This dance of the girl constituted the fourth and last step in the movements recounted in the three stanzas of the song—the step that led directly to the consummation of the candidate's long years of effort. Generally the girl chosen was the daughter of the candidate; but if he had no child of a suitable age he could select the daughter of a relative or of a close friend. She must be a virgin who had recently reached puberty. She was clad in gala garments made for the occasion, formerly a skin tunic embroidered with porcupine quills. She was frequently accompanied on her entrance and dance by two or three young women who had received the "mark of honor."

With the meaning of the acts connected with the singing of this song should be considered the important fact that the song gives the rhythmic model after which all songs that pertain to the Hoⁿ'hewachi were fashioned. It therefore represented the fundamental rhythm that expressed the musical feeling concerning those ideas or beliefs for which the Hoⁿ'hewachi stood in the native mind. It may here be stated that a similar rule was observed in the songs connected with any given society or rite—they all conformed to the rhythmic standard peculiar to the society or the ceremonial. As a result, an Indian

could classify at once a song by its rhythm, as belonging to the Hethu'shka the Wa'waⁿ, the Hoⁿ'hewachi, or any other society or rite with which he was familiar. This custom has restricted freedom in musical composition and thus has retarded its development among a remarkably musical race. It has tended to make the songs of the tribe monotonous and this tendency has been enhanced by certain beliefs concerning the function and power of music entertained by the native peoples. Every member of the Hoⁿ'hewachi was required to compose a song which had to conform to the rhythmic standard of the Hoⁿ'hewachi initial song. The song had to be an expression of the man's personal experience, and frequently, though not invariably, it referred to a dream or vision that came in answer to his supplication.

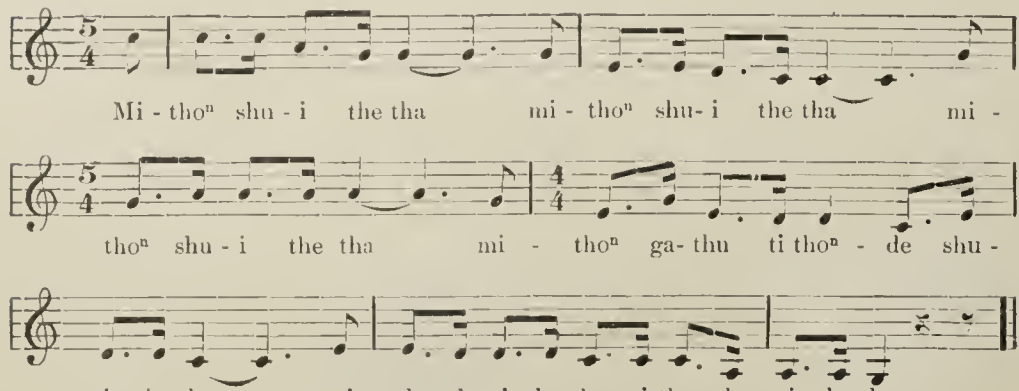
The chiefs and members remained all night at the lodge of the candidate. They continued to be his guests until the completion of the ceremony of tattooing. Meanwhile the family of the candidate occupied a tent near by, and two women, on whom the "mark of honor" had been placed, were designated to cook the food required for the assembled guests.

THE TATTOOING

Early in the morning two scaffolds were set up outside the candidate's lodge, one on each side of the door. On these were suspended the articles to be given as fees. Among them had to be 100 knives and 100 awls. These were male and female implements. The knives were thrust into the ground around one side of the fireplace and the awls were similarly placed on the other side. Back of the fireplace a bed was made of the costliest robes and a pillow was placed toward the east. After the morning meal had been eaten by the guests and the girl had eaten with the family, she was brought in and laid upon the bed, facing the west, for, being emblematic of life, she had to lie as if moving with the sun. The two heralds stood at the door of the lodge and called the names of those who were to sing during the tattooing. These must be men who had received public war honors. The official cry already noted was given with each name called, whether the men were already in the lodge or not.

The charcoal to be used in making the coloring preparation was placed in a wooden bowl and taken to the man who was to do the tattooing. Usually one of the chiefs performed this duty. The figure was first outlined by means of a flattened stick dipped into the solution made from the charcoal; then it was pricked in with needles. Steel needles are now employed; formerly flint points were used. The needles were tied in a bunch, to which small bells were fastened; formerly the rattles of the rattlesnake were used. After the pricking the charcoal was put over the surface, which was then pricked a second time. This completed the tattooing. The round

spot was first put on the forehead; this represented the sun. While this was being done the following song was sung:



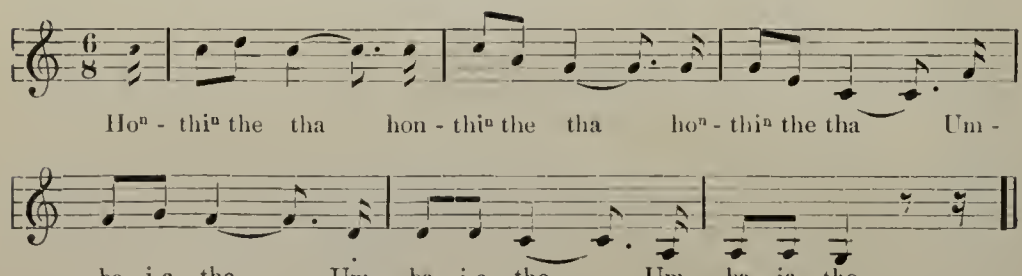
Mi - thoⁿ shu - i the tha mi - thoⁿ shu - i the tha mi -
 thoⁿ shu - i the tha mi - thoⁿ ga - thu ti thoⁿ - de shu -
 i the - tha mi - thoⁿ shu - i the - tha mi - thoⁿ shu - i the - tha

Mithoⁿ shui the tha
 Mithoⁿ shui the tha
 Mithoⁿ shui the tha
 Mithoⁿ gathu ti thoⁿ de shui the tha
 Mithoⁿ shui the tha
 Mithoⁿ shui the tha

Literal translation: *Mithoⁿ*, the sun, the round sun; *shui*, comes, speaks, or says; *gathu*, yonder point; *ti thoⁿ de*, when it comes; *shui the*, comes, speaks, or says.

This ancient song, as was explained, refers to the sun rising to the zenith, to the highest point; when it reaches that point it speaks, as its symbol descends upon the maid with the promise of life-giving power.

After the symbol of the sun was placed on the girl's forehead the outline of a four-pointed star (fig. 105) was marked on her chest as the following song was sung:



Hoⁿ - thiⁿ the tha hon - thiⁿ the tha hoⁿ - thiⁿ the tha Um -
 ba i - a tho Um . ba i - a tho Um . ba - ia tho

Hoⁿ thiⁿ the tha
 Hoⁿ thiⁿ the tha
 Hoⁿ thiⁿ the tha
 Umba ia tho
 Umba ia tho
 Umba ia tho

Literal translation: *Hoⁿ*, night; *thiⁿ*, moving; *the*, going; *tha*, end of sentence; *umba*, day; *ia*, is coming; *tho*, oratorical end of sentence.

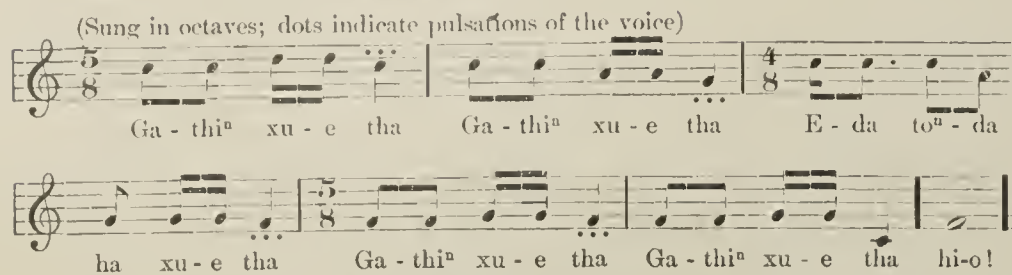
The meaning of the song is: Night moves, it passes, and the day is coming.



FIG. 105. Tattooed design—"mark of honor."

The star is emblematic of the night, the great mother force, its four points representing also the life-giving winds into the midst of which the child was sent through the ceremony of Turning the Child, already described (see p. 117).

During the completion of the tattooing of the symbols of day and night the following song was sung:



Gathiⁿ xue tha
 Gathiⁿ xue tha
 Eda toⁿda ha xue tha
 Gathiⁿ xue tha
 Gathiⁿ xue tha hio

Literal translation: *Gathiⁿ*, yonder unseen is one moving; *xue*, noise; *tha*, end of sentence; *eda*, a modified form of *edoⁿ*, for that reason; *toⁿda ha*, over the earth; *xue*, noise; *hio*, the cry of the living creatures.

This song, it was explained, referred to the serpent, here the representative of the teeming life that "moves" over the earth. (Note the tabu of the lost subgens of the Iⁿshta'guⁿda gens and its meaning.) Because this life is "moving" it makes a noise. Even the sun as it "moves," it is said, "makes a noise," as does the living wind in the trees.

Sometimes a crescent moon was tattooed on the back of the girl's neck and a turtle on the back of her hands. The turtle was connected with rites pertaining to water and wind, as noted in the account of the Ke'iⁿ subgens of the Tha'tada gens (see p. 161). During the ordeal of tattooing the girl strove to make no sound or outcry. If she should do so it was considered as evidence that she had been unchaste. If the healing process was rapid, it was considered a good omen.

After the ritual songs here given had been sung, the members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi sang their individual songs. In the Ponca tribe the men who had dreamed of buffalo sat on one side of the lodge; those who had had other dreams sat on the opposite side; and the songs were sung first by a man on one side and then by one on the other. This order was not regularly followed among the Omaha. After the noon hour food was cooked and served to the chiefs, while the herald called the families of these men to receive their share. Much food was consumed and distributed on this occasion.

When the tattooing was finished the girl left the tent. Then the herald brought in all the articles that were hanging on the scaffolds outside the tent and piled them in the middle of the lodge. All the

uncooked food was placed near the door. The leader distributed the gifts. A knife and an awl were given to each person. In apportioning the fees the person who did the tattooing received the largest share, and all the food, both cooked and uncooked, that remained became his property.

The accompanying design (fig. 106) tattooed on the hand of a Ponca girl strikingly sets forth the meaning of the Hoⁿ'hewachi: Here are the emblems of day and night and between them stand the forms of children. By the union of Day, the above, and Night, the below, came the human race and by them the race is maintained. The tattooing of this figure was said to be "an appeal for the perpetuation of all life and of human life in particular."

At the meetings of the Hoⁿ'hewachi, even when there was no initiation of a member or tattooing of a maid, only those men who had received war honors could "beat the drum" for the singers. Before a man could sing his song he had to relate his war honors, telling what they were and what were the acts for which they had been publicly awarded. While he sang the women who had received the "mark of honor" danced. Only women danced at the meetings of the Hoⁿ'he-

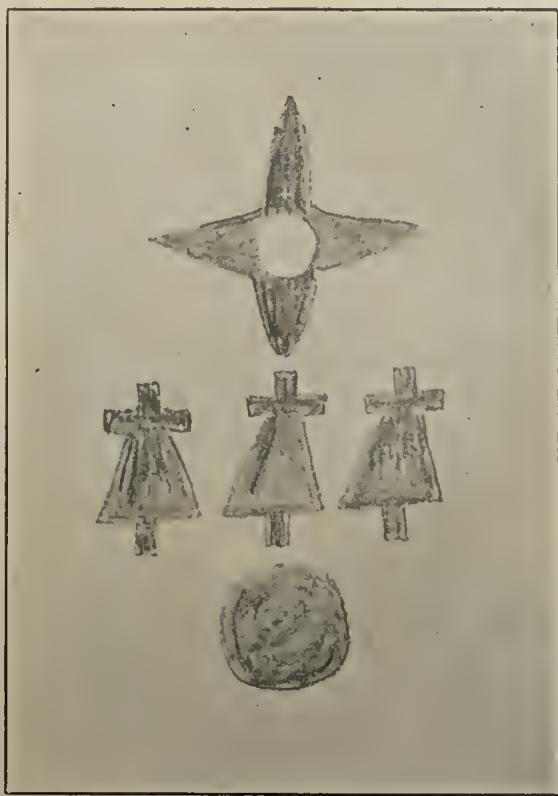


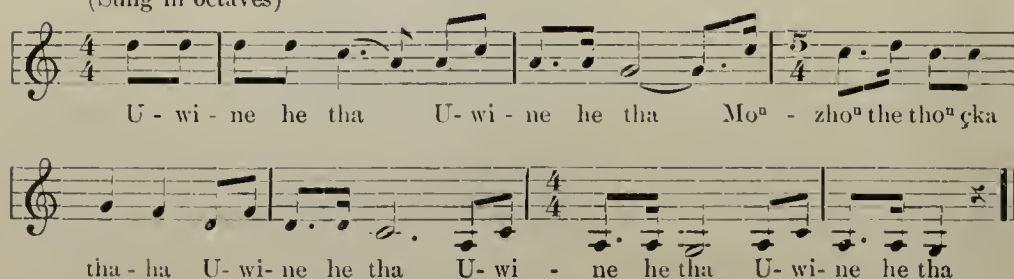
FIG. 106. Design tattooed on hand of Ponca girl (native drawing).

wachi. This was because the order was one in recognition of Night, of the feminine force or principle. The man recounted his deeds, for they were "performed in order to insure to the woman that safety which was requisite for the performance of her duties as wife and mother." The rites and symbols of the Hoⁿ'hewachi epitomized the fundamental ideas on which the tribal organization was based. The requirements for admittance to membership afforded undisputed proof of a man's valor and industry—the two factors necessary for the preservation and the prosperity of the tribe. The word for tribe, it will be remembered, indicates that it was composed

of those who were banded together to fight against attacks from the outside. Valor, therefore, was necessary to hold the tribe together and industry to maintain it. These manly requirements were emphasized in the honors accorded through the Hoⁿ'hewachi, which also dramatically set forth the essential place occupied by woman in promoting the general welfare. Many of the manufactured articles which went to swell the man's "count" were the product of woman's industry.

The following song is an example of the class of songs which were composed by members of the Hoⁿ'hewachi. This song commemorated the experience of the composer—an experience which left its mark on his subsequent life. A sister whom he greatly loved died. He missed her companionship sorely. Without her the world seemed to him a blank. He used to go alone to the hills and there weep and pray for his sister's presence. At last one day, as he lay on the hillside weeping, he became conscious of some one near him. Lifting his eyes, he beheld his sister's face, and heard her voice saying: "I have been seeking for you over the breadth of the land." Then the man knew that his sister's spirit yet loved and guarded him. He arose comforted, dried his tears, ceased from that day to mourn, and cheerfully resumed his appointed duties. This incident was the theme of the song which he composed as his song of membership in the Hoⁿ'hewachi. He used to sing it when he met with the members. The man himself related this story to the writers and sang them his song. He died a number of years ago.

(Sung in octaves)



Uwine he tha
 Uwine he tha
 Moⁿzhoⁿ thethoⁿċka thaha
 Uwine hetha
 Uwine hetha
 Uwine hetha

Literal translation: *Uwine he*, I seek for you; *tha*, end of sentence; *moⁿzhoⁿ*, earth; *thethoⁿċka*, expanse, great size; *thaha*, over.

Sometimes a song descended to a new member, particularly if the new member took the place of a deceased father or elder brother.

It was accounted good fortune and an honor to marry a woman bearing the "mark of honor." She not only belonged to a family that had achieved tribal reputation but it was believed that she would become the mother of many children who would live to grow up. If a buffalo bearing white spots or a white buffalo was killed, only women bearing the "mark of honor" dressed the skin of the animal, which was presented to the Sacred Tent to renew the Sacred White Buffalo Hide then in use.

THE WASHIS'KA ATHI^N (SHELL SOCIETY)

All the secret societies among the Omaha, as has been stated, dealt more or less with magic as well as healing by means of herbs and roots. Even if natural remedies were used, the songs sung when they were gathered and when they were administered were supposed to increase their efficacy. In some instances this efficacy was attributed to magic; in others the song was an appeal somewhat of the nature of a prayer.

The account here given of the Shell society, Washis'ka athiⁿ (*washis'ka*, "shell;" *athiⁿ*, "they have"—"those who have the shell") as it existed in the Omaha tribe is very nearly complete; sufficiently so, it is hoped, to permit of a comparative study of somewhat similar societies which exist among cognate tribes, the Winnebago and the Oto. The "Grand Medicine" of the Chippewa seems to have aspects in common with this society.

ORIGIN

The following is the Omaha story of the origin of the Shell society:

Once (an indefinite and long time in the past) a stranger came to the village. He was entertained by the chief and all the prominent men. There was living in the tribe a man who, while a good hunter, was a quiet man who never pushed himself into notice. His modest behavior was a source of anxiety to his wife, who was ambitious and did not share her husband's aversion to notice. She learned of the stranger's presence, and noted how much was made of him, and she determined to have her husband also entertain this man. She said to her husband: "You will never become an important man in the tribe if you do not push yourself forward. You must ask this stranger to our lodge. I will prepare a feast, and you can entertain him as all the great men are doing." She called her eldest son, and said: "You are to go to the chief's house and tell him that his guest is invited to your father's house. Mention your father's name." She then set about to make the tent clean and put everything in order. She cooked food, spread a robe on the seat of honor, and was ready for the guest. The boy did as his mother told him. When he delivered his message the chief, who knew the retiring nature of the lad's father, asked him: "Did your father send you?" The boy answered "Yes." In due time the stranger came. He wore his hair roached, his leggings were yellow and embroidered, his moccasins were black; he had no shirt, but wore his robe with the hair outside. He had a fine bow, and at his back a quiver of otter skin filled with arrows. The man, his wife, and the four children were all clad in their best, and waiting to receive the stranger. Of the

children, the eldest two were boys, the third was a girl, and the youngest a boy—all of them healthy and well formed. The wife set before their guest deer meat and beans cooked with raccoon fat. He ate, and talked with the family, then he returned thanks to them and left. Soon he departed from the village and was heard of no more all that summer or the following winter. When spring came the stranger again appeared, and was treated with honor by the chiefs and leading men. And again the woman took the initiative in inviting the stranger to her lodge, and again the chief questioned the son who brought the invitation: "Did your father send you?" The boy again answered "Yes." The stranger responded as before. He returned his thanks, but he gave no explanation of himself, and departed. Another year passed and the spring came, and so did the stranger. Once more the son carried the invitation and the chief asked the same question and received the same answer. The stranger came, partook of the hospitality offered, and departed, leaving the man and his wife in ignorance as to who and what he was. Nor did anyone know aught of the stranger. The fourth spring came, and so did the stranger, and the same invitation was extended, to be questioned by the chief and answered by the lad as before. The stranger was received as he had been for three years; but now as he made his thanks he said: "I am a being of mysteries. I have been seeking for the proper persons whom I may instruct in the knowledge of these mysteries. You have shown an interest as to what I have to bring, for this knowledge can only be given to those who seek for it. You have four times entertained me at the proper season. I have observed you, and am satisfied that you are the ones to receive knowledge of the mysteries. Everything now is in readiness for me to fulfill my purpose. It is now the time when the people go away to hunt. I wish you to stay where you are. After the people have gone, then we will travel for a season. During that time I shall teach you of these mysteries. I shall expect a return from you. What it must be I will make known at the proper time."

The tribe moved off to hunt, and the man and his wife and the stranger remained behind. At night, as they all lay down to sleep, the father kept wondering about the stranger, and lay awake watching him. The stranger pretended to sleep, but he, too, watched. When the morning came the stranger arose, went for water, returned with it and gave it to the children to drink, and also to the father and mother. Then he combed the children's hair and washed them. These actions perplexed the parents, but the stranger remained silent as to his motives. The next day after the tribe had gone the stranger bade the father and mother make ready to move, and they all did so, going whither the stranger directed. As they traveled, the stranger pointed out the different trees, told of their fruits, and also of the herbs and roots that were good for food and those that were good for medicinal purposes, and bade the couple observe and remember them. The stranger said to the man: "You are to go to a certain place on the other side of that stream where there are scattered elm trees, thickets, and vines of wild beans, and look about and see if there are any animals." The man started off, as he was directed, and when he reached the place he saw a deer. Taking aim, he shot it. It was a young buck about 4 years old. He looked about and saw other deer. He killed 12, making 13 in all. He drew the carcasses to a place where he could camp, and started back for his family. On the way he met his wife and three of the children and the stranger, who was carrying the youngest on his back.

When they reached camp, the stranger told the man to roast four shoulders. When this was done, he gave a shoulder to each child and another cut to the father and mother, and bade that the rest of the meat be dried before the fire and then cached. In the morning the stranger went for water, as before, gave them all to drink; then he combed the hair of the children and washed them, to the great perplexity of the father and mother.

The stranger told the man to go to a place where there were sand hills and scattered cottonwood trees and see if there were animals there. The man went, and as

he drew near he saw an elk feeding. He shot it. It had forked horns and was 4 years old. As he looked about, he saw deer and he killed several. He dragged the carcasses to a camping place and started back to his family. He met them as before, the stranger carrying the youngest child. The stranger told the man to take the heart and tongue of the elk and lay them aside, for that night they would have a ceremony, and sing. The father did so, and put the heart and tongue where the children could not meddle with them. After sundown the stranger bade the woman go and get water and cook the heart and tongue of the elk. The stranger cleared the fireplace and took a seat at the south side of it. Next on his left sat the father, on his left the mother, the children on her left, beginning with the eldest, down to the youngest. The stranger sang twenty-two songs and taught them to the father and mother. During the pauses between the songs the cries of the different animals with which the stranger was associated could be heard, showing their satisfaction at the progress the stranger was making. They sang all night. The two little children went to sleep but the two older ones kept awake. When they were through singing they sang a song by which to go out, and the stranger bade them to remember this song.

After about four days, when the meat was dried, the stranger told the man to go on to a creek that ran through ravines where there were great elms and knolls with stumps, and see if there were any animals there. The man went as directed and peering round from behind a stump he saw a buffalo cow. Drawing his bow, he shot it through the heart. It was about 4 years old. The man was greatly astonished at the sight of the animal, as he had never known buffalo in that vicinity. He saw several deer and killed them. He dragged the carcasses to a camping place and started back to his family. On the way he met them. The stranger was carrying the youngest child. "What have you killed?" he asked. The man told of the buffalo. The stranger bade the man take the heart and tongue and put them aside. When they reached camp and the sun was down, the stranger told the woman to go for water and to cook the heart and tongue of the buffalo.

When the heart and tongue were cooked the stranger took his seat at the south side of the fireplace; the father sat at his left, the mother at the father's left, at her left the children, from the eldest down to the youngest. They ate of the heart and tongue. That night they sang other songs. All night they sang. The little children fell asleep; the two older boys joined in the singing. Between the songs the cries of the animals were again heard. At the end they sang the song to accompany their going out. The stranger told the father and mother never to forget to sing that song before going out.

The next day, as usual, the stranger rose early, procured water, gave them all to drink and then combed the children's hair and washed them. By this time the stranger had won the confidence and the affection of the children but the father was getting anxious. He was puzzled by the stranger's behavior and he and his wife talked together and wondered about the man. They came to the conclusion that he must be thinking of his own children and that was why he was so attentive to their little ones. He had already brought them great good fortune in hunting, and they not only wanted to show gratitude and appreciation for what he had done, but they wanted to test him, to see if he was really human. They had not much to offer him, as they were not well provided for when the stranger became their guest, but they determined to offer him what they had. So they said to him: "We have not much, but we have these things," showing him their store, "and we have our children. Take your choice, for we offer you all." They felt sure he would never choose their children, but to their surprise he handed them back all their goods and said: "Since you have offered them, I will take the children." Then the stranger went on to say to the couple: "I am an animal, and have been sent by all the animals that live near the great lake to secure your children and to make you great in your tribe. All the

animals living near this great lake have had a council and I am their messenger." Then he went on to tell the man that there were seven leaders in this council—the black bear, the buffalo, the elk, the deer, the cougar, the gray wolf, and the skunk. These were specially connected with the man. There were seven other animals that would be connected with the woman; these were the otter, the raccoon, the mink, the swan, the silver fox, the squirrel, and the owl. Of these animals, the black bear, the buffalo, the elk, and the deer are for food; the cougar has strength and courage, it rises with the sun and goes forth to get food for its young; the gray wolf does the same; the skunk is a hunter; it dwells in a snug house and is clean. The otter hunts in the water; the raccoon hunts along the streams and takes of the fruit growing there; the mink does the same. The swan provides clothing that gives comfort and also beauty. The silver fox is a hunter; squirrels live on food from trees; and the owl hunts at night.

At this council, the first seven counseled with the second seven and all agreed to help man. Then the sun was appealed to, and the sun consented that the animals should help man, give him of their own powers, so that by their powers he should have power to become like them and to partake of their qualities. The sun said: "I shall stay above and look down on my children." The moon was appealed to, and the moon gave consent, and said: "I shall stay above and look down on my children." The lightning agreed to make paths, the small paths for the elk, the deer, the buffalo, and the bear, and a wide path for all the other animals. Then all said: "Go, search for the proper person to whom to give this power." This was the explanation the stranger gave to the father and mother when he accepted the gift of their children.

After the meat secured by the father had been dried and cached, the family moved on, and came near the borders of a great lake. Willows were growing on its banks and it was beautiful to look upon. In the lake was a high rock and there was also an island with trees growing on it. There was a smooth beach, on which the water was lapping the shore and the fish were jumping in the sunlight. The stranger bade the father search for animals. He went off, and finally he spied a black bear. He took aim, shot, and killed it. Just then he saw something descending; it was an eagle that dropped and lit on a cottonwood tree. Then the eagle spoke to the man and asked that he be allowed to share in the food and he would come and be one of them. The family of the man had stopped on the second bench above the lake. The man cut up the bear and carried it all up to his family; he left nothing, not even the blood. The stranger bade him set aside the heart and tongue of the bear. Then the father went forth and killed deer. At sunset the wife brought water and cooked the heart and tongue and again the stranger sat at the south of the fireplace, the father on his left and the mother at the father's left, the children at her left from the eldest to the youngest, and all partook of the meat. The stranger sang songs, and taught them to the father and mother. They sang all night and the youngest children fell asleep. The two older boys joined in the singing. At the close they all sang the song they had been bidden to do.

On the evening of the third day the stranger told the father and mother that he had long been seeking for such a family as theirs to whom to give his magic gifts by which they should find plenty of game, accumulate wealth, and become chiefs in the tribe. He said: "I am going away, and shall take your children that you have given me. But I shall come again; you will find me on the lake shore; I shall be in what you find there." The morning of the fourth day the stranger rose early. There was no wind and the water of the lake was perfectly still. He got water, gave them all some to drink, then he combed the hair of the children and washed them. He told the mother to put on the children's best clothing, to make the tent tidy and in order, and to spread a skin at the back of the fire with its head to the west. He told the mother to sit on the south side of the fireplace near the door, on her left her husband and at his left the stranger took his seat. He told the children

to all go out and play, but to stay within sound so they could hear when they were called. Then he talked to the father and mother. He bade them remember all he had taught them and to tell no one. After a while the man could choose seven men, and the woman could choose seven women, and initiate them; then they must wait four years, when another seven could be chosen. They would have power, when they initiated the others, to impart the power he had given them. When he had finished his instructions he sang a song and all the animals living by the high rock beat on the drum and sang the same song. Four songs were thus sung by the stranger, and to each the animals on the rock sounded the drum and sang. They were joined by all those that dwelt on the island. When the songs were finished the stranger ordered the mother to call to the tent her eldest child. She circled the lodge, went outside, and called her son. Then she came in and took her seat. Soon his springing steps were heard approaching the tent. He lifted the door flap to enter. The stranger cried "Hah!" and the lad fell forward, striking the pole that stood by the fireplace, and lay dead. The stranger bade the father and mother lift the boy and lay him on the south side of the skin, his head to the west. Then the stranger arose and painted the boy. He made a red line across the mouth from the right ear to the left, then drew a red line from the left ear down the left arm to the thumb; then a similar line from the right ear down the right arm to the thumb; then a red line over the chin down to the heart, where a red circle was made; then a red band across the forehead to the ear. Then he painted the body blue from the waist up to the neck and the elbow up to the neck. When the painting was completed he took his seat and then bade the mother call her second child. Again she circled the lodge and passed outside and called her second son to come to the tent and returned to her seat. Soon he was heard coming rapidly along. As he stooped to enter the stranger cried "Hah!" and the boy fell as his brother had done. The stranger bade the father and mother carry the boy and lay him on the skin to the left of his brother. Then the stranger arose and painted the second child, making the same red lines; but when he came to paint the body he put the blue paint on in spots. When he had finished the stranger resumed his seat. Then he bade the mother call her third child, and she arose as before, circled the tent, went without, and called her daughter to come to the lodge, reentered, and took her seat. Soon she heard the little girl skipping toward the tent, singing as she came. As she put her head in, the stranger cried "Hah!" and the little girl fell dead as had her two brothers. Again the father and mother at the bidding of the stranger lifted the child and laid her on the skin at the left side of her brothers. The stranger then arose and painted the red lines across the face and on the arms, and from the chin down to the heart, as on her brothers, but put blue in spots on her body and cheeks and tied a sash across her heart, and returned to his seat. Then he bade the mother call her youngest child. She rose as commanded, circled the tent, went outside and called the little boy and returned to her seat. She had hardly reached her place when they heard the little boy running to answer the call. He poked his head into the tent, the stranger cried "Hah!" and the child fell prone and dead. Again at the stranger's bidding the parents carried the little boy and laid him on the skin at the left of his sister. Then the stranger rose and painted the child as he had all the others, except that the body and arms above the elbow were made the color of the earth. The stranger told them that the red lines were the rays of the sun that give life; the blue on the body of the eldest boy was the clear sky; the blue spots on the body of the second son, the night sky; the blue spots on the girl, the moon and the night; the brown spots on the youngest child, the earth. The stranger further explained that the painting on the body of the eldest son, which represented the day, the clear blue sky, was related to the painting on the body of the girl above the sash and on her cheeks, which stood for the moon, the power at night. The painting on the body of the second son, which represented the night sky, spotted with stars, was related to the

painting on the body of the youngest child, which was the color of the earth, for the earth and the stars were brothers; he bade them observe the circle of stars (near the handle of the Great Dipper); this circle of stars were all brothers. Moreover, he told them that the shells were like the stars. He said there was a holy bird which was the leader of all the animals about the lake. This holy bird was the white swan and the birds flocked in sevens and fives. He said that the down near the left wing should be worn on the head. The left wing of the bird would be a symbol of its power. He bade them notice that the water of the lake was still; so the mind of man, he said, must be quiet, like to the lake, where dwell the mysterious animals, that they could give to man of their powers and by means of this magic bestowal he was to be able to perform strange and mysterious acts. He told the father and mother they were to remain where they were four days. When the stranger had finished his instructions he sang two songs and all the animals about the lake joined in the singing and those on the rock struck the drum. When the singing was over the stranger bade the father and mother take up the eldest boy, carry him out of the lodge, and lay him on the beach, face downward, his head toward the water. When they had done so, he bade them bring the second son and lay him down so that his head would be at the feet of his elder brother. When they had done so, he bade them bring the girl and lay her, like the others, face downward, her head to the feet of the second son. When they had done so, he told them to bring out the youngest child and place him face downward, with his head at the feet of his sister. Then the stranger entered the tent and left there his robe and came forth and walked on the water to the place where the sky and water meet and disappeared beyond. Soon a great wave arose and rolled over the quiet waters until it reached the shore where the children lay. It covered the body of the eldest boy and drew it in. The parents stood silently watching and as they looked, in the far distance they saw the stranger loom up and disappear. Then a second wave rolled up in the east and swept over the lake, which had become tranquil again. On it rolled until it came to the beach, when it lapped over the body of the second child and drew it in. As the wave receded and the lake became still, the stranger rose and looked at the parents and disappeared. Then came another wave that rolled on and on until it reached the body of the girl, covered it, and drew it in; and once more the lake became quiet as at first, while in the distance rose the form of the stranger. As he disappeared a mighty wave uprose and rolled over the lake, reached the beach, and swept the body of the youngest child from the beach where it lay, and again the lake became still. The father and the mother had watched these proceedings in a wondering state of mind. They made no sound nor did they speak. The silence of the lake and of all sounds, the absence of the stranger, the empty place where the children had lain, brought an overpowering sense of desolation to the parents and they gave way to violent demonstrations of grief. They cut their hair, threw away their clothing, and wailed as they walked beside the placid silent lake. Night came on; still the man and woman wailed, until from exhaustion they slept. Before the sun was up the woman arose and began to wail afresh. Her husband joined her, wailing as he came. The lake lay quiet, but covered with a mist. As the woman walked she remembered the words of the stranger and began to search, hoping she might find something as he had said she would. Her eye caught sight of a gleam in the water. She stooped and took from the water a white shell, exclaiming as she did so: "I have found it! I have found it!" Her husband heard her cry of joy, and he began to search. By and by he saw a dark object in the water; he stooped and took from the water a dark shell. Then he exclaimed: "I have found it!" Just then as they stood holding their shells, the mist parted, making an opening down the lake like a path and in the path stood the four children, well and happy. As the parents stood gazing in wonder, the children spoke, and said: "Do not grieve for us. We are content. Death is not to be dreaded. It is not as you think it to be. In course of

time you will be coming and then you will know for yourselves." And as their voices died away the mist closed the path and they were seen no more but in the mist, as through a veil, they saw the outline of a strange animal (fig. 107). It seemed as big as the great lake. Its skin was covered with hair and was brown like that of the deer. The ridge of its back was serrated with tufts of hair. It had branching horns and hoofs like the deer, and a slender tail with a tuft at the end, which swept toward the sky to the farthest end of the lake. At last this mysterious shadowy figure melted away and the lake lay quiet before the astonished couple. Then the man said to the woman: "We have found the mystery, let us go home." His wife consented; she was now content. She had seen the children and what they had said dwelt in her mind. So they returned to their tent to abide there as the stranger had said. The man went out to hunt. He knew where to find game and they had a large store of meat and many pelts. While they were still camped beside the lake there came to their tent a messenger from their tribe. He said that he had been sent by their people to seek for them. They had remained behind the others with a stranger and their kindred



FIG. 107. Mythic animal in legend of Shell society (native drawing).

feared that they might have been lured into danger and some ill befallen them. "Where are your children?" the messenger asked. "They are dead." "Where is the stranger?" "He has gone away, but he has given us all that you see, and he has promised to give us more when this supply is gone. Go back and tell the people what the stranger has done for us."

When the messenger saw the great store of meat and the many caches filled with dried meat, the pelts, and all the wealth given to the man and his wife, he was astonished and returned to the tribe to tell what he had seen and heard. Then the man and his wife left their camp, and, taking all they could with them and caching the rest until such time as they could return for it, they started back to rejoin their tribe. When they were once more with their people they determined to organize a society, as the stranger had told them to do, that they might give to the members of the magic power which they had received. The first lodge was composed of seven, the man and his wife and the four children, under the leadership of the mysterious stranger with the

magic power. The man and woman each initiated seven others. Then they waited four years, as they had been told to do. They made packs in which to keep the articles they must wear when the society met and also the medicinal roots which the stranger had pointed out to them. Some of these roots were to heal diseases; others were poisons which were to be used to punish offenders by causing them to die. A knowledge of all these roots and herbs was given as secrets by the stranger to the man and his wife, never to be imparted except to those who should be initiated into the society. Not only could the man and his wife thus impart this knowledge, but they could also give to those who were initiated a share in the magic power bestowed on them by the mysterious stranger, who was the messenger of the council of animals that dwelt in and about the great lake.

Such is the story of the origin of the Shell society.

ORGANIZATION

The society seems to have been organized in order to preserve the story upon which it was founded and its dramatic presentation forms the basis of the ceremonies observed at a regular meeting.

The membership was composed of five "*ti*," or lodges, each presided over by a *nudoⁿhonga*, "leader" or "master." Each lodge had its place in the dwelling set apart for the meetings of the society. This was originally a large tent, afterward an earth lodge, and in recent years a circular wooden building arranged like the latter.

The leaders of four of the lodges personated the four children (pl. 59) of the story and the lodges were spoken of as the lodge "of the eldest son," "of the second son," "of the daughter," and "of the youngest son." The fifth lodge was presided over by the *u'zhu*, or principal leader, who was at the head of the entire society. It is said that "in early times the office of *u'zhu* was filled by a woman, because it was the woman, the wife of the man in the story, who took the initiative and sent her son to invite the stranger to her house, prepared the feast, and entertained him; and also because it was to the woman, the mother, that the children addressed themselves when they appeared in the path on the lake after they had been "shot" by the mysterious stranger. But as time went on the women became too timid to fill the place so it was taken by men.

The place of the *u'zhu* was facing the east in the middle at the back of the dwelling. On his right toward the south sat "the eldest son" and his lodge. On his left toward the north were "the second son" and his lodge. To the latter's left on the north side sat "the daughter" and her lodge, and on the opposite side on the south to the right of "the eldest son" sat "the youngest son" and his lodge. (Fig. 108.)

The position of these four lodges had a cosmic significance. The manner in which the mysterious stranger of the story painted the four children bore out this same significance. He painted the body of the eldest son blue to represent the clear sky with no clouds to obstruct the passage of the sun's rays—so the sun was thus indi-



"THE FOUR CHILDREN," SHELL SOCIETY

rectly represented, it is said. The youngest son was painted the color of the earth. Both these children and their lodges are on the south side of the dwelling, the side "where the sun travels and causes the earth to bring forth." This side is spoken of also as "the masculine side." The second son was painted to represent the night sky and the daughter had the moon painted on her. These two children had their places on the north side of the lodge, the side which typified "the night and the feminine forces." The position assigned these "children" occurs in ceremonies observed in other tribes, which represent cosmic relations in that the related groups are placed diagonally and not directly opposite each other. Here the "eldest son," typifying the sun, the masculine power of the day, is diagonal to the "daughter," who stood for the moon, the feminine power of the night; and the "second son," representing the stars, is diagonally opposed to the "youngest son," who represented the earth. The mysterious stranger declared that "the earth and the stars are brothers."

All the offices of the society were obtained by purchase and were not elective. When a person holding an office felt that age or ill health made it difficult to fulfill the duties required, the office was sold, generally to a relative. Many of the present officers are descendants of

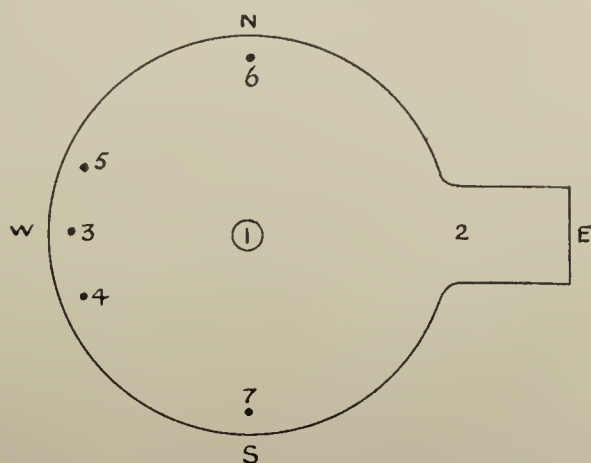


FIG. 108. Diagram illustrating meeting of Shell society. 1, Fireplace; 2, entrance toward the east; 3, *u'zhu*; 4, "eldest son" (the sun); 5, "second son" (the stars); 6, "daughter" (the moon); 7, "youngest son" (the earth).

those who formerly held these places. The present holder of the office of "eldest son" is the fifth in direct descent to hold the place. He is now a man over 50 and his father and grandfather lived to be old men. The other offices have been in the families of the present occupants for three or four generations. The five principal officers had to be present personally at all meetings. No substitutes were allowed, so the absence or sickness of one of these persons prevented a meeting being held. Besides these offices there were minor positions, the holders of which had certain duties connected with the dramatic rites. Sometimes a person bought and held several of these positions: The right to place the four "children" before the fireplace; to beat the drum; to have charge of the wooden bowl belonging to the society, which is said to be very old; to fill this bowl with water; to examine the water; to pass the bowl; to select

the servers of the feast; to designate to whom the choice pieces of meat were to be given; to invite guests to be present at the public part of the ceremony. The right to wear certain regalia had also to be purchased. Some of these articles have descended with the office, and the man who bought the office generally purchased the right to wear the regalia that had been worn by his predecessor.

No dream was requisite for membership. A member "must be able to keep a secret and not be of a quarrelsome disposition." The unanimous consent of all the members was necessary to admission to membership. In former times four years had to elapse between the presentation of a name and the acceptance of a person as a member, but of late years the time has been shortened. Other changes seem to have crept in. It is said that there should be seven lodges. The mysterious stranger told the man and his wife they were each to initiate seven members, seven men and seven women; then they were to wait four years, when seven more of each sex could be taken in. The seven initiation sticks still used are said to refer to this direction of the stranger. How the change to five lodges came about could not be learned and it is a question if it is now known. Of the animals that held a council with the stranger and agreed to give magic power to man, the four which were to give themselves as food seem to be associated with the lodges of the four "children." That of the "eldest son" is sometimes spoken of as the black-bear lodge, that of the "second son" as the elk lodge, the "daughter's" as the buffalo lodge (it is said that the "moon led the Omaha to the buffalo"), and the "youngest son's" as the deer lodge. The eagle belonged to the *u'zhu*, the head of the society, because "the eagle descended and spoke to the man after he had killed the black bear and said he would come and be one of them and give supernatural power."

It was formerly the custom that when a man was initiated he was required to bring the skin of an otter, a mink, or a beaver to represent the water, the skin of a squirrel or a badger to represent the earth, and that of a crow or an owl to represent the air. So, too, whenever a member shot a bear, an elk, a deer, or a buffalo, he saved a portion of the meat for use at a meeting of the society, in memory of the fact that these animals were closely connected with the rites.

Each lodge possessed a pack, or parfleche case, in which articles belonging to that lodge were kept. The regalia the right to wear which had been purchased by members, medicine for curing diseases, and poisons for punishing offenders were kept in these packs. Of the five packs belonging to the five lodges three are gone. One was captured a long time ago in a battle. One was burned accidentally near the beginning of the last century, and one that was formerly in charge of Big Elk is now in the Peabody Museum (no. 37560) of Harvard University. The contents of the other two packs have



MEMBERS OF THE SHELL SOCIETY



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been divided, so that now each lodge has a substitute for its lost pack.

The dress of the members varied with their ability to possess fine garments. The men were expected to wear only the breechcloth and moccasins. While a few observed this rule, most of the men wore shirts or leggings. In that case the line of paint which ran down each arm to the thumb was drawn on the sleeve of the shirt. The skin tunic of the women of early days was usually replaced in later times by a calico or other cloth sack and skirt, embroidered with ribbons which reproduced in color and design the old porcupine-quill embroidery, or by a gown of the style commonly worn by white women. Still later, rather bizarre designs much used by the Oto and some other tribes, which showed considerable white influence, became "fashionable" as "foreign importations." (Pls. 60-64.)

The painting on the face, the line from the mouth to the ears, representing a ray of the sun, and the lines down the arms typifying the lightning were in accordance with the manner in which the mysterious stranger painted the children; and the putting of down (which should be from under the left wing of the swan) upon the head constituted the peculiar decoration of the members.

Among the regalia the right to wear which was purchased by men were an otter-skin cap, a beaded cap with a feather

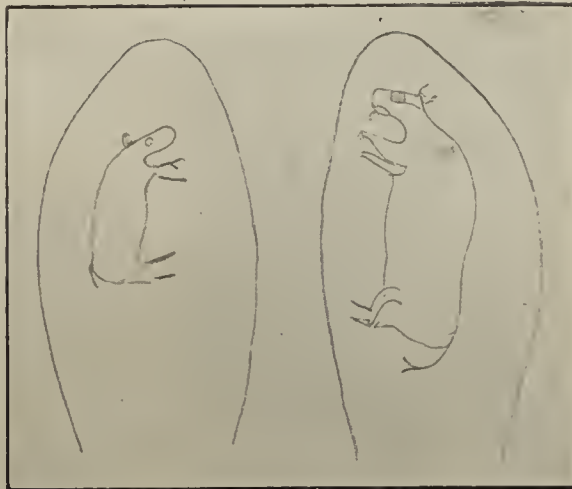


FIG. 109. Moccasin design belonging to "eldest son's" regalia, Shell society (native drawing).

in front that slants to the left, a black-squirrel-skin bag, a red-squirrel-skin bag, a pair of black skin moccasins with a bear embroidered on the left foot in black beads on a background of white beads, the head being toward the toe, and a buffalo similarly embroidered on the right foot (fig. 109). The right to wear these descended to "the eldest son;" they may be seen in plate 59. The right to carry a silver-fox-skin bag was purchased by a woman. Each member had his own otter-skin mystery bag (fig. 110; Peabody Museum no. 53054) and a left wing which represented the wing of the "holy bird," the swan. (This use of the wing is regarded by some persons as an innovation, as it is said "the wing belongs to the Pebble society.") The mystery bags were not buried with the dead, but were generally handed down and passed on with the place taken by a new member. Two shells were used, *Olivia*

nobilis Reeve, which is white and was regarded as female, and *Olivia elegans* Lam., which is dark and was considered the male. How these "male" and "female" shells were divided among the members was not explained.

Besides the wooden bowl already mentioned there was a board (*nini'amashude*) about a foot square with the edges embroidered; this was used for the preparation of the tobacco for smoking. The drum was formerly of the native type described on p. 371; later a keg was substituted but the employment of water

and heat in tuning was still practised. Two gourd rattles, and two pillows on which to strike the rattles, were kept with the drum. All these articles were the property of the society and each had its special keeper.

Each lodge had a pack, as stated above, and to each pack belonged two pipes and four sticks (*nini'uthubački*), the latter being used in filling and cleaning the pipes.

REGULAR MEETINGS

The regular meetings of the society were held in the months of May, June, August, and September, these being the mating seasons respectively of the black bear, the buffalo, the elk, and the deer. At other times, particularly in the fall and winter, meetings had to be held at night and were informal in character.

When a member decided to invite the society to hold a regular meeting he acted as host and prepared the required feast. Every regular meeting had its host. The host not only provided the food for the feast, but



FIG. 110. Otter-skin bag, Shell society.

gifts to be distributed among the members. In olden times these gifts were the skins of animals connected with the society as shown in the story of its origin. In recent times calico, blankets, and broadcloth were substituted. After the man had accumulated the required materials he sent for the four servants of the society and bade them tell the members that on such a day a regular meeting of the society would be held. When the day arrived he sent a servant of the society to procure the tobacco board and four sticks

used for the pipes belonging to the pack of his *ti*, or lodge and bade him place these articles in his (the host's) appointed seat in the lodge. The food was placed outside the dwelling where the society met and there was made ready for cooking. The gifts were spread within; the bowl, drum, and rattles obtained by the servants from their keepers were deposited in their proper places. Then the servants were dispatched to tell the members "all is ready."

Then the members entered the dwelling, passed around the fire by the left and took their places with their respective lodges; the last to enter was the host, who took his accustomed seat. (Fig. 111.)

THE OPENING CEREMONY

The pipes belonging to the pack of the lodge of which the host was a member were brought to him. He took one, filled it with tobacco which he had prepared on the board, and handed it to a servant, who took it to the *u'zhu*. The latter lighted the pipe, smoked it, and passed it to the person on his left, who smoked and passed it to the left. Meanwhile the host filled the second pipe and sent it by a servant to one of the masters of one of the other lodges, whichever one he pleased. No special order was observed. The master lighted, smoked, and passed the pipe to his left. Soon the first pipe was returned to the host, who refilled and sent it to another master, who lighted, smoked, and passed the pipe on. In this way the pipes were filled, smoked, and passed four times around the assembly.

Next, the host called a servant and handed him the seven invitation sticks. These sticks were made by each host and were never used twice. They were squared at both ends and the length was "the measure of a clenched fist." The servant took the sticks in his left hand, circled the fire, and went to the master who personated the "eldest son" and held the sticks before him. He received them in his left hand, removed one stick, laid it down before him, and handed the six back to the servant, who, holding the six sticks in his left hand, circled the fire and went to the master of the lodge of the "second son," and held the sticks before him. The "second son"

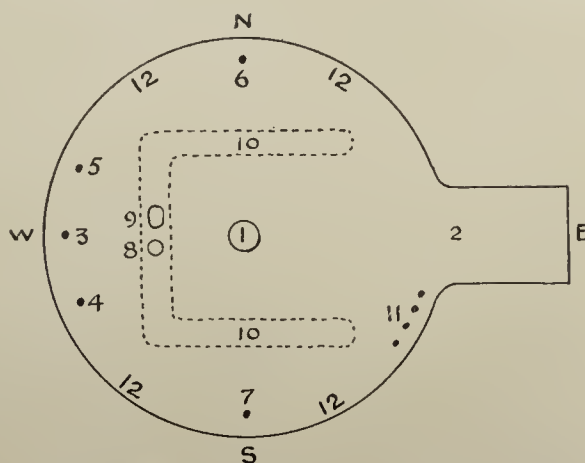


FIG. 111. Diagram showing positions of officers and of ceremonial articles at meeting of Shell society. 1, Fireplace; 2, entrance; 3, *u'zhu*; 4, "eldest son;" 5, "second son;" 6, "daughter;" 7, "youngest son;" 8, drum; 9, rattles; 10, gifts; 11, servants; 12, members.

received them in his left hand, took out one, and handed the five back to the servant, who circled the fire, went to the "daughter," and held the sticks before her. She received them as the others had done, took one, laid it down, and handed the four back to the servant, who for the fourth time circled the fire, went to the "youngest son," and held the sticks before him. He took them in the same manner, removed one, laid it down, and handed the three sticks back to the servant, who carried them back to the host.

The packs belonging to the several lodges were then taken up by their keepers, held by the ends, and turned four times from left to right "so that all the animals and roots within the packs might move from north to south." Then the keeper took a pinch of tobacco with his left hand and made a line from the bottom to the top of the pack, sprinkling a little of the tobacco as his hand moved. Four of these lines were made on the side of the pack and then he let fall the remainder of the tobacco on the pack. Next he struck the pack with his open palm four times and lifted the pack slightly. After these movements the packs were untied. The "eldest son" and the "daughter" manipulated the strings and bindings of their packs in the same way. The "second son" and the "youngest son" untied their packs differently from the first two, but both observed the same method in opening their packs. When all these motions were completed the regalia was distributed by the officers who had the right to perform this duty. At this time any "medicines" required by the members (such "medicines" as were kept in the packs) were given to those who desired them. This done, the packs were put behind the seats occupied by the masters of the lodges.

The host then gave the red and green paint he had provided to a servant, who put them on a cloth laid on the top of the drum. This was set directly in front of the *u'zhu*. The *u'zhu* summoned a servant, gave him some of the red clay used for paint, and bade him take it to the woman who sat at the extreme end on the south side; and she at once began to comb her hair. This represented the act of the mysterious stranger who thus cared for the children in the story. All the members then made ready to put on their regalia, while the woman to whom the paint was sent arose and, taking her otter-skin mystery bag, went by the left around the circle of members and, with her left hand outspread toward each person in turn, mentioned the term of relationship by which she was entitled to address him. Meanwhile the *u'zhu* had mixed some of the green or blue clay with water in a small wooden bowl and sent it to the master of the woman's lodge, who represented the "youngest son." After the woman had returned she was painted by the master, who then painted all the members of his lodge. While the painting of the members was in

progress the *u'zhu* directed a servant to gather up the mystery bags of the members by fours, and lay them before him: he then painted with the blue paint the head of the animal whose entire skin formed the bag. When this was done the servant advanced to the drum, made four feints, and then struck the drum four times. This represented that part of the story in which the animals in the lake and on the island struck their drums when the children were painted. The ceremony of gathering and painting the bags and striking the drum was the same for all the lodges.

Then the master representing the "eldest son" rose (he had painted his invitation stick red), having completed his duty of painting the members of his lodge, and, holding up his invitation stick, he passed by the left around the fire followed by all the members of his lodge. When they reached the entrance at the east they paused, faced the west and the fireplace and sang the following song, led by their master who held the painted stick aloft. The drum was not used to accompany any of the songs belonging to the opening and second part of the ceremony.

M. M. $\text{♩} = 120$ (Sung in octaves)

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Moⁿ wi - ta - we he she - wa - the - ke - he Ha - thi thi - u -

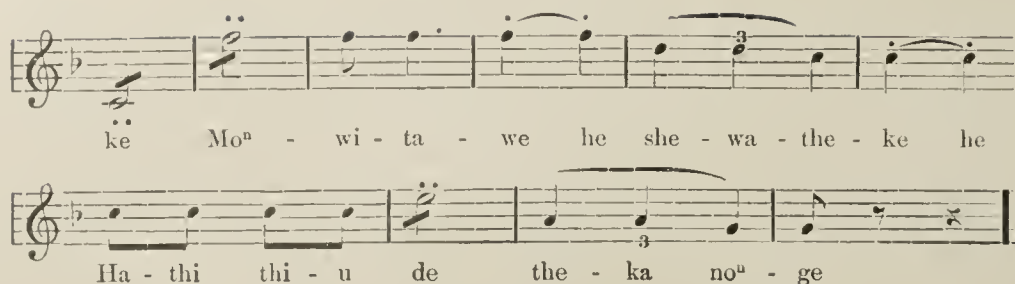
de the - ka noⁿ ge Ga - moⁿ - de she - wa - the

ke Ha thi thi - u - de the - ka noⁿ ge Ga - moⁿ

de she - wa - the - ke Ha - thi thi - u - de the - ka noⁿ

ge Ga - moⁿ - de she - wa - the - ke Ha - thi thi - u

de the - ka - noⁿ - ge Ga - moⁿ - de she - wa - the



Moⁿ witawe he! Shewatheke he
 Hathithiude thekano^{ge}
 Ga'moⁿde shewatheke
 Hathithiude thekano^{ge}
 Ga'moⁿde shewatheke
 Hathithiude thekano^{ge}
 Ga'moⁿde shewatheke
 Hathithiude thekano^{ge}
 Ga'moⁿde shewatheke
 Moⁿ witawe he! Shewatheke he
 Hathithiude thekano^{ge}

Translation: *Moⁿ*, arrow; *witawe*, mine; *he*, vocable; *shewatheke*, as you have bidden; *hathithiude*, deserted or abandoned; *theka no^{ge}*, you who have been; *ga'moⁿde*, this I shall do. "You who have been deserted [or abandoned] have given me an arrow which you have bidden me to use, and this I shall do as you have bidden me."

This refers to the instructions given by the father and mother to the members of the society when they first organized it. The song speaks of them as the "abandoned ones," as they were left all alone when the stranger and the four children disappeared among the waters. The "arrow" refers to the shell, which was shot as an arrow.

At the close of the song the lodge marched around the fire and the master returned the invitation stick to the host, after which they moved to their places.

Then the master who represented the "second son" arose, holding his painted invitation stick. All his lodge rose and followed him around the fire to the entrance, where they turned, faced the fire, and sang the song belonging to their master and lodge. This song the writers were not able to obtain. After the singing of this song the "second son" circled the fire and returned his painted invitation stick to the host, when he and his lodge went back to their appointed seats.

The "daughter" then arose, as did her lodge. They circled the fire to the entrance, where they turned, faced the west and the fire, and sang their song. This song the writers were not successful in obtaining. At the close they circled the fire and the "daughter" returned

her painted stick to the host; then she and her lodge passed on to their seats.

The "youngest son" arose, and with his lodge circled the fire, paused at the entrance, turned, faced the fire and the west, and, holding up his red painted invitation stick, sang the following song:

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

M.M. ♩ = 120 (Sung in octaves)

Mi - the - ga ha ha ha ha doⁿ mi - the - ga ha..... ha

ha e ya ha..... ha ha ha - doⁿ mi - the - ga ha ha

ha e ya ha..... ha ha the - ge u ha mi - the he he

he mi - the he mi - the he - he he ha doⁿ the - he - he

he a ha ha ha ha doⁿ mi - the ga ha ha ha - doⁿ

Mithega ha ha ha hadoⁿ! Mithega ha ha ha e ya ha ha ha hadoⁿ
 Mithega ha ha ha e ya ha ha ha thege uha
 Mithega he he he mithega ha mithega ha ha ha hadoⁿ
 Mithega he he he mithega ha mithega ha ha ha hadoⁿ
 Mithega hadoⁿ

Literal translation: *Mithega*, I go; *ha*, vocable; *hadoⁿ*, behold, see; *thege* yonder; *uha*, to walk as in a path.

When the song had been sung they circled the fire by the left, returned the stick to the host, and then took their accustomed seats.

A servant was next dispatched with the wooden bowl to fill it with water. This bowl is said to represent the earth, which held the lake spoken of in the story, and the water had to be taken from a spring, a lake, or other quiet body. When the servants returned with the bowl the water was examined by the officer whose duty it was to attend to having the water correctly furnished. Meanwhile the officer who had the right to place the four "children" before the fire went to the man representing the "eldest son," who arose and followed the officer. They two circled the fire and went to the place where the "second son" sat. He arose and followed them, and the three circled the fire and went to the "daughter." She arose, fell

into line, and the four passed about the fire and then went to the "youngest son." He arose, fell in behind the "daughter," and the five passed around the fire. When they reached the west they paused and stood facing the east.

The officer who led the "children" then took the bowl of water and handed it to the "eldest son," who took four sips and passed it to the "second son." He took four sips and handed it to the "daughter;" she did likewise and passed the bowl to the "youngest son." After

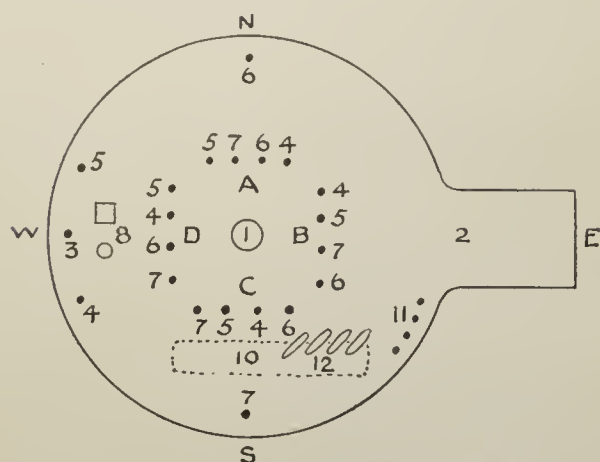


FIG. 112. Diagram showing arrangement and four ceremonial movements of officers at meeting of Shell society. 1, Fireplace; 2, entrance, facing the east; 3, *u'zhu*; 4, lodge of "eldest son;" 5, lodge of "second son," 6, lodge of "daughter;" 7, lodge of "youngest son;" 8, drum and rattles, moved back;" 10, gifts; 11, servants; 12, "children" ejecting shells on gifts after encircling lodge four times. D, A, B, C, successive positions of "children" before the fire; D, last position, like the first.

taking his four sips he handed the bowl to the officer, who carried it to the member sitting at the left of the row of members, the one who first combed her hair. She took four sips and passed the bowl to the person at her left, who also after four sips passed it on to the left, and so the bowl went entirely around, each member taking four sips. Finally the bowl was given to its keeper.

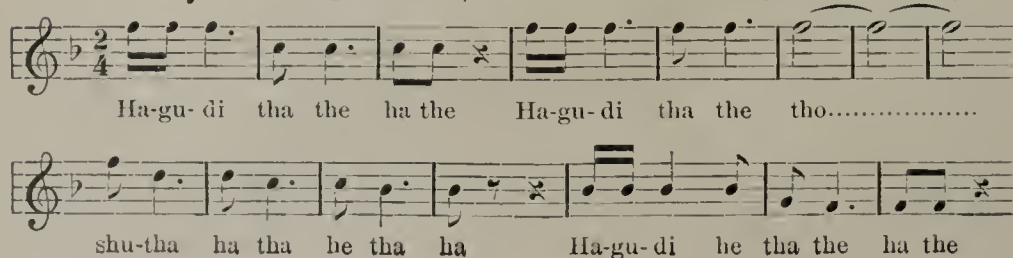
The drum was then moved back and the goods were spread toward the south. Then began a series of circlings of the fire by the four "children," during which a song was sung to each of the four directions; the "children" shifted their places and finally returned to the position occupied at the beginning. The accompanying diagram (fig. 112) may help to make clear this movement, which is not without dignity as the people perform it.

All standing at the west, the "eldest son" turned, faced the north, and sang the following song:

ELDEST SON'S SONG

M. M. ♩ = 72 (Sung in octaves)

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy



Ha - gu - di tha the tha..... Shu tha ha the

he tha ha Ha-gu-di he tha the tha.....

slow Cry of Mystic Ancients

Ha! ha ha ha

Hagudi thathe ha the
Hagudi thathe tho
Shuthahatha he tha ha
Hagudihe thathe ha tha
Hagudi thathe tha
Shuthahathe he tha ha
Hagudi he thathe tha

Translation: *Hagudi*, where? *thathe*, *theathe*, I send, I make to go; *hathe*, this (refers to the shell, with the secret power); *shuthe athe*, *shuthahathe*, in your direction; *he*, vowel prolongation; *tha*, end of sentence. "Where do I send this (the shell)? I send it in your direction."

The "eldest son" then led the way, the others following in single file, to the north side of the fire. When all were standing in line facing south he left his place, circled the fire alone, and on his return took his place beside the "youngest son."

The "second son" then turned, faced the east, and sang the following song:

M. M. ♩ = 96 Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Hi - tha - ha - the he e-a - a - be he he he he he he

Hi - tha - ha - the he e-a - a - be he he he he he he

Hi - tha - ha - the - he e-a - a - he he he he e - he he he

Hi - tha - ha - the he e-a - a - be he he he e - he he he

Hi - tha - ha - the he e-a - a - be he he he e - he he he

Hi - tha - ha - the he e-a - a - be he Hi - tha - ha - the he

e-a - a - be he he he c - he he he Hi - tha - ha - the he

e-a - a - be he he he e - he he he oh (Cries of the

Magic Ancients)

ha he ho ho ho ho ho ho

Hithahathe he eabe he he he ehe he he

Literal translation: *Hithathe*, I have found it; *eabe*, said. Vocab-
les are introduced to stretch the words to the music.

The song refers to the mother finding the shell and exclaiming,
"I have found it!", as recounted in the story.

At the close of the song the "second son" led toward the east, the
others following in single file. When they were all standing in line he
left his place, circled the fire alone, and on his return took his place
to the right of the "eldest son."

The "daughter" then turned, faced the south, and sang the follow-
ing song:

M.M. $\text{♩} = 138$

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ e - a - be he..... he

he e - he..... he he Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ

hoⁿ e - a - be he..... he he e - he..... he he

Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ e - a - be..... hio

o..... In iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ e - a - be

he..... he he e - he..... he he Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ

hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ e - a - be..... hio - o.....

Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ eabe he he he
 Ehe he he
 Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ eabe he he he
 Ehe he he
 Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ eabe hio
 Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ eabe he he he
 Ehe he he
 Iⁿ iⁿ thoⁿ hoⁿ e e thoⁿ hoⁿ eabe hio

Literal translation: *Iⁿ*, stone; *thoⁿ*, round; *eabe*, it is, they say.

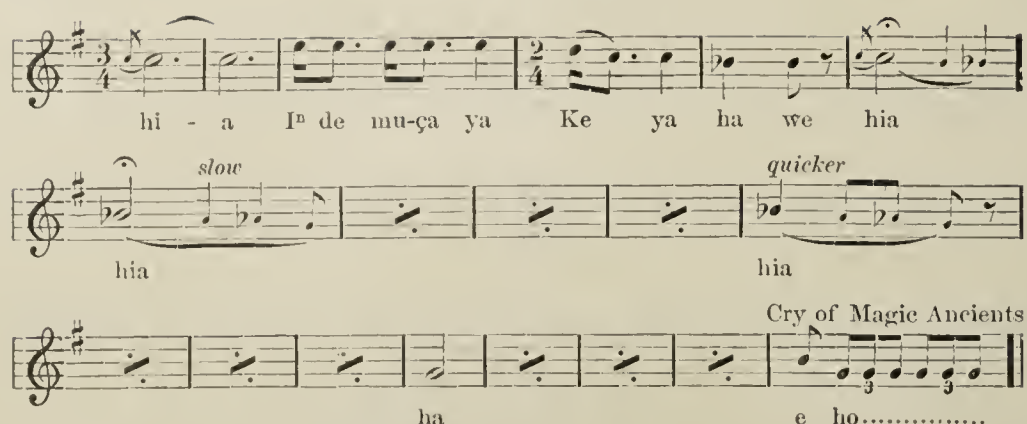
This song refers to the mother finding the shell. It is to be noted that the shell is here spoken of as a round stone. This song, as well as other points in the story it dramatizes, raises the question as to the relation between the Shell and Pebble societies. If they are related the Pebble society bears marks of being the older. Its rituals deal with more fundamental conceptions than does the story on which the Shell society is said to be founded.

After the song the "daughter" led toward the south, and the others followed her in single file. When all were in line she left her place, circled the fire alone, and on her return took her place on the right of the "second son."

The "youngest son" then turned and faced the west, and sang the following song:

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Ah! ke ya ha we he Iⁿ-de mu-ça ya ke ya ha we



Ah! ke ya ha we he
 In de muça ya ke ya ha we hia
 In de muça ya ke ya ha we hia

Literal translation: *Ah ke*, now then; *ya ha we he*, come, let us gather together; *inde*, face; *muça*, to shoot; *hia*, magical cry. Some of the words are archaic.

This song refers to the completion of the purposes of the stranger and the organization of the society. In it the members are bidden to "come now and shoot each other in the face." The otter-skin from which the shell was supposed to be "shot" was always aimed at the mouth, whence comes the breath, the sign of life in man. The Pebble people shot at any part of the person; the Shell people only at the face.

At the close of the song the "youngest son" led toward the west, the others following. When all were in line he circled the fire alone, and on his return took his place to the right of the "daughter." All four were then in their first position.

Standing before the fire and facing the east, the four laid their mystery bags down in front of them. Then, beginning with the "eldest son" (no. 4), they coughed in order as they stood. The cough was repeated four times in the same order and at the fourth cough the shell was ejected. The four coughs were said to be for the purpose of gaining strength to reach the four hills of life leading to old age. The palms of the hands were then moistened, the bag was picked up with the right hand, the shell held in the left. Then all four started around the circular dwelling at a trot, with one breath uttering the magic cry *Chochochooo* until they reached the middle of the north side. There they took breath, then, with the same cry, trotted to the middle of the east, took breath, and with the same cry and movement went to the middle of the south side, where they again paused to breathe and then went on with the same cry to the west. This movement about the dwelling with the four stops and prolonged magic cries was repeated four times. After a brief rest the four started again. With the same magic cry they circled the fire without pausing until they

reached the south side, where the gifts of goods were spread. They there put their shells into their mouths and each one fell prone on the goods. This act represented the death of the children in the story.

The drum was then put before the *u'zhu*, and one of the minor officers started a song of the slow-time class called a "rest song." During its singing the four "children" stood motionless before the fire.

INTRODUCTORY TO DRAMATIC MOVEMENT

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

M.M. ♩ = 116 (Sung in octaves)

Da - go - ho - tha ha wi u^a tha ha - ku - de he

ga ha He he ha ha u^a-tha - ha - ku - de he

ga Mi - the ga ha u^a - tha - ku - de he

ga ha He he ha ha u^a-tha ha ku - de he

ga ha He he ha ha u^a - tha ku - de he

ga Mi - the - ga ha u^a-tha ha ku - de he ga ha

He he ha ha u^a-tha ha ku - de he ga

Dagohotha ha wiu^athahakude he ga ha
 He he ha ha u^athahakude he ga
 Mithega ha u^athakude he ga ha
 He he ha ha u^athahakude he ga ha
 He he ha ha u^athakude he ga
 Mithega ha u^athahakude he ga ha
 He he ha ha u^athahakude he ga

Translation: *Dagotha*, an archaic term meaning "what is it?"; the vocable *ho* is introduced to stretch the word to the music; *wiu^a*, me; *thakude*, you shoot; *ha he ga ha* are vowel prolongations or vocables; *mithega*, I go forth. The meaning of this song is: "What is it with which you shoot me as I go forth?"

After this song, one in fast time was sung. All the lodge of the "eldest son" joined in the singing during which the following movements took place: The four "children" passed around the fire four times, and then went to the lodge of the "youngest son" at the southeast and "shot" four members at the end of the line; the latter fell rigid but in a few moments arose, took their places behind the four "children" and in single file the eight circled the fire. The last four then "shot" four of the lodge of the "eldest son," who fell, arose, and followed the others, and the twelve circled the fire. Then the last four "shot" four members of the lodge of the "second son," who fell, arose, and took their places behind the others, and the sixteen circled the fire. Then the last four "shot" four from the lodge of the "daughter," who fell, arose, and followed the others and the twenty went around the fire.

(Sung in octaves)

Music transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Ku- tha e wa - koⁿ da ha she iⁿ ge tha ha

Hi - noⁿ - ge ta ha iⁿ - ge tha ha ku - tha e - wa - koⁿ

da ha tha - ha A - she - iⁿ - ge - he tha ha Hi - noⁿ - ge

ta ha iⁿ - ge tha ha ku - tha e - wa - koⁿ - da ha tha ha

A she iⁿ ge tha ha ku - tha e - wa - koⁿ - da ha she - iⁿ

ge tha ha Hi - noⁿ - ge ta ha iⁿ - ge tha ha ha.....

Kutha e wakoⁿda ha
 Sheiⁿgehe tha ha
 Hiⁿoⁿge ta ha iⁿge tha ha
 Kutha e wakoⁿda ha tha ha
 Asheiⁿgehe tha ha
 Hiⁿoⁿge ta ha iⁿgetha ha
 Kutha e wakoⁿda ha tha ha
 Asheiⁿge tha ha
 Kutha e wakoⁿda ha
 Sheiⁿge tha ha
 Hiⁿoⁿge ta ha iⁿge tha ha ha

Literal translation: *Kutha*, a term of endearment for a wife, used only in great grief (the word for wife in ordinary address is *thanoⁿ'ha*; when spoken of, *wigaxthoⁿ*); *e*, he; *Wakoⁿ'da*, here used in the sense of "mysterious;" *sheiⁿgehe tha ha*, an archaic form difficult to translate, refers to all things yonder—the animals, the earth, and its teeming life; *hinoⁿge*, let us run; the word used refers to the running of animals, not men. The lines are all composed of changes on these words.

The song refers to the incident in the story when, after the shell had been found, the husband in his grief called to his wife and said, "We will now run home." The movement was to put them in accord with that of the animals of the earth and of the magic and mysterious animals of the story; also, they were to be endowed with their swiftness and magic power. Beneath the story of the song lies another meaning, which relates to the imparting to the man and woman of added life, reproductive power, by means of the magic granted to them.

This dramatic movement completed the opening ceremony, which was closed to the public.

THE PUBLIC CEREMONY

At the close of this cumulative procession about the fire those members who chose to do so returned to their respective places. The drum was then taken to one of the lodges and the members of that lodge formed a choir while the drum was with them. Each lodge had its own songs, and there was an initial song for each lodge which had to be sung first when the drum was brought; subsequently the singers chose the songs they wished to sing, there being no fixed order after the first. The drum was beaten as an accompaniment to all the songs, which were divided into the slow, or rest, songs, during which the members sat and talked or rested; and fast songs, during which they passed about the fire, "shooting" whom they pleased. Whoever was "shot" fell rigid, lay a few moments in a tense attitude, then arose and took a place in the moving line about the fire, and "shot" whomsoever he wished. After the drum had remained a while with one lodge it was carried to another. The initial song of that lodge was sung, then other songs belonging to the lodge, according to the fancy of the choir, and the procession formed again. The drum had to pass to all the lodges during a regular meeting.

The following are the initial songs of the four lodges:

INITIAL SONG OF THE LODGE OF THE "ELDEST SON"

M.M. ♩ = 72 (Sung in octaves)

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

E - u - tha ki - da wi - hi the he..... he he wa
shi..... ge he..... he he E - u - tha ki - da wi - the
he..... he he wa - ko^a - da wi - the he he he e - i^a
ga - we he..... he he E - u - tha ki - da wi - the
he..... he he i^a - ga - - we he..... he he E -
u - tha ki - da wi - the he..... he he wa - ko^a - da wi - the
he he he e - i^a - ga we he..... he he E - u - tha ki - da
wi - the he..... he he i^a - ga - we..... he.....

Eutha kida wihithe he he he
Washige he hehe
Eutha kida withe he he he
Wako^ada withe he he he e
Iⁿgawehe hehe
Eutha kida wihithe he hehe
Iⁿgawehe hehe
Eutha kida wihithe he he he
Iⁿgawehe

Literal translation: *Eutha*, tell; *kida*, when home; *withe*, I cause you; *he he he*, vocables; *washige*, possessions or wealth; *wako^ada*, mysterious—refers to the mysterious stranger who gave the magic; *withe*, caused, appointed; *iⁿgawehe*, speaking to me thus.

The song refers to the command of the stranger bidding the man and his wife to say when they went home that the mysterious stranger had offered them riches, possessions, through the magic power given them. The song implies that like powers will be passed on to the initiated.

INITIAL SONG OF THE LODGE OF THE "SECOND SON"

M.M. ♩ = 160 (Sung in octaves)

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

The-ge he..... he he Ho - wa - ne he..... he he

A - the - ge he he he Ho - wa - ne he he he

A - the-ge he he he Ho - wa - ne..... hia

Ni - ka the-ge he he he Ho - wa - ne he..... he he

The-ge he he he Ho - wa - ne hia

A - he he..... he he he he..... he he

A - he he..... he he.....

Thege he hehe
 Howane he he he
 Athege he hehe
 Howane he hehe
 Athege he hehe
 Howane hia
 Nikathege he hehe
 Howane he hehe
 Thege he hehe
 Howane hia
 Ahehe hehe hehe hehe
 Ahehe he ha

Literal translation: *Thege*, these; *howane*, I have sought; *athege*, behold these; *nika*, part of *nikathega*, people; *hia*, cry of magic animals; vocables and magic cries.

The song means: Behold the possessions I have sought and gained by the magic given by the mysterious stranger; behold the people I have gathered about me by his help. Reference is made to the magic help given to the initiated in the society.

INITIAL SONG OF THE LODGE OF THE "DAUGHTER"

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

A - wa - te - di tha - tie - doⁿ - oⁿ Hoⁿ thoⁿ tha the ha

A - wa - te - di tha - tie - doⁿ - oⁿ Hoⁿ thoⁿ tha the ha

A - wa - te - di tha - tie - doⁿ - oⁿ Hoⁿ thoⁿ tha the ha

A - wa - te - di tha - tie - doⁿ - oⁿ Hoⁿ thoⁿ tha the ha

Wi - e - ha she - ti - di tha ti-e doⁿ-oⁿ Hi - wi - the ha

A - wa - te - di tha - tie - doⁿ oⁿ Hoⁿ thoⁿ tha the ha

A - wa - te - di tha - ti-e doⁿ - oⁿ Hoⁿ thoⁿ tha the ha

Awatedi thati e doⁿ oⁿ
 Hoⁿthoⁿthathe ha
 Awatedi thati e doⁿ oⁿ
 Hoⁿthoⁿthathe ha
 Awatedi thati e doⁿ oⁿ
 Hoⁿthoⁿthathe ha
 Awatedi thati e doⁿ oⁿ
 Hoⁿthoⁿthathe ha
 Wieha shetidi thati e doⁿ
 Hiiwithe ha
 Awatedi thati e doⁿ
 Hoⁿthoⁿthathe ha
 Awatedi thati e doⁿ
 Hoⁿthoⁿthathe a

Literal translation: *Awatedi*, at what place; *thati e doⁿ*, came you; *hoⁿthoⁿthathe*, and you found me; *wicha*, it was I; *shetidi*, at yonder place; *thati e doⁿ*, you came when; *hiwithe ha*, I found you.

This song refers to the initial incident in the story, the mother sending her son to invite the mysterious stranger. He asks: Where did you find me? I it was who found you at yonder place, the house of the chief from which the stranger came to partake of the feast prepared for him by the woman. In this song the "daughter" recalls the act of the mother which led to the formation of the society and the gift of magic.

INITIAL SONG OF THE LODGE OF THE "YOUNGEST SON"

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

E wa-koⁿ-da a gi-boⁿ-thi-thoⁿ ha E wa-koⁿ-da a gi-boⁿ-thi-thoⁿ

E wa-koⁿ-da a gi-boⁿ-thi-thoⁿ ha E wa-koⁿ-da a gi-boⁿ-thi-thoⁿ

E wa-koⁿ-da a gi-boⁿ-thi-thoⁿ ha E wa-koⁿ-da a gi-boⁿ-thi-thoⁿ

E wakoⁿda a giboⁿthithoⁿ ha
 E wakoⁿda a giboⁿthithoⁿ
 E wakoⁿda a giboⁿthithoⁿ ha
 E wakoⁿda a giboⁿthithoⁿ
 E wakoⁿda a giboⁿthithoⁿ ha
 E wakoⁿda a giboⁿthithoⁿ

Literal translation: *E*, he; *wakoⁿda*, mysterious; *a*, vowel prolongation; *giboⁿthithoⁿ*, called him.

This song refers to the calling of the youngest son into the tent, where he was "shot" as he entered, by the mysterious stranger, as told in the story. By that "shot" magic was given and can be transmitted by the representative of the youngest son, according to the claim of the society traditions.

These initial songs are among those said to have been taught by the mysterious stranger when the family were eating of the game that had been killed through the magic influence given the hunter to call the animals.

When the drum had passed around all the lodges the members took off their regalia, and while the disrobing was in progress the servants brought in the food for the feast. The *u'zhu* then took a wooden spoon, dipped up some of the broth, and dropped it into the fireplace. Then he circled the fire, and when facing the east, took another spoon-

ful of the broth and carried it out of the lodge. At the entrance facing the east he held the food up to the sun, then poured out the offering at the entrance to the dwelling. Then he returned and, placing his finger on the spoon, touched with his moist finger the head of each of the mystery bags of the four masters and both moccasins of the "eldest son" and the "second son." After this ceremony all the articles which belonged to the packs were laid away where they belonged. The choice pieces of meat were then removed and given by the servants as directed by the officer who has that duty. Then all the members were served. Before anyone partook of his food each member arose and gave thanks to the host, beginning at the south-east end of the line. When the last person had spoken he took a bit and ate it; then each in turn followed, and all partook of the food without further ceremony. At the conclusion of the meal the gifts were taken to the "eldest son," who either distributed them or sent them to another master for distribution. The servants were always remembered in this division.

After the gifts had found their way to those who were to receive them, the songs of dismissal followed. These were the songs which the mysterious stranger bade the father and mother never to forget when rising from a feast. They were sung in the order of the "children," beginning with the "eldest son." Each song has two stanzas and there are four repetitions.

DISMISSAL SONG OF THE "ELDEST SON"

M. M. $\text{♩} = 152$ Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

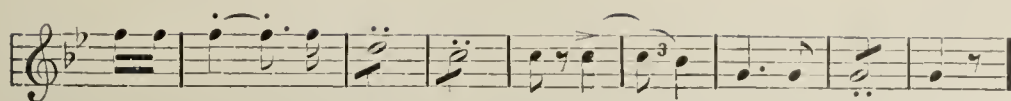
A-yoⁿ-ge he iⁿ-ga - ne he Ho..... zhoⁿ-ge iⁿ-ga - ne

A-yoⁿ-ge he iⁿ-ga - ne he Ho..... zhoⁿ-ge iⁿ-ga - ne

A-yoⁿ-ge he iⁿ-ga - ne he Ho..... zhoⁿ-ge iⁿ-ga - ne

Wa-koⁿ-da the-the-ga ha Ho..... zhoⁿ-ge iⁿ-ga - ne

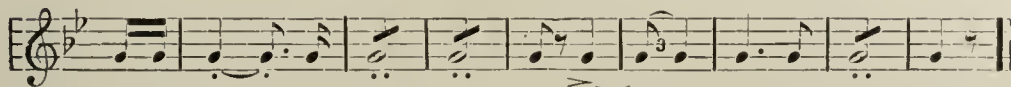
Wa-shi-ge the-the-ga ha Ho..... zhoⁿ-ge iⁿ-ga - ne



A-yoⁿ-ge he iⁿ-ga - ne he Ho-zhoⁿ-ge iⁿ-ga - ne



A-yoⁿ-ge he iⁿ-ga - ne he Ho-zhoⁿ-ge iⁿ-ga - ne



Wa-shi - ge the - the - ga ha Ho-zhoⁿ-ge iⁿ-ga - ne

1

Ayoⁿge he iⁿgane he
 Hozhoⁿge iⁿgane
 Ayoⁿge he iⁿgane he
 Hozhoⁿge iⁿgane
 Ayoⁿge he iⁿgane he
 Hozhoⁿge iⁿgane
 Wakoⁿda thethega ha
 Hozhoⁿge iⁿgane

2

Washige thethega ha
 Hozhoⁿge iⁿgane
 Ayoⁿge he iⁿgane he
 Hozhoⁿge iⁿgane
 Ayoⁿge he iⁿgane he
 Hozhoⁿge iⁿgane
 Washige thethega ha
 Hozhoⁿge iⁿgane

Literal translation: *Ayoⁿge*, as it has been said; *he*, vowel prolongation; *iⁿgane*, spoken to me; *he*, vowel prolongation; *hozhoⁿge*, path; *he*, vowel prolongation; *wakoⁿda*, mysterious (refers to the stranger); *thethega*, go hither.

This song was explained to mean: "I rise to take the path pointed out to me by the mysterious messenger or stranger." The path refers to the path of life, with its avocations.

The second stanza is identical with the first except in lines 1 and 7. *Washige* in these lines means "possessions," the products of hunting gained through the magic imparted by the mysterious stranger to bring the animals.

DISMISSAL SONG OF THE "SECOND SON"

M. M. ♩ = 66

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Aⁿ - moⁿ-thiⁿ tha goⁿ a the - he de e ga Aⁿ-

moⁿ-thiⁿ the goⁿ - a the he de e ga Aⁿ - moⁿ-thiⁿ the goⁿ - a

tha he de e ga Aⁿ-moⁿ-thiⁿ the goⁿ a the he de e ga Aⁿ-

moⁿ-thiⁿ the goⁿ - a the he de e ga Aⁿ - moⁿ-thiⁿ the goⁿ

Zhi-ma tha ha Aⁿ - moⁿ-thiⁿ the goⁿ a the he de - e ga

1

Aⁿmoⁿthiⁿ thegoⁿ athahede e ga
 Aⁿmoⁿthiⁿ thegoⁿ athahede e ga
 Aⁿmoⁿthiⁿ thegoⁿ athahede e ga
 Aⁿmoⁿthiⁿ thegoⁿ athahede e ga

2

Aⁿmoⁿthiⁿ thegoⁿ athahede e ga
 Aⁿmoⁿthiⁿ thegoⁿ
 Zhimatha ha
 Aⁿmoⁿthiⁿ thegoⁿ athahede e ga

Literal translation: *Aⁿmoⁿthiⁿ*, the other one; *thegoⁿ*, is gone; *athahede*, a longing desire; *zhimatha*, an archaic word; the remaining syllables are vowel prolongations and vocables.

The meaning of this song is said to be: "The other one, my brother, has gone, and I have a longing to follow him along the paths opened before us."

DISMISSAL SONG OF THE "DAUGHTER"

M. M. ♩ = 84

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

The ge the ge ga ha the - ge the ge ga ha the ge the ge

ga ha the - ge the ge ga ha the - ge the ge ga ha the -

- - ge the ge ga ha the - ge the ge ga ha the - ge the ge
ga ha the - ge the ge ga ha the - ge the ge ga ha the -
- - ge the ge ga ha the - ge the ge ga ha moⁿ - thiⁿ du-a
ge he we - shi-ge ha-a we - shi-ge ha a the - ge the ge he ga

1

Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha

2

Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Thegethe ge ga ha
Moⁿthiⁿ dua ge he
Weshige ha a
Weshige ha a
Thegethe ge he ga

The words of this song can not be translated. They are said to be old—at least, they are unintelligible to the Omaha of to-day. The meaning of the song is said to be: "We will again take this path." The word *weshige*, or one like it in sound, occurs. This word means "possessions" or "wealth," referring to the fruits of the successful hunter whose magic helped him to reach the animals in the story. "The path" therefore may refer to the possessions given through the magic imparted by this society.

Literal translation: *She*, those; *uha*, paths; *wethaha*, we go; *kutha*, wife; *monⁿzhon*, land, earth.

The words of the song are few but the song is said to refer to the father and mother of the children speaking together after the death of their children, recalling the fact that before this strange experience they had traveled together but now they were to follow other ("those") paths over the earth, which had been pointed out to them by the mysterious stranger. That there was grief in facing the change is shown in the use of the term *kutha*, "wife," which, as already explained, was never used except in great sorrow, as at death.

At the conclusion of this song the lodge of the "youngest son" arose and went out first; then followed the lodge of the "daughter," next the lodge of the "second son," then that of the "eldest son," and finally the *u'zhu*.

In olden times a sweat bath was obligatory in washing off the paint but now it is removed with warm water.

The following eight songs belong to the lodge of the "eldest son" and afford a fair sample of the songs of the society. Three are of the slow class, "rest songs," that is, there is no movement when they are sung. A song of this class always preceded one of the fast songs, during which the dramatic movement about the lodge took place, the members "shooting" one another. There is one special song in this group (no. 8) which is sung only when the thunder is first heard after the winter season. As the regular meetings of the society are not held during the spring, this song can not be classed with those usually sung at a meeting of the society, when any of the remaining seven songs of the following group could be sung while the drum was with this lodge. Of the songs here given some are evidently old, others are modern—at least, not quite a hundred years old. It will be noted in the explanation of these songs that throughout the story and practices of the society there runs a double thread, the dramatization of the story itself and a suggestion of the dual forces whose conjunction brings about living forms. The circle of life is also presented; its beginning, birth, is in mystery and it returns to the mystery of death. The magic side of the beliefs of the society is well brought out in songs nos. 3, 6, and 7.

Owing to the great difficulty and expense of obtaining material of this character, no attempt has been made to secure the songs of the other three lodges. The ritual songs of the secret ceremonies of the opening of a regular meeting are practically complete, as well as the customs and usages of the society. It is probable that the songs of the other lodges are similar to those here given. It is possible that some phase of the story or the beliefs may be emphasized in one lodge more than in another but the general scope is practically as here presented.

FIRST SONG—SLOW SONG, INTRODUCTORY TO DRAMATIC MOVEMENT IN "SHOOTING"
MEMBERS

M.M. $\text{♩} = 66$ Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Da-go - tha - ha wa - a - ku - de iⁿ-ga - we he he he

E - he he he wa - a - ku - de iⁿ-ga - we he he he

E - he - he he woⁿ-a - ge he ga ha wa - a - ku - de iⁿ-ga - we

he he he E - he he he wa - a - ku - de iⁿ-ga - we he he he

E - he he he Da - go tha ha - wa - a - ku - de iⁿ-ga - we

he he he E - he - he he wa - a - ku - de iⁿ-ga - we

he he he E - he he he Wa - a - ku - de iⁿ-ga - we he

1

(Sung twice)

Dagothaha waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he woⁿage he ga ha
 Waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he
 Dagothaha waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he waakude iⁿ ga we he

2

(Sung twice)

Dagothaha waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he I^{nno}ⁿge he ga ha
 Waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he
 Dagotha ha waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he waakude iⁿ ga we he he he
 E he he he waakude iⁿ ga we he

Literal translation: *Dagotha*, what is it?; *wakude*, to shoot; *woⁿage*, an archaic word; *I^{nno}ⁿge*, also archaic. The remaining syllables are vocables and vowel prolongations.

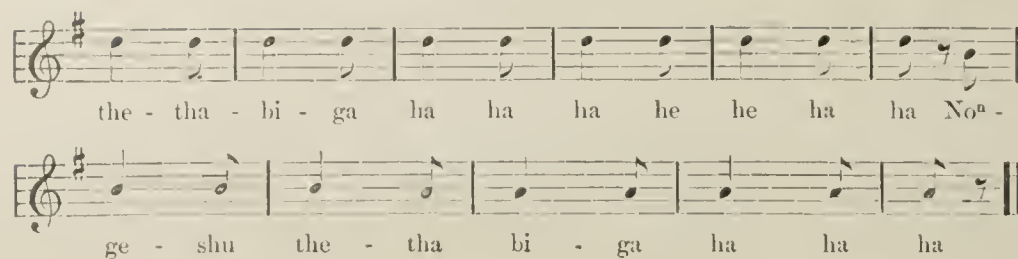
The song is said to be old. It refers to the shooting of the children by the mysterious stranger, as told in the story.

SECOND SONG—SLOW SONG, INTRODUCTORY TO A DRAMATIC MOVEMENT

M.M. ♩. = 104 (Sung in octaves)

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Noⁿ - ge shu the - tha - bi - ga ha ha ha he
 he ha ha noⁿ - ge shu - the - tha bi - ga ha ha
 ha he he ha ha Uⁿ - da moⁿ -
 thiⁿ - du - wa - ge he Noⁿ - ge shu the tha bi ga
 ha ha ha he he ha ha Noⁿ - ge shu the - tha
 bi - ga ha ha ha he he ha ha Noⁿ - ge - shu
 the - tha - bi - ga ha ha he he ha Noⁿ - ge shu -



Noⁿge shuthethabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuthethabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Uⁿda moⁿthiⁿ duwage he
 Noⁿge shuthethabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuthethabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuthethabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuthethabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuthethabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha

2

Noⁿge shuithabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuithabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Uⁿda moⁿthiⁿ duwage he
 Noⁿge shuithabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuithabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuithabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha
 Noⁿge shuithabiga ha ha ha he he ha ha

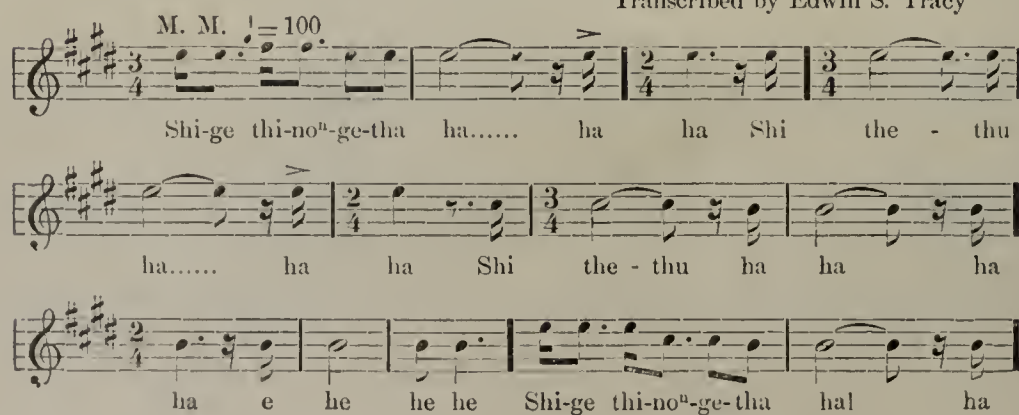
Literal translation: (1) *Noⁿge*, running; *shuthethabiga*, going forth in your direction; *uⁿda moⁿthiⁿ duwage*, along the different paths they are running. (2) *Noⁿge*, running; *shuithabiga*, coming, returning.

The song refers to the rapid movements of the "four children" when they ran around the lodge and stopped at each of the four directions. The two stanzas are said to have another significance: The "running" indicates vigorous and abundant life, the birth of living things "going forth;" the second stanza refers to their "returning" to Mother Earth, moving along the different paths to final death.

The music is unusually attractive and melodious—in contrast to many of the songs of this society.

THIRD SONG—SLOW SONG, INTRODUCTORY TO A DRAMATIC MOVEMENT

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy



ha Shi the - thu ha! ha ha Shi the - thu

ha! ha ha e he he he

Shi-ge thi - noⁿ-ge - tha ha ha Shi the - thu

ha ha ha Shi the - thu ha ha ha e

he..... he he Shi noⁿ-ge-tha ha!..... ha ha Shi

(Spoken) Cry of Magic Ancients

the..... thu ha ha ho ho ho ho ho ho

(Repeated four times)

Shige thinoⁿgethaha! ha ha
 Shi thethuha! ha ha
 Shi thethuha! ha ha e he he he
 Shige thinoⁿgethaha! ha ha
 Shi thethuha! ha ha
 Shi thethuha! ha ha e he he he
 Shige thinoⁿgethaha! ha ha
 Shi thethuha! ha ha
 Shi thethuha! ha ha e he he he
 Shi noⁿgethaha! ha ha
 Shi thethu ha!

Literal translation: *Shige*, again; *thinoⁿgethaha*, in an appointed direction you are running; *shi*, again; *thethuha*, here is the place; *noⁿge*, running. The remaining syllables are vocables and vowel prolongations.

This song refers to a meeting of the society at which the members by their magic turned themselves into birds and animals and flew and wandered over the earth. One member strayed off and was lost but was finally discovered, and this song refers to the calling of the members to the one that was lost, telling him that he was going in the opposite direction, and bidding him come "again" "here," that is, to the place where the other members were gathered.

FOURTH SONG—FAST SONG FOR DRAMATIC MOVEMENT

(Sung in octaves) Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

E - noⁿ wa - koⁿ - de tha ha E - noⁿ wa - koⁿ - de tha ha

In - da - di wa - koⁿ - de tha ha E - noⁿ wa -

koⁿ - de tha ha In - da - di wa - koⁿ - de tha ha

(Sung four times)

Enoⁿ wakoⁿde tha ha
 Enoⁿ wakoⁿde tha ha
 Indadi wakoⁿde tha ha
 Enoⁿ wakoⁿde tha ha
 Indadi wakoⁿde tha ha

Literal translation: *Enoⁿ*, he alone; *wakoⁿde*, mysterious; *tha*, is; *ha*, end of sentence; *indadi*, father (referring to the stranger).

In this song the stranger of the story is called "father" and he is declared to be mysterious and the giver of magic. The members of the society are as his children and receive from him the mysterious power. "My father is mysterious—he alone is mysterious!"

The fast songs are used for the movements about the lodge when the members "shoot" one another with the magic shells.

FIFTH SONG—FAST SONG FOR DRAMATIC MOVEMENT IN "SHOOTING"

M. M. ♩ = 160 Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

Kn-tha he-da doⁿ - a - doⁿ ha noⁿ tha pe tha xa - ge he

Ku - tha he-da - doⁿ - a - doⁿ ha noⁿ tha pe tha xa - ge he

moⁿ wi - ta we he noⁿ tha - pe tha - xa - ge he Ku - tha

he - da - doⁿ - a - ha noⁿ - tha pe tha xa - ge he

(Sung twice or more)

Kutha hedadoⁿadoⁿ ha
 Noⁿthape thaxage he
 Kutha hedadoⁿadoⁿ ha
 Noⁿthape thaxage he
 Moⁿ wita we he noⁿthape thaxage he
 Kuḡa hedadoⁿa ha
 Noⁿthape thahage he

Literal translation: *Kutha*, a term of affection applied only to a wife; *hedadoⁿadoⁿ ha*, what is it? *noⁿthape*, afraid of; *thaxage he*, you cry; *moⁿ* arrow; *wita*, my; vocables. The only changes for the second stanza are in the lines beginning with *kutha* and *moⁿ wita*, and these are as follows: *Kutha shia dadoⁿ adoⁿ ha*, "Wife, what else are you afraid of?" *Moⁿkoⁿ witawe noⁿthape thaxagehe*—*moⁿkoⁿ*, medicine (not magic, but physic); *witawe*, mine; *noⁿthape*, afraid of; *thaxagehe*, you cry. The magic power is here spoken of as an arrow.

This song is said to have a double meaning and to be phallic in character. This phase of the society was disapproved by a class of the older men of the tribe, as tending to licentiousness among the young people.

SIXTH SONG—FAST SONG FOR DRAMATIC MOVEMENT IN "SHOOTING" ONE
 ANOTHER

M.M. ♩ = 162 Transcribed by Edwin S. Traey

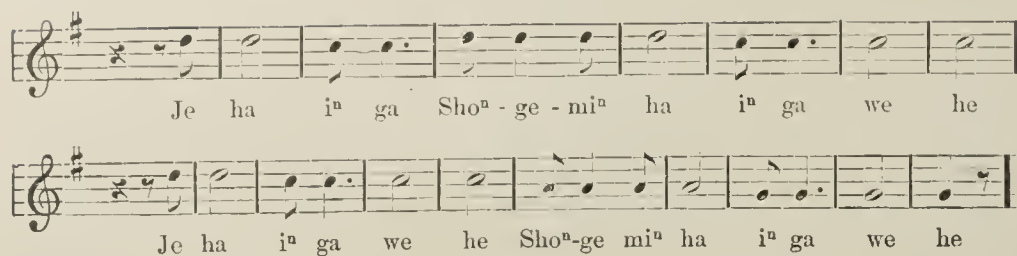
Je ha iⁿ - ga - we he Shoⁿ - ge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he

Je ha iⁿ ga shoⁿ - ge - miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he

Je ha iⁿ ga we he shoⁿ - ge - miⁿ ha iⁿ - ga we he

Je ha iⁿ - ga Shoⁿ - ge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he

Je ha iⁿ ga we he shoⁿ - ge - miⁿ ha iⁿ - ga we he



TEÇO'S SONG OF REVENGE

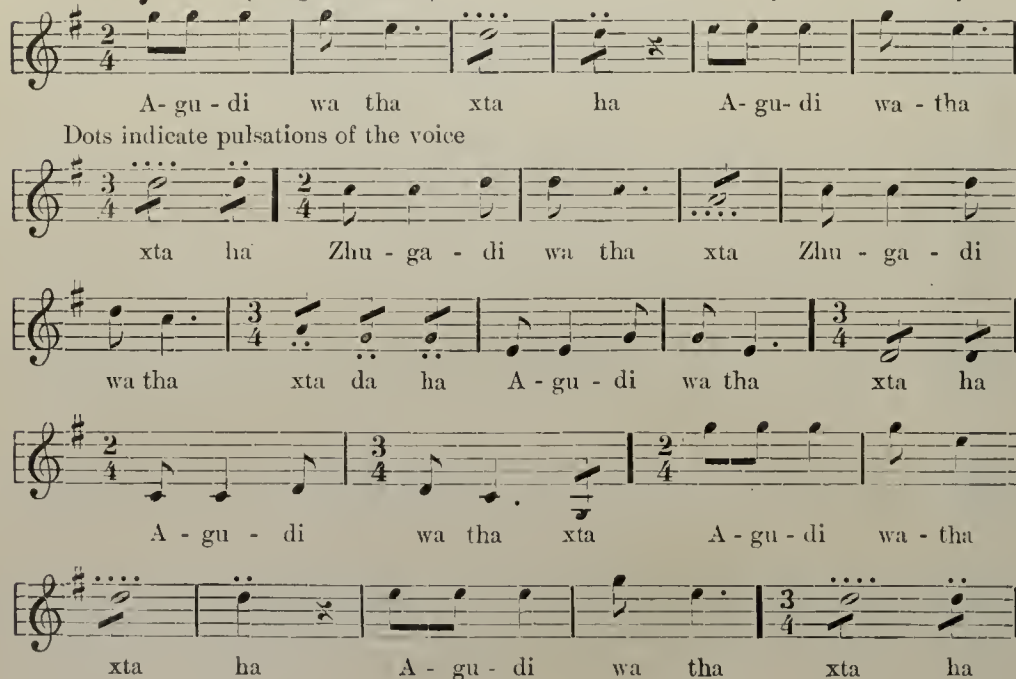
Je ha iⁿ ga we he shoⁿge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he
 Je ha iⁿ ga shoⁿge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he
 Je ha iⁿ ga we he shoⁿge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he
 Je ha iⁿ ga shoⁿge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he
 Je ha iⁿ ga we he shoⁿge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he
 Je ha iⁿ ga shoⁿge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he
 Je ha iⁿ ga we he shoⁿge miⁿ ha iⁿ ga we he

This song refers to the killing of a horse by magic because the owner had offended one of the members of the society. The incident is said to have occurred early in the last century. The only recognizable word is *shoⁿge*, horse; the others are obscured by syllables.

SEVENTH SONG—FAST SONG FOR DRAMATIC MOVEMENT IN "SHOOTING" MEMBERS

M.M. ♩ = 160 (Sung in octaves)

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy



Zhu - ga - di wa tha xta Zhu - ga - di wa tha

xta da ha A - gu - di wa tha..... xta

Agudi wathaxta ha
 Agudi wathaxta ha
 Zhugadi wathaxta tha
 Zhugadi wathaxta tha ha
 Agudi wathaxta tha ha
 Agudi wathaxta

Literal translation: *Agudi*, in what part of the body; *watharta*, shall I bite him; *zhugadi*, in the body.

The song relates to the story of two members of the Shell society who were determined to kill each other by the power of their magic. One of these men was fond of the wild potato and used to go at the proper season to a certain spot to gather them. His opponent knew of this habit and exercised his magic to have a rattlesnake hid in the grass near this place. When the man went to dig potatoes he was bitten by the snake and died—not of the bite, it was claimed, but from the effect of the magic that put the snake there. This song dates from the early part of the last century.

EIGHTH SONG—SLOW SONG, SUNG WHEN THUNDER IS FIRST HEARD IN SPRING

$\text{♩} = 144$

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy

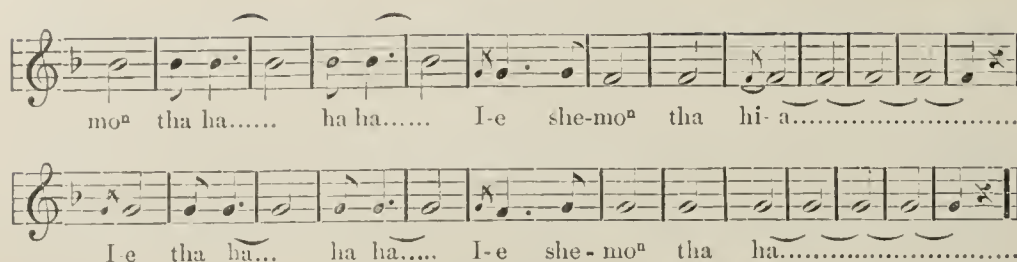
I-e tha ha ha ha I-e she-moⁿ tha ha..... ha

ha I-e tha ha..... ha ha I-e she-moⁿ tha ha.....

I-e tha ha..... ha ha I-e she-moⁿ tha ha..... ha ha

I-e tha ha..... ha ha I-e she-moⁿ tha ha.....

ha ha..... I-e she-moⁿ tha ha..... ha ha..... I-e she-



Ie tha ha ha ha
 Ie shemoⁿ tha ha ha ha
 Ie tha ha ha ha
 Ie shemoⁿ tha hia
 Ie tha ha ha ha
 Ie shemoⁿ tha ha ha ha
 Ie tha ha ha ha
 Ie shemoⁿ tha ha ha ha
 Ie shemoⁿ tha ha ha ha
 Ie shemoⁿ tha ha ha ha
 Ie shemoⁿ tha hia
 Ie tha ha ha ha
 Ie shemoⁿ tha ha

Literal translation: *Ie*, speech, or command; *shemoⁿ*, yonder moving; *tha*, plural sign; all the rest are vocables.

This song was sung by the members of the lodge of the "eldest son" when the thunder was first heard in the spring. This was the signal of the awakening to new activity of all the life on the earth. The words mean, it was explained, "the command of those yonder [the Thunder] I have obeyed."

The following account by one of the writers gives an eye-witness's picture of the dramatic movement at a meeting of the society:

When I was a lad at the mission school I used to steal away and go to the village to see the performance of the ceremony of the Shell Society. The meetings of this ancient organization were usually occasions of great interest to the tribe, for a general invitation would be given to the people to witness that part of the rite which was open to the public.

At these gatherings particular care was observed by young and old to appear in the best costumes that could be obtained, so that while waiting for admission to the spacious earth lodge the great concourse of spectators, clad in colors most pleasing to the savage eye, would present a brilliant appearance.

At the first sound of the resonant drum, and as the member of the society who was honored with the invitation to preside at that important instrument sang a bar or two of his song by way of leading and opening the ceremony, every man, woman, and child rushed for the long entranceway in order to secure the best positions in the lodge from which to observe the "dance" advantageously. Being small and active, I used to push my way between the legs of the grownup people, and thus manage to get in advance and find a good place where I could see the whole ceremony to my heart's content.

The first song and the accompanying initial procession of the members around the central fireplace of the great circular room—the men, tall and majestic, moving with stately tread to the measured rhythm of the music, and the women following modestly, but with no less dignity—never failed to impress my mind with the earnestness of the

fraternity. Immediately following the termination of this opening procession, a song in faster time would be struck up and the solemn movements of the members would suddenly change to motions full of dramatic action. Each person would menacingly thrust forward an otter skin with grinning head, which he carried in his hands. The members seemed as though determined to destroy each other with the magic power contained in the otter, and everyone uttered a peculiar cry which gave efficacy to the sacred skin. Suddenly a man would fall rigid to the hard floor, trembling in every limb, as though shot with a gun or arrow; then another and another would fall, while those who did the "shooting" moved on with triumphant cries. After a moment of writhing in seeming agony those who had been "shot" would rise and take their turn at "shooting" others. All this "shooting" and falling and the uttering of mystic cries would overwhelm me with awe, for it was all so strange and so far beyond my understanding.

I often witnessed this peculiar ceremony when a boy, and, like other careless observers, I as often went away impressed only by the songs, the solemn procession, the rhythmic movements of the "dance," and the fine regalia of the society, with never a thought that beneath all this outward show there might be some meaning so profound in its nature as to support a member in the maintenance of his dignity while going through acts which on ordinary occasions would make him appear frivolous.

In later years, when I began the serious study of the customs and cults of my people, I learned that in this as well as in other rites there were, back of the ceremonies given publicly, teachings made known only to the initiated, teachings worthy of careful thought and reflection. Knowing this to be true, I sought in various ways to obtain a knowledge of the ritual and teachings of the Shell Society without having to become a member, but failed in each attempt. It chanced, however, in 1898, that a novitiate who had lost his shell, learning that I was to visit the reservation, wrote to me to bring him a shell. From the meager description he gave me I was not sure of the kind he wanted, so I purchased a few of several varieties and took them out with me. When I exhibited my collection the new member looked them carefully over, but was not sure which was the right kind. To his great relief, the member of the society by whom he was initiated appeared on the scene, and we placed before him the pile of shells. He separated the right kind from the others, and then waited for me to speak.

"I have brought these shells," I said, "for your friend and for you, but for my services I desire to know something of the inner teachings of your society."

"A request of that kind," he replied, "usually comes with proper fees and ceremonies observed by us all, and with the recommendation of members in good standing, but since you seem to be in earnest to know something about the teachings of our society, and as we are in need of the shells, I will waive all this and give you the beginning only of the story, which is long and beautiful. There are two kinds of shell used in our society," he continued, selecting two from the pile and holding them up; "one is male and the other is female. The distinction so made comes from the story I am about to tell you."

Then he proceeded to give me a paraphrase of the story of the origin of the society, which was later obtained in full, together with the ritual, songs, and account given in the foregoing pages.

CEREMONIES ON THE DEATH OF A MEMBER

On the death of a member a meeting of the society was called, and the regular opening ceremonies already described (see p. 521) took place. It was said that "on such an occasion death is not simulated, but real for one of the members has passed from this life." The body

of the deceased, arrayed in his best clothes, with his face painted, in accordance with the rules of the society, was carried to the dwelling in which the society held its meetings, where it was seated in the member's accustomed place. During the ceremony in the presence of the dead no one spoke except when the rites required, and all the members when not actively engaged sat with bowed heads. The dead man was the only one with head erect. On such occasions outsiders were afraid to go in when the doors were opened, for it was said that in times past onlookers had been killed by magic. All the regalia which the dead member had purchased the right to wear was removed from him at the proper time and returned to his lodge. Nothing of that character was buried with the dead. After the lodges had been dismissed in the manner already described, the dead body was removed and given the ordinary form of burial.

MAGIC CEREMONY FOR PUNISHING OFFENDERS

When the contents of the Sacred Tent of War were deposited in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, a pack was found among



FIG. 113. Pack belonging to a lodge of the Shell society.

the articles which had no connection with the duties or ceremonies pertaining to the We'zhiⁿshte gens as keepers of the rites of war. It has since been learned that this pack had belonged to one of the lodges of the Shell society. Big Elk was the keeper of this pack and as he was a chief and leading man not only in his own gens, the We'zhiⁿshte, but in the Council of Seven, he felt at liberty to store this pack in the Tent of War. At his death and during the general disturbance of tribal customs which soon followed, the pack remained with the articles that properly belonged in the Tent of War and so

passed into the possession of the writers in 1884 when these were given to them to be deposited at Cambridge, Mass. A photograph was taken of this pack (fig. 113; Peabody Museum no. 37560) as it came into the hands of the writers, just as it was left by Big Elk.

This pack had long been regarded with great fear, as it was believed to contain virulent poison. So great was this dread that a promise was exacted of the writers that if the pack was opened extreme caution should be used, as it was feared that whoever handled the contents would surely die in consequence of the sacrilege. The sprays of cedar thrust through the strings that tied the pack had nothing to do with it, so far as is known; these may have been added in recognition of



FIG. 114. Largest bag in pack (fig. 113).

the Tent of War in which the pack was kept. When the pack was opened at the Peabody Museum it was found to contain some queer little boxes made like trunks, evidently toys, dating from the early part of the last century, in which were little bundles containing red paint, a few shells, and dusty fragments impossible of identification.

Six bags were found in the pack; these were woven with two kinds of coarse yarn or twine, one of wool, the other of vegetable fiber. This material was of white manufacture and was probably obtained from traders; the weaving was native. The general hue of the bags is reddish brown.

The largest bag (fig. 114; Peabody Museum no. 48265) found in the pack measures 11 by 9½ inches; it contained a similar bag (fig.



FIG. 115. Bag found in pack (fig. 113).

115; Peabody Museum no. 48288) slightly smaller, its dimensions being 10 by 7½ inches. In this bag were various little boxes and



FIG. 116. Bag found in pack (fig. 113).

bundles containing down painted red, such as is seen on the heads of the members of the Shell society.

The next smaller bag (fig. 116; Peabody Museum no. 48318) is $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Its contents were: A bladder package (fig. 117, *a*; Peabody Museum no. 48301) containing paint, probably carbonate of copper; a bladder package (fig. 117, *b*; Peabody Museum no. 48305) containing gum; a similar package (fig. 117, *c*; Peabody Museum no. 48300); a similar package (fig. 117, *d*; Peabody Museum no. 48306) containing two little brushes of stiff animal hair; a package of cloth (fig. 117, *e*; Peabody Museum no. 48292) containing gum and swan's-down.



FIG. 117. Objects found in bag (fig. 116).

The fourth size bag (fig. 118; Peabody Museum no. 48289), 6 by 4 inches, is of a finer weave than the other bags and contained packages wrapped in corn husks. One of these (fig. 119, *a*; Peabody Museum no. 48281) inclosed a dried caterpillar. The contents of the other husk packages (fig. 119, *b*, *c*) had turned to dust; nothing else remained when the pack was opened.

The fifth bag (fig. 120; Peabody Museum no. 48319), $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inches, contained a package incased in a skin covering (fig. 119, *e*; Peabody Museum no. 48285) of red paint, a bit of cloth of native

weaving, vegetal fiber inclosing a small piece of mica and tied up with shed buffalo hair and swan's-down (fig. 119, *d*; Peabody Museum no. 48286), and a red stone concretion attached to a long thong (fig. 119, *f*; Peabody Museum no. 48287).

The sixth bag (fig. 121; Peabody Museum no. 48295) measures only 4 by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches; it contained small skin bundles in which were galena, green paint, and carbonate of copper. These bundles, which were tied together, may be seen in the illustration, projecting from the bag.

Besides the foregoing articles there is a tobacco bag (fig. 122, *a*; Peabody Museum no. 47818) embroidered with porcupine quills. The groundwork is yellow, the figure of the eagle is in red, the tip of the tail, the wings, and the beak white. The border is of alternating



FIG. 118. Bag found in pack (fig. 113).

blocks of white and reddish yellow, and the fringe is of buckskin. Near the bag lay a figure cut from dressed skin, about 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches long (fig. 122, *b*; Peabody Museum no. 47819). The headdress is slightly more than 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The arms measure about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. The figure is cut into two parts and sewed up on the sides of the arms, legs and body, and head, making it a bag with separate compartments. A slit in the back afforded the opening through which articles could be inserted or withdrawn. This figure remained a puzzle to the writers for a long time. Finally its photograph was recognized by a member of the Shell society and its purpose was explained by Pe'degahi, an old chief, no longer living, a member of the Shell society, who had seen this figure used by Big Elk (the latter died in

1848 or 1849). It is said that this figure-shaped bag had come down to Big Elk through eight generations. Pe'degahi remembered the names of six of the former owners of this interesting relic. He said that there used to be a ritual connected with the figure but that it had been lost.

It was explained that the figure represented the society. It was called *Gahi'ge to'ga*, "great chief." The head stood for the *u'zhu*, leader or master of the entire society, whose symbol was the eagle. The left arm was the "eldest son," representing the sun and the black bear. In the bag made by this arm were kept the poisons used for

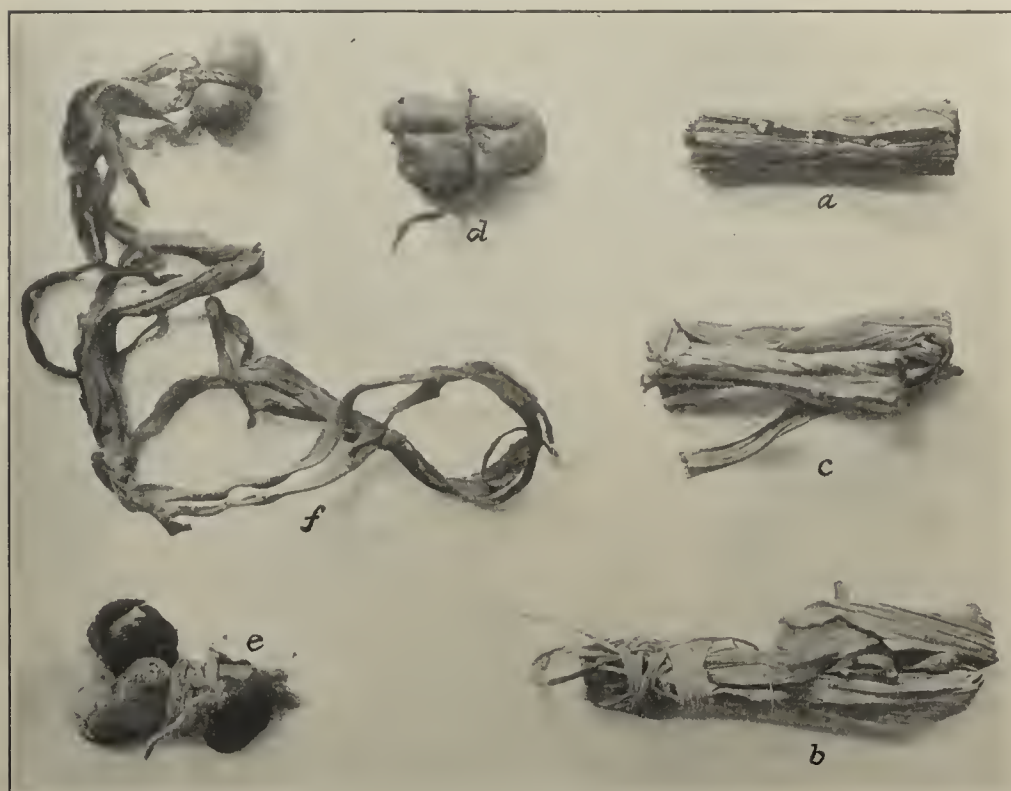


FIG. 119. Contents of bags (figs. 118, 120).

punishment. The right arm was the "second son," representing the stars and the elk. In this bag were kept the roots used as medicine for rheumatism. The left leg was the "daughter," representing the moon and the buffalo. In the bag formed by this leg were kept two shells, male and female. The right leg was the "youngest son," representing the earth and the deer. In this bag were kept medicines for curing diarrhea. It was explained that the left arm and the left leg "went together." It will be noted, as stated above, that these represented the "eldest son" and the "daughter"—the two that were placed diagonally to each other in the arrangement of places

in the lodge. The arm contained poisons for punishment; the leg, the magic shells which made it possible to administer them, so that the functions of this left arm and leg, which "went together," were

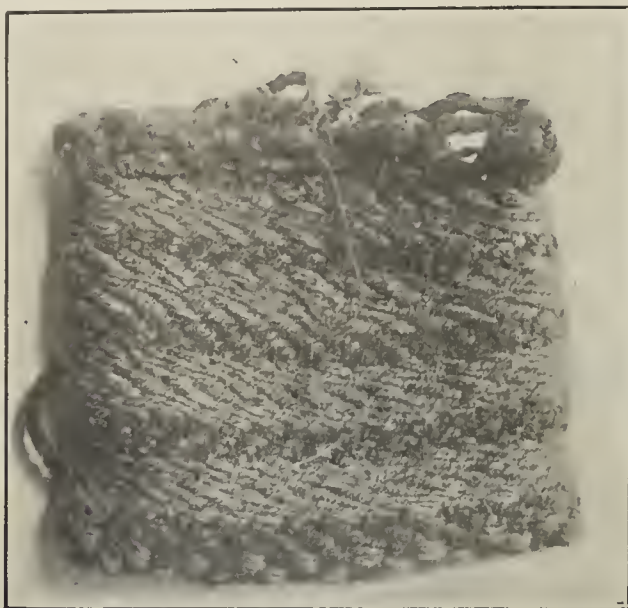


FIG. 120. Bag found in pack (fig. 113).

also related and made effectual because male and female. The right arm and leg represented brothers, the earth and the stars, and both



FIG. 121. Bag found in pack (fig. 113).

contained medicines for healing. It was said in explanation that "the punishment (effected through this figure) was directed by Wakoⁿ'da to keep the people in order and to check crime, as molesting wives

or daughters and destroying property, and so causing mischief to arise in the tribe."

The statement concerning the poison was rather vague and it has not been possible to procure the plants for identification. The poison was made from the root of a vine of which there are four varieties. These were described as follows: "One grows on the ground, one runs on trees and has red leaves, the third has but few leaves, and the



FIG. 122. Tobacco bag (a) and figure (b) found in pack (fig. 113).

fourth has many rootlets clinging to the bark of the tree. It is the root of the latter variety from which the poison was made." To this root was added the decaying flesh of the lizard and "a bug that swims on the surface of the water." These were said to be the ingredients of the poison kept in the left arm of the figure. It was explained: "The left is always first; we begin to paint ourselves on the left and follow the sun."

The figure has a roach of hair made of a bit of "bear skin," the hair so arranged as to stand up. The zigzag lines from the eyes were said to be tears. The moons on the shoulders were all the gibbous, or "dying," moon, and signified death. The circle represented the sun. In this figure of the sun was kept the bear's claw used when drawing the outline of the condemned man. The red lines down the arms represent the lightning. This figure was said to represent a man whom the Monster flayed, using his skin as a receptacle; and the Monster told the man and his wife to make this figure in imitation of the human-skin bag and to use it in this ceremony. It is said that Big Elk had a pair of moccasins made from the paws of the bear. Whether or not these moccasins were worn at the ceremony when this figure was used no one now living can tell nor do the moccasins now exist so far as can be learned.

The lost ritual is said to have explained all the parts of the figure, even the use of the strings.

When a man committed an offense that seemed to demand punishment the society met at night to consider the matter, at which time both the act and the man's character were discussed. If the society determined to punish the man, then this figure was brought out. It seemed to stand as a symbol of the united purpose of the society, for on such an occasion the members had to act as a unit. The meeting when they were to take action occurred in the

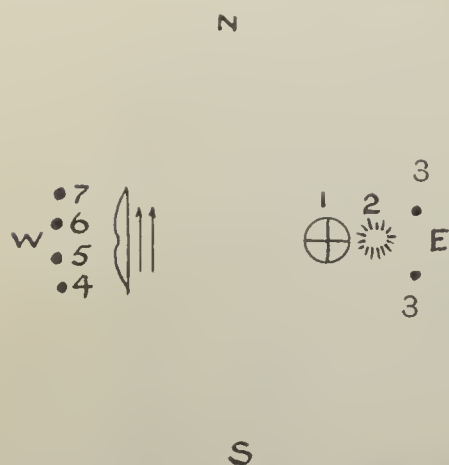


FIG. 123. Diagram illustrating arrangement of Shell society at secret meeting for punishment of an offender. 1, Fireplace and four sticks; 2, pile of earth; 3, 3, servants; 4, 5, 6, 7, masters of the four lodges.

early morning. The servants had already been dispatched to a secret place where they had excavated a circular space for a fireplace and piled toward the east the earth taken out. Four sticks pointing to the four directions were laid in the fireplace. Before sunrise the members went forth singly from their homes and gathered quietly at the place appointed for the meeting. They sat in a circle. The four masters, representing the four "children," took their places at the west, facing the east. A small bow, about 2 feet long, and two arrows with flint points, provided with shafts about 2 feet long, were placed in front of the four masters. (Fig. 123.)

When all were seated, the man who had suffered the wrong laid his pipe down in front of the masters, west of the bow. He then ordered the servant to take the pipe and a live coal to a certain man and offer it to him. If the man accepted the pipe and lighted it, he

signified that he was willing to draw the figure of the offender on the ground. The pipe had to be lighted with a live coal which was carried in a split stick. If the man refused to accept the pipe, the servant carried it back to the accuser, who designated another man. The servant then carried the pipe to the second man. If he refused, the accuser could select a third, fourth, and fifth person. These selections could be repeated four times. There is a tradition that twice the pipe was offered the full number of times and every time refused, so that the punishment of the offender had to be abandoned. Sometimes the pipe was accepted by the first man, but more often it was passed to two or three persons before one was found to accept it, for all must agree and promise to keep this session of the society and its action a secret. When the pipe was accepted it was lighted by the one accepting it and was smoked by all the members of the society, an act which signified that all consented. The accuser then refilled the pipe and ordered it taken to the leader of another lodge, all the members of which smoked it. It was then refilled and sent to the leader of still another lodge, all the members of which smoked it. Once more the pipe was refilled and sent to the fourth lodge, in which it was smoked by all the members. During this ceremony the pipe had started from each of the four lodges and had passed four times around the members, thus binding all, both as lodges and as individuals, to secrecy and to the fulfillment of the act contemplated. The pipe was then returned to the accuser. The latter then bade the servant take the bear's claw from the breast of the figure to the man who had accepted the pipe. Then the masters consulted together in order to determine how many days the offender should be allowed to live. After their decision was made, the man who had received the claw rose and recounted his faithfulness to the teachings of the society and that of his fathers before him. Then he turned to the left and laid his left hand on the head of each member, saying as he did so: "To trust you with my action." Then he stood at the north, where he intended the feet of the figure to be, and faced the north. Then he turned and placed the bear's claw at a point which would be the middle of the top of the figure's head; and without lifting his hand from the earth he made a continuous outline

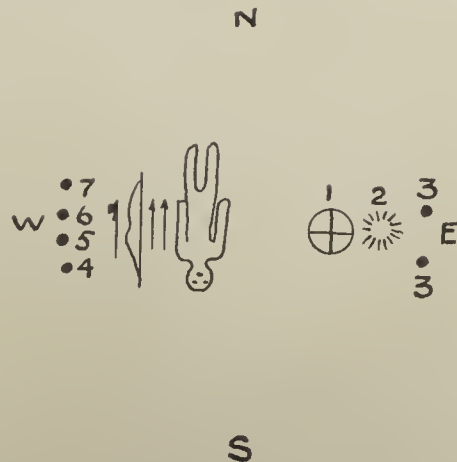


FIG. 124. Diagram illustrating final ceremony of secret meeting of Shell society. 1, Fireplace and four sticks; 2, pile of earth; 3, 3, servants; 4, 5, 6, 7, masters of the four lodges.

of a man, beginning at the left on the top of the head and passing to the right around the figure, ending at the point where he began. Next he made the left eye, then the nose, then the right eye, then the mouth, and from the lower lip he drew a line down to the heart, which was indicated by a circle, and above this the two lungs. (Fig. 124.) When the drawing was done, he laid the bear's claw on the left shoulder and then ordered the servant to pick it up and take it to the accuser.

The accuser now ordered the servant to take the bow and arrows from before the masters and hand them to the one who had drawn the figure. This man might refuse to receive them. If he refused, the servant was told to take them to another man. On his way to do this he had first to circle the fire. Sometimes the office of the bow and arrows was refused several times. At last a man was found who accepted them. He then arose and passing to the left laid his left hand on each member's head, saying as he did so: "To trust you with my action." When he reached his place, poison was brought him from the master and he poisoned the arrows. Then he stepped to the left of the figure, stooped, and fitted the arrows to the bow, pulled the string slightly, but did not shoot. He then passed around in front of the row of members and stopped again at the left of the figure and made another feint. This was done four times and at the last he shot the arrow into the heart of the figure and left it standing there, and returned by the left to his place.

The masters now rose and said: *Kiwashkoⁿiga ha!*—"Let each man take care of himself!"

The members then threw off their robes and each left singly, going his own way. The servants gathered up the robes and the other belongings of the officers and members and took them to their owners and keepers.

Two servants now watched the offender, "who was soon taken sick." When this occurred, it was reported to the four masters, who gathered at night in a tent, without fire, where they sang low and continued to sing until the man died.

A story is told that once when these rites were in progress, the offender—who chanced to be a member of the society—came upon the secret session. While he did not know certainly that he was to be the victim, he suspected it. He joined in the proceedings but moved about the wrong way in order to break the spell and so prevented the completion of the rites. The place where the meeting was held was on a high bluff overlooking the Missouri river. Suddenly some of the members rushed on the man, drove him to the edge, and threw him over, but by his magic he turned himself into a bird as he fell, and by this artifice gained in safety the other side of the river,

whence he piped to the disappointed avengers. This story is repeated by members of both the Shell and Pebble societies as representing their own experience.

There are many stories of turning the otter-skin mystery bags (fig. 110) into live otters.

Some old men assert that the reason why the shell is sacred and is honored by this society is because the Omaha first lived beside the great water where the shells are found.

THE I^{N'}KUGTHI ATHI^N (PEBBLE SOCIETY)

The literal translation of the name of the I^{N'}kugthi athiⁿ (*iⁿ*, "pebble;" *kugthi*, "translucent;" *athiⁿ*, "to have or possess") society is "They who have the translucent pebble."

Membership was gained by virtue of a dream, or vision, of water or its representative, the pebble, or the water monster, received when fasting. The water monster was said to be a huge creature in animal form that lashed the water with its mighty tail. It was generally spoken of as living in a lake.

The members of the Pebble society wore very little clothing, sometimes only the breechcloth, but the body was painted with devices indicating the animals or monsters seen in the dreams. In this respect the Pebble society differed from the Shell society. The members of the latter made it a point to wear gaily ornamented apparel.

The meetings of the Pebble society were not held at stated intervals and only through the summer. The opening part of every session was secret; only members could be present.

Opportunity was once given to one of the writers to be present; while no portion of the proceedings was explained the following movements were observed:

Back of the fire calico was spread on the ground—a gift from the man who gave the feast and so made the meeting of the society possible. All the members sat around the sides of the lodge. When the members had gathered, some one announced that all were present. Then four men from different parts of the line of members went, one at a time, to a place on the south side of the lodge where there was powdered charcoal on a board. As each man came to this place he stooped and laid his hands on the earth and then passed them over his arms and over his body to the feet. The movement seemed to be similar to that made on a man who had just safely passed through some difficult and dangerous experience, in order to come in touch with one who had been the recipient of some great power. After this action he placed the fingers of his right hand in the charcoal and made a black line from his mouth down the length of one arm, and

a similar line from his mouth down the other arm. After that he made black lines on his body with his blackened finger tips. Then he took some of the black powder in the palm of his hand and went back to his lodge. He then painted the symbolic black lines from the mouth down the length of the arm on all the members of his lodge. While he was doing this, another leader went to the south side, and standing before the black paint made the same movement with his hands on the earth and on his body; he then painted himself and returned to paint the other members of his lodge. When all four leaders had touched the earth and had painted themselves and the members of their lodges, they went to the rear of the lodge and stood facing the east, with the offering of calico at their feet. Then all four bent over and made movements as though retching. Finally they spat out their pebbles. They next circled the fire and passed to the end of the row of members on the south side and "shot" four with their pebbles. These four members fell rigid to the earth. The four leaders then circled the fire, as did also the four who had been "shot;" then these four "shot" another four, who after circling the fire "shot" still another four, and so on by fours until all had been "shot" and all the members were moving about the fire. No songs accompanied these complex movements. When all the members had been "shot," they took their respective places and sat down. The drum was then taken to the lodge sitting at the south and the members of the choir took their places about the drum and began a slow song. This was the signal that the secret session was closed.

After the secret ceremonies guests were admitted. The members rose in their places as the outsiders entered. The public part of the ceremony consisted in moving around the fire in single file and "shooting" one another with the pebble or some other small object. The hand which simulated "shooting" was shielded by the wing of an eagle held in the other hand. Any part of the body might be struck. The person "shot" immediately pressed his hand on the spot supposed to be touched, assumed a tragic attitude, then fell to the ground and lay rigid. Much more action was observed in the Pebble society by the person "shooting" and the person "shot" than in the Shell society, which made the exercises of the former the more dramatic. The magic cries also were different; those of the Pebble society were lower in tone and were considered to be more impressive. The songs of dismissal were differently rendered in the two societies. In the Shell society, it will be recalled, the master of each lodge led in the singing and each lodge had its song, which was sung in the order of the ages of the four "children." In the Pebble society each member had his own song of dismissal and when the time came for the meeting to close all sang simultaneously. The

effect on an outsider was anything but agreeable—it was “like bedlam,” and only when one looked into the faces of the members and noted their intense earnestness was it possible to conceive how each man could hold to his own song against that of his equally vociferous neighbor.

The exact organization of the society could not be definitely learned, except that it was divided into four groups or lodges.

The members of this society treated sickness by mechanical means—bleeding, sucking out the disturbing object, and practising



FIG. 125. Waki'dezhi'ga.

a kind of massage which consisted in kneading and pulling on the region below the ribs, a rather severe and painful operation, called by the Omaha *ni'xathito*ⁿ.

The rituals of this society could not be fully obtained. Each group seems to have had its ritual and these may have been parts of the entire ceremony. It is doubtful if the complete set of rituals is now known to any living Omaha. The following, a part of the opening ritual, was obtained some years ago from the former leader, Waki'dezhi'ga (fig. 125), who is now dead. It deals with Creation and the cosmic forces.

OPENING RITUAL

1. Mi i thoⁿ tathishoⁿ, ni'kashiga
2. A'wage egoⁿ, ni'kashiga
3. Wani'ta dadoⁿ, toⁿga ke shti woⁿ
4. Bthu'ga xti uthe'wiⁿ i egoⁿ, ni'kashiga
5. Wagthi'shka dadoⁿ ke shti woⁿ
6. Bthu'ga xti uthe'wiⁿ i egoⁿ
7. A'wa te egoⁿ i ieiⁿ te
8. Enoⁿ xti oⁿ xti thiⁿke egoⁿ
9. Ethe'goⁿ wathe' goⁿ
10. Iⁿ goⁿ toⁿga te thoⁿ
11. Moⁿ'xe itha'ugthexti p'u'thoⁿ
12. Moⁿ'xe itha'ugthexti
13. Zhiⁿ'ga the ui'the uⁿgi'kaxe ta i te thoⁿzha
14. Atoⁿ' tha i te shetoⁿ ui'the uⁿgi'kaxe ta i te
15. Eshe a badoⁿ
16. Edi uwa'toⁿ thiⁿke
17. Petoⁿmuga tha toⁿ she, pa ke cⁿede' a xti noⁿzhiⁿ egoⁿ
18. Pa'hi ke c'toⁿ thiⁿge' xti noⁿzhiⁿ egoⁿ
19. A'wate egoⁿ toⁿde ke utiⁿ' ihe'the goⁿ
- * * * * *
20. I'uⁿgishtoⁿ athiⁿ' ga'ha i de
21. Ni'kashiga, ni'kazhide ma shethoⁿ
22. Zhiⁿ'ga ui'the uⁿgi'kaxe ta i te thoⁿzha
23. Edi uwa'toⁿ shoⁿ'toⁿga nuga ede hu tithe'the ki
24. I'thapithiⁿ xti toⁿ'de ke, thap'oⁿ'de xti
25. Thapoⁿ'de uthi'shi xti, thapoⁿ'de goⁿ
26. Ui'e ga'xa bi e goⁿ
27. Edi uwa'toⁿ he'ga ede, pa'hi ke zhi'de xti
28. I'thapithiⁿ xti, a'hiⁿ ke na'diⁿdiⁿ the noⁿzhiⁿ egoⁿ
29. I'thapithiⁿ xti gaha' ithoⁿthoⁿ egoⁿ
30. I'thapithiⁿ xti giuⁿ' the goⁿ
31. Iⁿsha'ge we'utha ga'xa bi e goⁿ

Literal translation

1. *Mi*, sun; *i*, come; *tathishoⁿ*, in that direction east; *nikashiga*, people.
2. *Awage egoⁿ*, of whatever kind; *nikashiga*, people.
3. *Wani'ta*, animals; *dadoⁿ*, every kind; *toⁿga*, great; *ke* indicates that they spread over the ground in vast numbers; *shti woⁿ*, they also.
4. *Bthu'ga*, all; *xti*, truly; *uthe'wiⁿ*, gathered; *i egoⁿ*, it came to pass.
5. *Wagthishka*, insects; *dadoⁿ*, of every kind; *ke*, spread (scattered over an extent of ground); *shti woⁿ*, they also.
6. *Bthu'ga*, all; *xti*, truly; *uthe'wiⁿ*, gathered; *i egoⁿ*, it came to pass.
7. *A'wa*, how; *te egoⁿ*, what manner; *i*, come; *ieiⁿte*, did they come?

8. *Enoⁿ xti*, it alone; *oⁿ xti*, the greatest; *thiⁿke*, sitting; *egoⁿ*, like.
9. *Ethe'goⁿ*, to think; *wathe'goⁿ*, to cause.
10. *Iⁿ*, stone; *soⁿ*, white or pale; *toⁿga*, great, big; *te thoⁿ*, that stood.
11. *Moⁿxe*, sky, heavens; *ithaugthe*, all the way up; *xti*, verily; *p'u'thoⁿ*, in a mist, as steaming.
12. *Moⁿxe*, sky, heavens; *ithaugthe*, all the way up; *xti*, verily.
13. *Zhiⁿga*, little ones; *the*, this; *ui'the*, to speak of, as a theme; *uⁿgikaxe*, they shall make of me; *ta i te*, shall; *thoⁿzha*, however.
14. *Atoⁿ*, whatever distance; *tha i te*, they travel; *shetoⁿ*, so long; *ui'the*, to speak of, as a theme; *uⁿgi'kaxe*, they shall make of me (as an object of veneration); *ta i te*, shall.
15. *Eshe*, you have said; *a badoⁿ*, they have said.
16. *Edi*, there; *uwa'toⁿ*, next in order or rank; *thiⁿke*, sitting.
17. *Petoⁿnuga*, male of the crane; *tha toⁿ she*, thou who standest; *pa*, beak; *ke* indicates length; *snede'*, long; *a xti*, very; *noⁿzhiⁿ*, stands; *egoⁿ*, like.
18. *Pa'hi*, neck; *ke*, the length; *e'toⁿ*, the same in length; *thiⁿge'*, none; *xti*, verily, in truth; *noⁿzhiⁿ*, standing; *egoⁿ*, like, and so.
19. *A'wate egoⁿ*, in a manner; *toⁿde*, ground, earth; *ke*, the (length); *utiⁿ*, to pick at or strike; *ihethe*, quickly; *goⁿ*, like.
20. *Iuⁿishtoⁿ*, words that are not true; *athiⁿ*, to have; *ga'xa*, make; *i*, plural; *de*, shall.
21. *Ni'kashiga*, people; *ni'kazhide*, red people; *ma*, plural, they; *shethoⁿ*, you who are.
22. *Zhiⁿga*, little ones; *ui'the*, a theme; *uⁿgi'kaxe*, they shall make of me; *ta i te*, shall; *thoⁿzha*, however.
23. *Edi*, there; *uwa'toⁿ*, next in order or rank standing; *shoⁿ'toⁿga-nuga*, male gray wolf; *ede*, a; *hu*, voice; *tithethe*, to send or utter; *ki*, and.
24. *I'thapithiⁿ*, without effort; *xti*, verily; *toⁿ'de*, the earth; *ke*, lying, or that lay; *thap'oⁿ'de*, to make to vibrate with the voice; *xti*, verily.
25. *Thap'oⁿ'de*, to make to vibrate; *uthi'shi*, impossible; *xti*, verily; *thap'oⁿde*, to make vibrate; *goⁿ*, like.
26. *Ui'e*, something to speak of; *gaxa*, made; *bi e goⁿ*, they have.
27. *Edi*, there; *uwa'toⁿ*, next in order or rank; *he'ga*, buzzard; *ede*, a; *pa'hi*, neck; *ke*, long; *zhi'de*, red; *xti*, truly.
28. *I'thapithiⁿ*, without effort, slowly; *xti*, verily; *a'hiⁿ*, wings; *ke*, the; *na'diⁿdiⁿ*, dry; *the*, make; *noⁿzhiⁿ*, stand; *egoⁿ*, like.
29. *I'thapithiⁿ*, without effort; *xti*, truly; *ga'ha ithoⁿthoⁿ*, rising up and down; *egoⁿ*, like.
30. *I'thapithiⁿ*, without effort; *xti*, truly; *giuⁿ*, flying; *thegoⁿ*, he went.

31. *I'sha'ge*, old men; *we'utha*, example; *ga'xa bi*, they made; *egoⁿ*, like.

Free translation

1. Toward the coming of the sun
2. There the people of every kind gathered,
3. And great animals of every kind.
4. Verily all gathered together, as well as people.
5. Insects also of every description,
6. Verily all gathered there together,
7. By what means or manner we know not.
8. Verily, one alone of all these was the greatest,
9. Inspiring to all minds,
10. The great white rock,
11. Standing and reaching as high as the heavens, enwrapped in mist,
12. Verily as high as the heavens.
13. Thus my little ones shall speak of me,
14. As long as they shall travel in life's path, thus they shall speak of me.
15. Such were the words, it has been said.
16. Then next in rank
17. Thou, male of the crane, stoodst with thy long beak
18. And thy neck, none like to it in length,
19. There with thy beak didst thou strike the earth.
- * * * * *
20. This shall be the legend
21. Of the people of yore, the red people,
22. Thus my little ones shall speak of me.
23. Then next in rank stood the male gray wolf, whose cry,
24. Though uttered without effort, verily made the earth to tremble,
25. Even the stable earth to tremble.
26. Such shall be the legend of the people.
27. Then next in rank stood Hega, the buzzard, with his red neck.
28. Calmly he stood, his great wings spread, letting the heat of the sun straighten his feathers.
29. Slowly he flapped his wings,
30. Then floated away, as though without effort,
31. Thus displaying a power (a gift of Wakoⁿ'da) often to be spoken of by the old men in their teachings.

The above, which bears the marks of antiquity, is unfortunately incomplete.

The old leader gave the following explanation of the teachings of the Pebble society, which may be a paraphrase of a ritual:

At the beginning all things were in the mind of Wakoⁿ'da. All creatures, including man, were spirits. They moved about in space between the earth and the stars (the heavens). They were seeking a place where they could come into a bodily existence. They ascended to the sun, but the sun was not fitted for their abode. They moved on to the moon and found that it also was not good for their home. Then they descended to the earth. They saw it was covered with water. They floated through the air to the north, the east, the south, and the west, and found no dry land. They were sorely grieved. Suddenly from the midst of the water uprose a great rock. It burst into flames and the waters floated into the air in clouds.

Dry land appeared; the grasses and the trees grew. The hosts of spirits descended and became flesh and blood. They fed on the seeds of the grasses and the fruits of the trees, and the land vibrated with their expressions of joy and gratitude to Wakoⁿda, the maker of all things.

Among the Osage there is a similar myth, in which the elk figures as a helper of mankind to find a place to dwell.

The sweat lodge was used as a preparatory rite and always when a member was about to minister to the sick. The following ritual was that used by Waki'dezhinga as he entered the sweat lodge to make ready for his duties toward the sick:

RITUAL FOR SWEAT LODGE, No. 1.

1. He! Iⁿshage' ečka
2. Iⁿ'e shniⁿke she ečka
3. Iⁿshage' ečka
4. He! zhiⁿga' wi ewe'poⁿçe thoⁿde
5. Egoⁿ bi ečka
6. Iⁿshage' ečka
7. He
8. He! gthiⁿ a'bitoⁿ thethe xti
9. Thagthiⁿ' adoⁿ ečka
10. Tade' ui'the theⁿoⁿ ha te thoⁿ ečka
11. Tade' baçoⁿ egoⁿ thagthiⁿ' adoⁿ ečka
12. Iⁿshage' ečka
13. He! xa'de zhiⁿga thoⁿ thoⁿ ečka
14. Uti' e'thathe egoⁿ thagthiⁿ' adoⁿ ečka
15. He! wazhiⁿ'ga a'zhazha xti thagthiⁿ' adoⁿ ečka
16. Hiⁿxpe' a'gthagtha xti thagthiⁿ' adoⁿ ečka
17. Iⁿshage' ečka
18. Edi uwa'toⁿ ečka
19. Edi uwa'toⁿ ečka
20. He! ni nike she ečka
21. Ni nike atoⁿ adi'toⁿ
22. Gaçu'çe shniⁿ e iⁿte ečka
23. He! du'ba thi'thiça i te
24. Utha thithiⁿ'ge te thoⁿzha ečka
25. Zhiⁿga' i'thite goⁿ'tha i te thoⁿzha ečka
26. He! Ti thatoⁿ she ečka
27. Ti thateⁿ she ečka
28. Wani'ta toⁿga ečka
29. He! itha' kigthaxade ečka
30. Zhiⁿga' ui'the uⁿgi'kaxe ta i te eshe ama thoⁿ ečka
31. He! tishi thatoⁿ she ečka
32. Noⁿ'xahi thiba'gizhe xti
33. A' baku thiba'zhu thoⁿ
34. Noⁿt'u'ça xti
35. Zhiⁿga the uithe uⁿgikaxe ta i te thoⁿzha ečka
36. He! pehiⁿ' bixa'xadoⁿ ečka
37. Noⁿzhi'ha thoⁿ the'thoⁿ
38. Xa'de thoⁿ hiⁿ a'zhi adoⁿ ečka
39. Hiⁿ'thoⁿ çka doⁿ ečka
40. Hiⁿ a'zhi te thoⁿ e'waka i doⁿ ečka

41. He! moⁿthiⁿ ta i ke eçka
42. Wiⁿ'uⁿwata uki'moⁿgthoⁿ i ke eçka
43. A'baku thoⁿ noⁿt'u'ça xti
44. U'zhoⁿ'ge noⁿçta xti i ke
45. Pe a'çoⁿ githe ihe'thattha xti
46. Moⁿshniⁿ' adon Iⁿshage' eçka
47. He! zhiⁿga' gikoⁿ'tha badoⁿ eçka
48. Ithigikoⁿ'tha tabadoⁿ eçka
49. Thie i'wigipathiⁿ ta mike thoⁿzha eçka
50. Iⁿsha'ge eçka

He! is an exclamation involving the idea of supplication and distress; *eçka*, a refrain, meaning "I desire," "I crave," and, sometimes, "I implore."

Free translation

1. He! Aged One, eçka
2. Thou Rock, eçka
3. Aged One, eçka
4. He! I have taught these little ones
5. They obey, eçka
6. Aged One, eçka
7. He!
8. He! Unmoved from time without end, verily
9. Thou sittest, eçka
10. In the midst of the various paths of the coming winds
11. In the midst of the winds thou sittest, eçka
12. Aged One, eçka
13. He! The small grasses grow about thee, eçka
14. Thou sittest as though making of them thy dwelling place, eçka
15. He! Verily thou sittest covered with the droppings of birds, eçka
16. Thy head decked with the downy feathers of the birds, eçka
17. Aged One, eçka
18. Thou who standest next in power, eçka
19. Thou who standest next in power, eçka
20. He! Thou water, eçka
21. Water that hast been flowing
22. From time unknown, eçka
23. He! Of you the little ones have taken
24. Though thy mysteries remain unrevealed
25. These little ones crave thy touch, eçka
26. He! Thou that standest as one dwelling place, eçka
27. Even as one dwelling place, eçka
28. Ye great animals, eçka
29. He! Who make for us the covering, eçka
30. These little ones, thou hast said, let their thoughts reverently dwell on me, eçka
31. He! Thou tent frame, eçka
32. Thou standest with bent back o'er us
33. With stooping shoulders, bending over us
34. Verily, thou standest
35. Thus my little ones shall speak of me, thou hast said
36. Brushing back the hair from thy forehead, eçka

37. The hair of thy head
38. The grass that grows about thee
39. Thy hairs are whitened, ečka
40. The hairs that grow upon thy head, ečka
41. O, the paths that the little ones shall take, ečka
42. Whichever way they may flee from danger, ečka
43. They shall escape. Their shoulders shall be bent with age as they walk
44. As they walk on the well-beaten path
45. Shading their brows now and again with their hands
46. As they walk in their old age, ečka
47. He! This is the desire of thy little ones, ečka
48. That of thy strength they shall partake, ečka
49. Therefore thy little ones desire to walk closely by thy side, ečka
50. Venerable One, ečka.

In the ritual the primal rock, referred to in the opening ritual, that which rose from the waters, is addressed by the term "venerable man," whose assistance is called to the "little ones," the patients about to be ministered to. Line 7, with its exclamation of supplication and reverence, *He!*, opens the description of the rock, which sits from all time in the midst of the winds, those messengers of life-giving force. Note the use of the phrase "midst of the winds" in the ritual of Turning the Child (p. 120). The small grass refers to the means of heating the stones placed in the sweat lodge as a "dwelling place." Again, the abiding quality of the rock is referred to in lines 15 and 16: Immovable the rocks have remained while the droppings of the birds and their molting feathers have fallen season after season. In lines 20-25, "Thou water," "water that hast been flowing from time unknown," it is said, that "these little ones [the people] crave thy touch." The primal rock of these rituals is the theme of some of the songs of the Pebble society.

The standing house, the sweat lodge, is next spoken of; the animals who have given it a covering are remembered gratefully, the bent-over boughs are mentioned and compared to the bent shoulders of the old men whose long life is like "the well-beaten path." The prayer for the gift of life for the "little ones," whose health is desired, is curiously and poetically blended with this description of the standing house, wherein the power is sought by which they, the "little ones," "shall desire to walk closely" by the side of the long-lived rock, and, because of these supplications to rock and ever-flowing water, shall secure health and length of days. These rituals, naively poetic, reveal how completely man is identified with nature in the mind of the native.

The following was intoned as the sweat lodge was prepared for curative purposes:

RITUAL FOR SWEAT LODGE, No. 2

1. He! Iⁿsha'ge, 'çka
2. Zhiⁿga' wakoⁿ'ditha ba 'doⁿ, eçka
3. Gthi 'thoⁿ'thigitha ba 'doⁿ, e'çka
4. Edi uwe'he ta mike xu'ka, edi uwe'he ta mike
5. Eshē' ama thoⁿ d'eçka
6. Zhiⁿga wakoⁿ'ditha ba 'doⁿ eçka
7. I'thiginitha ta ba 'doⁿ, eçka
8. Gthi 'thoⁿ'thigitha ba 'doⁿ, eçka
9. Iⁿsha'ge, 'çka
10. He! Zhiⁿga ithiginoⁿzhiⁿ goⁿ'tha ba 'doⁿ, eçka
11. Gthi 'thoⁿ'thigitha i thoⁿzha, eçka
12. Iⁿsha'ge 'çka
13. Eda'doⁿ shti woⁿ 'de 'shna 'zhi te
14. Uki'hi 'azhi thoⁿka eshne'goⁿ te
15. Iⁿsha'ge 'çka

Literal translation

1. *He!*, address to call attention; *iⁿsha'ge*, old man, a term of respect addressed to the stones that are heated for the bath; *'çka*, *eçka*, I desire, implore.

2. *Zhiⁿga*, children; *wakoⁿ'ditha*, being in distress; *ba*, they; *'doⁿ*, *adoⁿ*, therefore; *eçka*, I implore.

3. *Gthi*, at home, the arrival at home (refers to sweat lodge); *'thoⁿ'thigitha*, *ithoⁿ'thigitha*, *ithoⁿtha*, something round placed on the ground (refers to the stones used in the sweat lodge, but the appeal is in the singular as the generic stone is addressed); *thi*, you (refers to the stone); *gi*, the possessive sign; *ba*, they; *'doⁿ*, *adoⁿ*, therefore, because of; *eçka*, I desire.

4. *Edi*, with them, there; *uwehe*, I shall join, or take part, or cooperate; *ta*, shall, it is my will; *mike*, I am or I be; *ta mike*, I shall be; *xu'ka*, to teach, instruct, initiate.

5. *Eshē'*, you have said; *ama*, they say; *thoⁿ d'*, *thoⁿ di*, an idiom meaning it can not be denied; *eçka*, I desire.

6. The same as the second line.

7. *I'thiginitha*—*I*, of, by, in; *thi*, you; *gi*, possessive; *initha*, to seek protection (*gi* implies a relation between the one speaking and the one addressed, something in common; if the appeal was to a stranger the *gi* would be omitted); *ta ba 'doⁿ* (*ta*, may; *ba*, they; *'doⁿ*, that), that they may—"That in you they may seek protection."

8. The same as the third line.

9. The same as the first, omitting *he*.

10. *He*, address to call attention; *zhiⁿga*, children; *ithiginoⁿzhiⁿ*, by means of you to stand (*noⁿzhiⁿ*, to stand); *goⁿtha*, to desire, applied to whatever supports life, health; *ba*, they; *'doⁿ*, *adoⁿ*, that.

11. *Gthi'thoⁿthigitha* (see third line); *i*, plural, refers to "they," the children; *thoⁿ'zha*, although, nevertheless; *ečka*, I desire.

12. The same as the first line.

13. *Eda'doⁿ shti woⁿ* (*eda'doⁿ*, things; *shti woⁿ*, whatever), idiom—and whatever things; *'de, ede*, words; *shna*, to think; *'zhi, uⁿkazhi*, not; *te*, do.

14. *Uki'hi*, learned; *'zhi, uⁿkazhi*, not; *thoⁿka*, they are; *eshnegon*, you judge; *te*, do.

15. The same as the first line.

Free translation

1. Oh! Aged One! I implore,
2. Your children being in sore distress, *ečka*.
3. Have brought you home, *ečka*.
4. "I shall be with them as an instructor, I shall be with them."
5. You have said, they say, it can not be denied, *ečka*,
6. Your children being in sore distress, *ečka*,
7. That in you they may take refuge, *ečka*,
8. Have brought you home, *ečka*,
9. Aged One! I implore.
10. Oh! Your children desire to arise by your strength, *ečka*,
11. Though they may have erred in their bringing you home, *ečka*,
12. Aged One! I implore.
13. And whatever you may think, do not reproach them,
14. But rather, judge them by their ignorance,
15. Aged One! I implore.

The following ritual was used when entering the sweat lodge before the initiation of a member of the Pebble society was to take place. According to ancient custom, one of the articles to be served at the feast given as part of the ceremony was a white dog; this was cooked as the stones were heated for the sweat lodge. During the preparation and cooking of the dog all the leaders of the society had to be present. The dog was painted before it was strangled; a band of red was put across the nose and the feet and tip of the tail were painted with the same color. Songs preceded the death of the dog, the dressing of it, and also the feast. Any mistake made in singing these songs or in reciting the ritual resulted in the early death of the offender. The songs which accompanied the feast have all been forgotten owing to the lapsing of the ceremony. The ritual here given was obtained from an old man who has now been dead many years.

RITUAL FOR SWEAT LODGE, No. 3

1. He Iⁿshage *ečka*
2. He Iⁿ shnike *thoⁿ ečka*
3. Iⁿshage *ečka*
4. Wibthahoⁿ ta mike *thoⁿzha ečka*
5. Iⁿshage *ečka*
6. He Iⁿshage *ečka*
7. Nitoⁿga niuathite uthishi xti ke *thoⁿ ečka*
8. Iⁿshage *ečka*

9. Niuitha atithagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
10. Iⁿshage ečka
11. Agudi toⁿ tiedoⁿ ethegoⁿ wathe shniki ečka
12. Iⁿshage ečka
13. Niuitha atithagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
14. Iⁿ! Iⁿ! eshe thagthiⁿ abadoⁿ ečka
15. Zhiⁿga the awagi iⁿ tamike thoⁿzha ečka
16. Ie waaginoⁿoⁿ agthiⁿ tamike thoⁿzha ečka
17. Eshe abadoⁿ ečka
18. Wiⁿ ie thashnoⁿ ki zhi noⁿgthoⁿtha uthishi agoⁿ thethiⁿke zhoⁿ thoⁿzha ečka
19. Toⁿde ke kapiethe xti noⁿgthoⁿtha ta thiⁿ eshe abadoⁿ ečka
20. Iⁿshage ečka
21. Iⁿdadoⁿ piazhi ke thoⁿ ečka
22. Moⁿte shtiwoⁿ tha'zhi adoⁿ ečka
23. Ibe xiⁿ egoⁿ uxthitu egoⁿ thagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
24. Iⁿshage ečka
25. He Iⁿshage ečka
26. Wiⁿ uⁿgthahoⁿ oⁿgthapi egoⁿ de ečka
27. Iⁿshage ečka
28. Ithagishtiⁿ tamike thoⁿzha ečka
29. Gudiha egoⁿ the doⁿ ečka
30. Iⁿshage ečka
31. Baxu weduba ke thoⁿ ečka
32. Wethabthiⁿ, weduba ke thoⁿ ečka
33. Shetheathiⁿ thoⁿ ethoⁿbe hi ta ma eshe aba doⁿ ečka
34. Iⁿshage ečka
35. He Iⁿshage ečka
36. Dadoⁿ utoⁿbathe egoⁿ thagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
37. Takiⁿde čiⁿtha egoⁿ thagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
38. Pečiⁿtha egoⁿ thagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
39. Azhuhi igawa egoⁿ thagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
40. Zhiⁿga thoⁿka wiⁿ mike egoⁿ ta thoⁿka wiⁿ oⁿgthahoⁿ oⁿgthapi egoⁿki, Iⁿshage ečka
41. He Iⁿshage ečka
42. Tishi thatoⁿ she thoⁿ ečka
43. Nikoⁿha ke thoⁿ ečka
44. Apamoⁿgthe xti aithagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
45. Itaxethoⁿ thoⁿ ečka
46. Niuthubidoⁿ tigthagtha thagthiⁿadoⁿ ečka
47. Tishi thatoⁿ she ečka
48. Zhiⁿga wiⁿachi thethoⁿka thoⁿ ečka
49. Wiⁿ aagigthiⁿ ta mike thoⁿzha ečka
50. Edadoⁿ piazhi ke ečka
51. Bthuga xti mučihi awagithe tamike thoⁿzha ečka
52. Oⁿba ukihoⁿge wiⁿ ibakoⁿ thiⁿge xti ethumbe hi tama eshe abadoⁿ ečka
53. Iⁿshage ečka
54. "He, dadi' ha" eshe taya eshe abadoⁿ ečka
55. Nisni ke thoⁿ ečka
56. He ni itiⁿ xti ithoⁿthe niuthibthi ithoⁿthe, ta t'iⁿxe dadoⁿ piazhi upethe ke
thoⁿ bthuga xti agaha gthihe adoⁿ ečka
57. Moⁿte shtiwoⁿ tha zhi adoⁿ ečka
58. Iⁿshage ečka
59. Ebe iⁿde wiⁿachi wiⁿ i uⁿ thuⁿgita i shte shte woⁿ ečka
60. Edadoⁿ piazhi ke thoⁿ ečka

61. Bthuga xti muçihî awagethe tamike eshe abadoⁿ eçka
62. Xthuga duba ha te thoⁿ eçka
63. Bthuga xti thiexthua piazhi ke thoⁿ uçihi awagithe tamike thoⁿzha eçka
64. Zhiⁿga eçka
65. Akiki hoⁿge ethoⁿbe hi tama thoⁿzha eçka
66. Kimoⁿhoⁿ xti tade baçoⁿ xti ainoⁿzhiⁿ tama eçka
67. Eshe abadoⁿ eçka
68. Iⁿshage eçka

Free translation

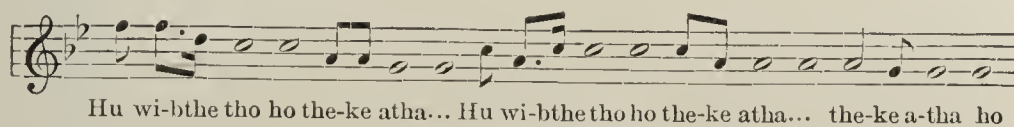
1. Oh! Aged One, eçka
2. Oh! thou recumbent Rock, eçka
3. Aged One, eçka
4. To thee I shall pray, eçka
5. Aged One, eçka
6. Oh! Aged One, eçka
7. The great water that lies impossible to traverse, eçka
8. Aged One, eçka
9. In the midst of the waters thou came and sat, eçka
10. Aged One, eçka
11. Thou, of whom one may think, whence camest thou? eçka
12. Aged One, eçka
13. From midst the waters eamest thou, and sat, eçka
14. It is said that thou sittest crying: Iⁿ! Iⁿ! eçka
15. Though I shall carry these my little ones, eçka
16. Though I shall sit and listen to their words, eçka
17. Because, they say, you have said, eçka
18. If one shall go astray in his speech, although here lies one on whom one's foot-steps may seem impossible to stumble, eçka
19. Upon this, the earth, very suddenly he shall stumble, they say you have said, eçka
20. Aged One, eçka
21. The impurities, eçka
22. Shall not enter within, eçka
23. Shall drift, like filth, as thou sittest, eçka
24. Aged One, eçka
25. Oh! Aged One, eçka
26. If one of mine prays to me properly, eçka
27. Aged One, eçka
28. I shall be with him, eçka
29. Further along he shall go, eçka
30. Aged One, eçka
31. The fourth hill, eçka
32. The third, the fourth, eçka
33. Even in going they shall appear thereon, they say, you have said, eçka
34. Aged One, eçka
35. Oh! Aged One, eçka
36. Thou sittest as though longing for something, eçka
37. Thou sittest like one with wrinkled loins, eçka
38. Thou sittest like one with furrowed brow, eçka
39. Thou sittest like one with flabby arms, eçka
40. The little ones shall be as I am, whoever shall pray to me properly, eçka
41. Oh! Aged One, eçka
42. Oh! Thou Pole of the Tent, eçka

43. Along the banks of the streams, *ečka*
44. With head drooping over, there thou sittest, *ečka*
45. Thy topmost branches, *ečka*
46. Dipping again and again, verily, into the water, *ečka*
47. Thou Pole of the Tent, *ečka*
48. One of these little ones, *ečka*
49. I shall sit upon one, *ečka*
50. The impurities, *ečka*
51. All I shall wash away from them, *ečka*
52. To the end, without one obstacle, they shall appear thereon, they say, you
have said, *ečka*
53. Aged One, *ečka*
54. It is said that you have commanded us to say to you, Our Father, *ečka*
55. Thou Water, *ečka*
56. Oh! Along the bends of the stream where the waters strike, and where the
waters eddy, among the water-mosses, let all the impurities that gall be
drifted, *ečka*
57. Not entering within, *ečka*
58. Aged One, *ečka*
59. Whosoever touches me with face or lips, *ečka*
60. All the impurities, *ečka*
61. I shall cause to be cleansed, it is said, you have said, *ečka*
62. The four apertures of the body, *ečka*
63. And all within the body I shall purify, it is said, you have said, *ečka*
64. Little ones, *ečka*
65. Through and through shall appear, *ečka*
66. Against the wind, in the midst of air, they shall appear and stand, *ečka*
67. It is said, you have said, *ečka*
68. Aged One, *ečka*

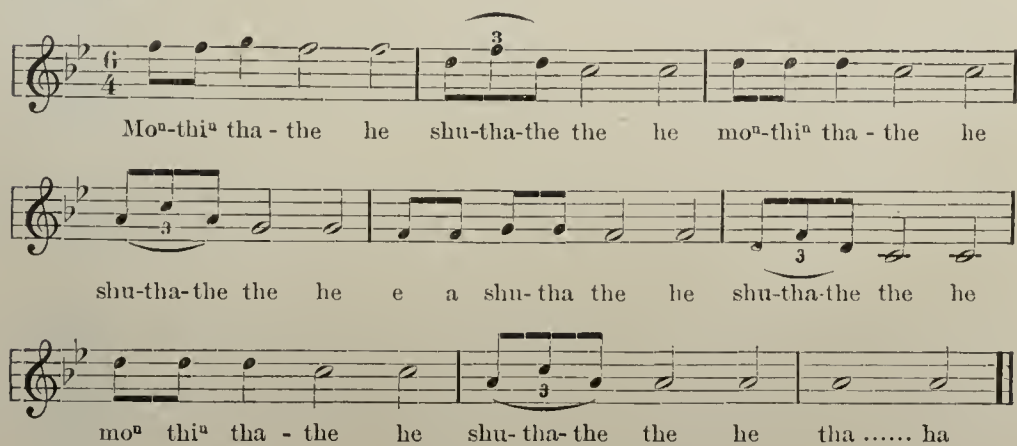
In this ritual the Primal Rock is addressed as "Aged One," sitting in the midst of water "impossible to traverse." The stones in the sweat lodge represented this Aged One, while the steam from the water symbolized the mighty water whence issued life and which had power to wash away all impurities. The almost tender mention of the willows that dip their branches "again and again" into the stream and that now constitute the framework of the lodge is noteworthy. So, too, the mention of the placing of the little ones "against the wind, in the midst of air," bears testimony to how deeply seated in the native mind is the religious idea of the life-giving power of the winds—the winds that stand at "the four directions" into whose "midst" is sent the child, that he may reach the four hills of life.

The ritual is very difficult to translate. It is highly poetic in the original, full of picture and movement. The refrain, *ečka*, "I desire," "I am drawn toward," "I seek," carries the idea of a movement urged on by earnestness on the part of the person speaking. The word *ečka* has no exact equivalent in English.

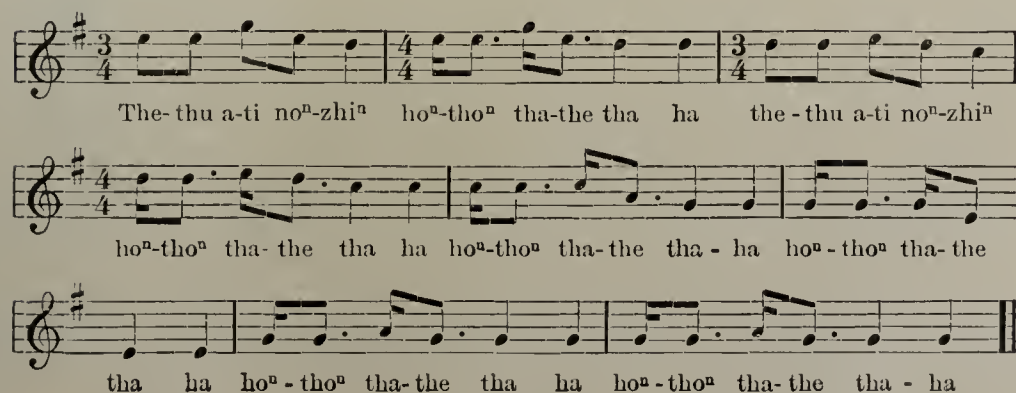
The following songs, recorded from various members of the society, give the peculiar rhythm characteristic of the songs that belong to the Pebble society. The first has been selected as giving the general theme or motive in its simplest form. The other songs show how this motive has been treated without sacrificing the peculiar rhythm. These songs were sung as the members moved about the lodge waving their eagle-feather fans and "shooting" the pebble, the magic power of which caused the one "shot" to fall rigid as the pebble was supposed to strike the body.



Literal translation: *Hu wibthe*, I have told you; *tho*, end of sentence; *ho*, vowel prolongation; *theke atha*, here it lies; *ho*, vowel prolongation.



Literal translation: *Moⁿ*, arrow; *thiⁿ*, moving; *thathe*, I send; *he*, vowel prolongation; *shuthathe*, I send to you; *the*, end of sentence; *he* vowel prolongation. In this song the pebble is compared to the swift-moving arrow.



Literal translation: *Thethu*, here; *ati*, come; *noⁿzhiⁿ*, stand; *hoⁿthoⁿthathe*, you have found me; *tha*, end of sentence; *ha*, vowel prolongation. This song represents the singer proclaiming: "Here where I stand the pebble has come and found me, struck me with its power."

Wa-koⁿ - da thoⁿ mi - ke aⁿ - thoⁿ - tha - the A - zhoⁿ mi - ke

thoⁿ tha - the he A - zhoⁿ mi - ke thoⁿ the - the he

A-zhoⁿ mi-ke thoⁿ-the-the ho tha ha A-zhoⁿ mi-ke an-thoⁿ-tha-the

Hu-hu mi-ke thoⁿ-tha-the he Hu-hu mi-ke an-thoⁿ-tha - tha he!

Cry of the Magic Aneients E hu - u - u hu

Literal translation: *Wakoⁿ'da*—this does not refer to the great *Wakoⁿ'da* but to the mysterious creatures, the givers of magic; *thoⁿ*, as; *mike*, I am; *aⁿthoⁿthathe*, thou hast found me; *he*, vowel prolongation; *azhoⁿ*, I lay; *mike*, I am; *thoⁿthathe*, hast found me; *huhu*, fish; *mike*, I am; *aⁿthoⁿthathe*, thou hast found me; *e-hu-u-u-hu*, vibrations, cry of magic power.

This song refers to an experience of one of the members of the society who was one day bathing, when he caught sight of a hawk, and fearing it was an enemy he turned himself into a fish. The bird descended to get the fish, when the man eluded his fellow-magician by turning himself into a rock, and so escaped by his magic power, while his fellow-magician, the bird, hurt his bill on the hard rock. There are many songs which refer to these magical transformations.

The following song is said to preserve an incident in the early history of the society:

When magic was first given to the members the power was not strong. By and by the members felt that it had gained in strength and they determined to attempt to do something more than merely to exercise it on animals. So they agreed to try their magic power on men and two persons were chosen to experiment on. When these men were "shot" by the pebble the magic proved to be so powerful

that one of them was killed. Then the society knew that they had really become possessed of the gift of magic.

(Sung in octaves)

A - wa - ki - de tha wi^a a - u tha the ha a - wa - ki - de tha

wi^a a - u tha the ha - wi^a a - u tha the ha wi^a a - u tha the ha

wi^a a - u tha the ha wi^a a - u tha the ha Wo^a - shi - ge

no^a - ba wa - ki - de be - tha o^a - mo^a - ki - de tha ha wi^a a - u tha the ha

wi^a a - u - tha the ha wi^a a - u tha the ha wi^a a - u tha aba ha

Literal translation: *Awakide*, I shot at them; *tha*, end of sentence; *wi^a*, one; *autha*, I wounded at once, or at the first shot; *tha*, end of sentence; *ha*, vocable; *wo^ashige*, man—an old word now in use among the Winnebago; *no^aba*, two; *wakide*, shot; *betha*, they were; *o^amo^a*, the other; *kide*, shot or killed.

The song presents a point which may be of historic interest, in the word used for “man”—the one who was shot and killed—*wo^ashige*. This is said to be an old word. It has disappeared from the Omaha language but is used by the Winnebago, whose speech has been regarded as preserving an older form of the parent tongue than the present Omaha language. The keeping of this one word, which relates to the effect of the magic in killing a man, while the other words have changed, raises the question whether this song (said to be very old) has come down from a time when the Omaha and Winnebago were still together as parts of the parent body.

The rituals and the customs of the Pebble society are more primitive than are those of the Shell society and there are indications that the latter society has borrowed from the former. In one of the Shell Society songs, included in the preceding account of that society, the shell is spoken of as a pebble or stone.

As these two societies are the only ones in the tribe which observe shamanistic practices and as they both strongly emphasize magic, it is not impossible that at one time they may have been connected. If such was the case, it is probable that the Pebble is the older society of the two.

XII

DISEASE AND ITS TREATMENT

Among the Omaha hygienic and physiologic laws were practically unknown. Even the contagious character of some diseases was not recognized. It was this fact that made the scourge of smallpox so severe, and later measles laid hold of old and young, with a virulence unknown to our own comparatively immune race. Disease was regarded as more or less of a mystery; sometimes but not always magic was held to be responsible for sickness, but it alone was not depended on to insure a cure. Herbs and roots were used for medicinal purposes, but in gathering and administering these, certain formulas had to be used. These formulas were in the nature of a prayer to Wakoⁿ'da and an invocation to the power dwelling in the healing herb, calling on it to become curatively active. The knowledge of such plants and roots and of their ritual songs and how to apply them had to be purchased, as a high value was placed on such knowledge. After payment the purchaser was shown the proper plant and directed to its locality, he was taught the songs used when gathering it and also the songs to be sung when it was administered. No one individual knew all the medicinal plants. Treatment of disease was specialized, so to speak, one person curing hemorrhages, another fever, and so on.

Bleeding was commonly employed in treating ailments; for this purpose gashes between the eyebrows were made with a flint knife or cupping on the back was effected by the use of the tip of a horn. A species of massage was also employed. The influence caused by the presence of women about a wounded person was deemed to be unfavorable; this influence (*wa'thite*) was regarded as related to the vital functions of woman. A similar influence was thought to arise by binding a wound, even in an emergency, with anything that had been near the genital organs of a man.

Herbs were used not only in the treatment of disease but for the purpose of healing wounds. That success often attended the cure of wounds and other injuries is well known. How the Buffalo society treated wounds has been described (p. 487). As all medical aid was given with more or less ceremony and with songs accompanied by the beating of a small drum, these noises evidently exercised a psychical

influence on the patient and did not injuriously affect the nervous system, as they would have done in the case of one to whom the sound was without meaning. The patient knew that the songs were sung to invoke supernatural aid and that on the efficacy of the appeal he must largely rely for relief.

Although witches and witchcraft did not exist among the Omaha, disease was sometimes supposed to have its origin in the magical introduction into the human body of a worm or other object, which could be removed only by means of magical formulas, by sucking, or by manipulation. Certain individuals and certain practices were supposed to be able to bring disease and death to a person by means of magic. In such cases magic had to be used to dispel the imposed magic. Among the Omaha these magical practices were almost wholly confined to the members of the Shell and Pebble societies. Some of their practices were claimed to trench on the marvelous. They declared they could transform themselves into birds, animals, stones, or leaves and joined in tests of the strength of their respective magic powers. One form of test consisted in trying to jump or fly over one another; the one who succeeded in so doing was regarded not only as possessing greater magic but as controlling the one defeated. No authentic accounts could be obtained from anyone who had actually witnessed these feats, but many persons were ready to assert that they had certainly been performed.

There was another method by which death and disaster could be brought to a man. This power was vested in the Hoⁿ'hewachi (p. 497). In this case the invoking of disease and death was in the nature of inflicting punishment on a social offender by turning on him the consequences of his own actions. The method employed was connected with the belief that help could be sent from one person to another by the power of willing known as *wazhiⁿ'thethe* (*wazhiⁿ'*, "will—the power by which man thinks, feels, and acts;" *the'the*, "to send"). *Wazhiⁿ'thethe* therefore means to send one's will power toward another to supplement his strength and thereby affect his action. To this helpful exercise of will power belongs the class of songs called *we'toⁿ waaⁿ* (p. 421).

The exercise of will power for punishment, as practised by the Hoⁿ'hewachi, was called *wazhiⁿ'agthe* (*wazhiⁿ'*, "will;" *agthe*, "to place on"). The two words, *wazhiⁿ'thethe* and *wazhiⁿ'agthe*, might seem at first glance to have the same meaning. The former means, however, the will power of one person sent to help another, and the latter the will power placed on. In the latter case the Hoⁿ'hewachi wills that the consequences of a certain line of conduct shall fall on a person who of his own accord has determined on such a line of conduct; that is, the man is to be abandoned to the results of his own unwise behavior; he is to be thrust out from all helpful relations

with men or animals. *Wazhi'agthe* would seem to have been expressive of a kind of excommunication pronounced by the men who had achieved position in the tribe, through valor and industry, against a man who had offended social order and endangered the peace of the tribe. This form of punishment, which blended social ostracism with a kind of magical power, was greatly feared and frequently resulted in the death of the victim.

The practice of midwifery belonged almost exclusively to women. In some exceptionally complicated or dangerous cases of parturition male doctors were called. In general women made rapid recovery from childbirth and within a week were able to resume their usual domestic duties.

SOME CURATIVE PLANTS

Among the roots used for medicinal purposes were the following:

Sweet flag (*Acorus calamus* S.), called by the Omaha *mon'kon'ni-nida*. The root was chewed for disorders of the stomach. It was also put into the feed of horses when ailing. When on the tribal hunt the people came to a marshy place where the sweet flag grew, the young men gathered the leaves, made wreaths, and wore them about the neck or head because of the pleasant odor.

The outer covering of the root of the Kentucky coffee tree (*Gymnocladus canadensis*) was used in hemorrhage, particularly from the nose or during childbirth. This root was used also when the kidneys failed to act. The native name of the tree was *non'titahi*. The root, powdered and mixed with water, was administered to women during protracted labor.

The root of the large bladder ground cherry (*Physalis viscora*) was used in dressing wounds. The Omaha name for the root was *pei'gatushi*. This was one of the roots employed by the Buffalo doctors as described on page 488.

The root of the cat-tail (*Typha*), called *ca'hiⁿ*, was used for dressing seals. The root was pulverized and spread in a paste over the burn. The ripe blossom of the cat-tail was then used for a covering, the injured part being bound so as to keep the dressing in place. The blossom of the cat-tail was called *waha'baigaçkoⁿthe*. This word, meaning "to try the corn," is said to have originated in the following manner. The boys used to gather the cat-tail blossoms and try to break them up so as to scatter the seeds. If they were successful they shouted "The corn is ripe," as the cat-tail blossom shed its seeds about the time that corn was ripe enough to eat.

The root of the hop vine (*Humulus lupulus*) was used for healing wounds; this was called *mon'kon'bashonⁿshon*, "crooked root."

From the root of the wild rose was made a wash for inflamed eyes, known as *wazhi'de*.

The root of the vine *Cucurbita perennis* (*ni'kashigamoⁿkoⁿ*, "human medicine," so called because the root was said to resemble the human form) was used medicinally. The root, pulverized and mixed with water, was taken for pains. Only that part of the root which corresponded to the seat of the pain was used; that is, if the pain was in the head, body, or leg, that portion of the root resembling the particular part affected was taken, etc. This root was used also in protracted labor.

There were many other plants and roots known to the Omaha as having medicinal qualities which were used by men and women of the tribe when attending the sick, but it has been impossible to obtain full knowledge of them. It can be safely said that, on the whole, medicinal remedies were more frequently resorted to in the case of sickness than magical practices. In almost every instance, however, the remedy was accompanied by its appropriate formula of song or ritual.

Fees were always expected by the doctor called to attend the sick or the injured.^a

The pleasure taken in swimming has been mentioned; this, however, was apart from bathing. In summer the bath was taken in a stream, and afterward the body was rubbed and dried with sprays of artemisia. In winter both men and women erected small tents in which they bathed in warm water. This was not the sweat bath. That kind of bath was always more or less ceremonial, indulged in for the purpose of healing, to avert disaster, or to prepare one's self for some ceremony or duty. A framework of slender poles was bent so as to make a small dome-shaped frame; this was covered tight with skins. Stones were heated over a fire and then placed in the center of the tent. Sweat baths were not usually taken alone, although this was done occasionally. The bathers entered, carrying with them a vessel of water. The coverings were then made fast and the inmates, with ritual or with song, sprinkled the water on the heated stones and sat in the steam. After a sufficient sweat had been experienced they emerged and plunged into cold water, after which they rubbed themselves dry with artemisia or grass. Both men and women took sweat baths but not together; these were employed to relieve headache, rheumatism, weariness, snow-blindness, or any bodily ailment. If a person had been the subject of dreams betokening his approaching death, a priest was summoned. The

^a The word meaning payment for services, as when one hires another to do a certain thing, is *wawe'shi*, such payment being contingent on the service being actually performed. The word employed to designate fees paid a doctor is *waon'the* (*on'tha*, "to throw away", "things thrown away;" the fees paid a doctor are to remunerate services that may or may not bring about the desired result and therefore the fees are as things that may be counted lost. The term *waon'the* is applied to fees paid for admission to membership in the secret societies and also to the payment made for knowledge of medicinal roots, etc.

latter prepared a sweat lodge, and, taking within the person threatened, chanted his special ritual and gave him a strenuous sweat bath, which effectually averted the approach of death. Children were not given baths of this kind except in the case of sickness.

The following ritual was recited while the sweat lodge was being prepared for medicinal purposes:

He! Iⁿshage! ečka
 He! Nikashiga pethoⁿba
 Uthe'wiⁿ kitha i kizhi
 Iⁿshage, ečka
 Thi wepethoⁿba shni ama
 Thi wepethoⁿba thagthi^{n'} egoⁿ
 Thi Iⁿda'doⁿ ke i'shpahoⁿ ama
 Iⁿshage, ečka
 Ečkoⁿnoⁿ iⁿda'doⁿ ithanibtha te doⁿ ethe'goⁿ igkizhi ečka
 Uzhuⁿge uki'gthixida i doⁿ, ečka
 Thagthiⁿ abitoⁿthethe xti thagthiⁿ egoⁿ
 Tade' ui'the duba te, uthutiⁿ xti thagthiⁿ egoⁿ
 Thinoⁿ xti 'dadoⁿ ihuthe wathe 'goⁿ thagthiⁿ abadoⁿ, ečka
 Iⁿshage! ečka
 A'wate i te 'doⁿ
 Awate noⁿde thoⁿ edoⁿ
 Awate çi te 'doⁿ ethe'wathe xti thagthiⁿ thoⁿzha
 Thi noⁿ xti iⁿdadoⁿ ihuthe wathe 'goⁿ thagthiⁿ abadoⁿ, ečka
 Iⁿshage! ečka
 Ečkoⁿnoⁿ zhiⁿga ečkoⁿnoⁿ
 Gudiha egoⁿ zhuawagigthe bthe adoⁿ
 Nie' thiⁿge' xti zhuawagigthe adoⁿ, ečka
 Um'ba noⁿba, um'ba tha'bthiⁿ, um'ba du'ba ethoⁿbe pi koⁿbthegoⁿ
 Iⁿshage! ečka
 Goⁿ wi'bthahoⁿ, thanoⁿ'oⁿ e'zha mi
 Iⁿshage! ečka
 Wa'gaçu shti woⁿ iteatha moⁿzhi thoⁿzha, goⁿ wi'ka
 Iⁿshage! ečka

Free translation

Ho! Aged One, ečka,
 At a time when there were gathered together seven persons,
 You sat in the seventh place, it is said,
 And of the Seven you alone possessed knowledge of all things,
 Aged One, ečka.
 When in their longing for protection and guidance,
 The people sought in their minds for a way,
 They beheld you sitting with assured permanency and endurance
 In the center where converged the paths,
 There, exposed to the violence of the four winds, you sat,
 Possessed with power to receive supplications,
 Aged One, ečka.
 Where is his mouth, by which there may be utterance of speech?
 Where is his heart, to which there may come knowledge and understanding?
 Where are his feet, whereby he may move from place to place?
 We question in wonder,

Yet verily it is said you alone have power to receive supplications,
Aged One, ečka.
I have desired to go yet farther in the path of life with my little ones,
Without pain, without sickness,
Beyond the second, third, and fourth period of life's pathway,
Aged One, ečka.
O hear! This is my prayer,
Although uttered in words poorly put together,
Aged One, ečka.

This ritual shows with unusual clearness the symbolic character of the stone as well as the native anthropomorphic habit of mind. In the ritual the stones are addressed, generically and anthropomorphically, as "Aged One," a title of highest respect. The "Aged One" is spoken of as having persisted through all time since the gathering of the primal seven, to have sat at the center where the paths converge, and endured the shock of the four winds, those mighty forces which bring life and can destroy it. Because of this enduring quality, abiding throughout all stress and change, the stone symbolized the steadfast power of Wakoⁿ'da, the permeating life of all nature, and so was possessed with "power to receive supplications"—this despite the fact that reference is made in the ritual to the lack of means on the part of the stone of man's ability to express his volitions (as organs of speech, feeling, and motion). Therefore to it man turned for protection and help when beset by distress of body or mind. It will be recalled that the Omaha used the sweat lodge not only for curative purposes but to avert disaster, as impending death, and also as a preparatory rite. Here is set forth the recognition of the contradiction between the inertia of the actual stone and the vitality of the stone as a symbol. The mental attitude of the Omaha when he addresses the stone can be discerned—his thought is not centered on the apparent stone, but passes on to the quality or power which the stone typifies. What is true of the stone applies to the animals, the thunder and lightning, and the cosmic forces to which the Omaha addressed himself. All were symbols of qualities he recognized in man and projected upon natural objects and phenomena.

XIII

DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS

Death was looked on as one of the inevitable things in life. The old men have said: "We see death everywhere. Plants, trees, animals die, and man dies. No one can escape death and no one should fear death, since it can not be avoided." While this view tended to remove from the thought of death any supernatural terrors, it did not foster the wish to hasten its approach. Length of days was desired by all and the rites attendant on the introduction of the child to the teeming life of nature (see p. 115) and those connected with the entrance of the child into its place in the tribe (see p. 117) all voice a prayer for long life, "to reach the fourth hill." Although not unknown, suicide was rare, and its rarity was owing perhaps to the belief that the spirit as well as the body perished in self-destruction. Generally speaking, no matter how hard the conditions under which he was living, the Omaha clung tenaciously to life.

The belief in the continuation of the natural relationships after death necessarily led to the fixing of a locality where the dead dwell. The mystery of death in some way seems to have become associated with the mystery of night and the stars. The Milky Way was regarded as a path made by the spirits of men as they passed to the realm of the dead. While the mystery of dissolution seems to have demanded that the abode of the dead should be removed from the earth, there were other thoughts and feelings that inclined the Omaha to conceive of its being possible for the dead to come near and act as helpers of the people. In the attempts of the Omaha to give concrete form to vague ideas concerning life and death we come upon the mythic stage of thought and observe how closely all their thoughts on these subjects were interwoven with their conception of a common and interrelated life, a living force that permeates, and is continuous in, all forms and appearances. By virtue of this bond of a continuous life the dead, though dwelling in a distant, undiscernible region, are able to come near their kindred on the earth and to lend their assistance in the avocations with which they have been familiar. This belief of the Omaha in the unification and the continuity of life assists toward the understanding of his point of view in reference to his appeals for help to the animals and the natural forces.

All of these symbolized to him certain faculties and powers individualized, so to speak, in the eagle, the wolf, the elk, the earth, the rock, the water, the tree, the thunder, the lightning, and the winds. All these forms, he believed, exist in the realm of the dead as well as in that of the living and the life which informs them, like that which informs man, is continuous and unbroken, emanating from the great mystery, Wakoⁿ'da.

The Omaha believed also that under certain conditions the realm of the dead is accessible to the living. For instance, a person in a swoon was thought to have died for the time and to have entered the region of death. It was said of one who had fainted and recovered that "he died [fainted] and went to his departed kindred, but no one would speak to him, so he was obliged to return to life" [recovered consciousness]. It was further explained: "If his relatives had spoken to him he would never have come back but would have had to stay with the dead." It seems probable that the stories told by certain persons who had swooned as to what they saw in visions have had much to do in forming the Omaha imagery of the other world. It will be recalled that the sign of the tabu was put on the dead in order that they might be recognized by their relatives, as on the feet of a dead member of the We'zhiⁿshte gens, moccasins made from the skin of the male elk to whom before his death the animal was tabu.^a These and like customs confirm the general statement that life and its environment beyond the grave were thought to be conditioned much as on the earth, except that the future state was generally regarded as being happier and freer from sickness and want. It was said that there are seven spirit worlds, each higher than the one next preceding, and that after people have lived for a time in one world they die to that world and pass on to the one next above. When asked if death in the next world does not cause the same sorrow that it does here, the reply was: "It is not the same as here, for the people, having once passed through death and rejoined their kindred, recognize that the parting is only temporary and so they do not grieve as we do here."

There was no belief among the Omaha in a multiplicity of souls—"man has but one spirit" the old men declared—nor has any trace of belief in metempsychosis or in metamorphosis been discovered among this people.

^a The statement has been made (*11th Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.*, 542), "In two of the buffalo gentes of the Omaha (the lūke-sabē and llañga) there is a belief that the spirits of deceased members of those gentes return to the buffaloes," and the buffalo is spoken of as "the eponymic ancestor." The writer here cited fell into the error of regarding the animal which furnished the peculiar symbol in the rites of these kinship groups as the progenitor of the members of the groups. No such confusion seems to have existed in the Omaha mind. Men were not believed to be descended from animals. If the expressions "Buffalo people," "Elk people," "Deer people," or "Thunder people," were used, these descriptive terms were not employed in a literal sense but as tropes.

As the environment in the spirit world is similar to that on the earth, the avocations seem to be the same and it would appear as though interest in the affairs of this world never wholly ceases. The warriors attended the Thunder and it was said that sometimes during a thunderstorm the voices of certain brave men not living could be recognized. The chiefs seemed to consort together for, according to one explanation, the aurora borealis is caused by the chiefs holding a dance. Another explanation accounted in a more prosaic manner for this phenomenon, declaring it to be the light of the sun as it makes its way from the west back to the east.

There does not seem to have been any conception among the Omaha of supernatural rewards or punishments after death. The same conditions which make for good conduct here were believed to exist in the realm of the dead. It was said that at the forks of the path of the dead (the Milky Way) there "sat an old man wrapped in a buffalo robe, and when the spirits of the dead passed along he turned the steps of the good and peaceable people toward the short path which led directly to the abode of their relatives, but allowed the contumacious to take the long path, over which they wearily wandered." It is probable that the difference in the treatment believed to be accorded the good and the bad indicates white influence as does also the story that there is a log across a chasm over which the dead must pass; the good experience no difficulty, but the bad in crossing find the log so unstable that they sometimes fall off and are lost. The simple and ancient belief seems to have been that the Milky Way is the path of the dead. It was said also that the spirit of a murderer "never found his way to his relatives, but kept on, endlessly searching but never finding rest." The restless ghosts were supposed to whistle and for this reason children were easily frightened by whistling.

Many tales are told concerning ghosts. Those who have camped on old battlefields have heard the sounds of fighting, and persons becoming separated on hunting expeditions have told of hearing the coming of strange people, who made camp, set up their tents, and went about their usual avocations. A narrator of one of these stories declared that all the members of his family heard these sounds—even the dogs barked; but on looking out of the tent nothing was to be seen. These ghostly visitants did not always come at night; sometimes they stayed during the day and continued talking and moving about their unseen camp. Similar stories have been told by persons who had been left behind in the village when the tribe moved off on the annual hunt, tales of how the ghosts came and took possession of the earth lodges and held dances and feasts. In only one instance was it claimed that these visitors became partially visible. In that case the narrator said: "Only the feet and the legs as high as the knees could be seen;" and then added: "If I had been

alone a little while longer I think I should have finally been able to see the entire figure and recognize the people, for at first I could see only their feet." Ghosts bent on mischief, as tampering with food after it was prepared for eating, could be thwarted by placing a knife across the open vessel containing the food. A ghost would not meddle with a knife. Nor would ghosts ever cross a stream; so, if a person was followed or chased by a ghost, he would make for a stream, wade it, or even jump across it. No matter how small the stream, it made an impassable barrier between himself and his ghostly pursuer.

The following dreams were thought to betoken death:

To have the Wa'wa^a pipes presented to one ceremonially.

To have snakes enter one's body: but if the dreamer shuts his eyes, stops up his nose and ears, and clenches his hands so as to prevent the snakes forcing their heads between his fingers, and thus succeeds in keeping out the snakes, he will escape death.

To dream of lice.

If a horse shies at a person, it is because the animal sees blood on him, indicating that the man will soon die.

Whatever restraint the Omaha was trained to put on himself during the ordinary experiences of life was abandoned when death entered the family circle. No one, man or woman, was ashamed to weep at such a time. Mourners seem to have found relief from the mental pain of sorrow by inflicting physical pain—slashing their arms and legs. To cut locks of hair and throw them on the body was a customary expression of grief, as was wailing. At times the cries of the mourners could be heard on the hills in the early morning and during the night watches. Sad as was the sound of this active expression of grief, it was not so pathetic as the silent form of sorrow, which sometimes terminated in death. The mourner would draw his blanket over his head and with fixed downward gaze sit motionless, refusing to eat or to speak, deaf to all words of comfort and sympathy, until at last he fell senseless.

Abandonment of all that otherwise would be prized seems to have been characteristic of the Omaha expression of grief. Manifestations of this kind were not confined to the time immediately following bereavement but whenever a person was reminded of his sorrow there was a fresh expression of grief. At the He'dewachi, which was a festival of joy (see p. 251), those who since the last celebration had lost children or other near relatives were wont to wail over the remembrance while others were shouting exultantly their anticipations of pleasure at the coming festival. Or, it might happen while the tribe was on the annual hunt that a woman who had left the camp to gather wild potatoes would suddenly remember the fondness of a lost child for these roots; on her return she would take the store she had gathered to the center of the tribal circle and there throw

down the product of her digging and return empty-handed to her tent. Her act was recognized by all the people as that of a person in sorrow whose thought was fixed on the dead and whose grief made her careless of present physical wants.

Very soon after death the body was prepared for burial, which took place within a short time. Rarely more than a day elapsed between death and burial. The best clothing was put on the dead and regalia was sometimes added, as well as a man's weapons and shield. The tent cover was sometimes lifted at the bottom so that persons from the outside could look on the dead as he lay prepared for burial.

In olden times the body was borne on a rude litter and placed in the grave in a sitting posture, facing the east. Graves were usually made on a hilltop. A shallow hole was dug and the body placed in it, and poles were arranged over the opening upon which earth was heaped into a mound. Mound burial was the common practice of the Omaha. After the acquisition of horses, one of these animals was sometimes strangled at the grave but it was never buried with the man. The personal belongings of men, women, and children were usually deposited in the grave.

Some time after the death and burial of a young man or woman the parents gave a feast, and invited to it the companions of the deceased. After the feast races were run and property contributed by relatives was divided among the winners. Young women took part in the contest if the dead was a girl, and young men raced if one of their own number had died.

The placing of food on the grave has been explained as an act of remembrance and has been likened to the offering of food when a bit was dropped ceremonially into the fire in token of the remembrance of Wakoⁿ'da's gift of food to man. Other similar acts of offering food, all of which partook of the character of remembrance, were instanced in explanation, none of which were done because of a belief that the dead needed or partook of the food.

A fire was kept burning on the grave for four nights that its light might cheer the dead as he traveled; after that time he was supposed to have reached his journey's end.

When a man or woman greatly respected died, the following ceremony sometimes took place: The young men in the prime of life met at a lodge near that of the deceased and divested themselves of all clothing except the breechcloth; each person made two incisions in the upper left arm, and under the loop of flesh thus made thrust a small willow twig having on its end a spray of leaves. With the blood dripping on the leaves of the sprays that hung from their arms, the men moved in single file to the lodge where the dead lay. There, ranging themselves in a line shoulder to shoulder facing the tent, and marking the rhythm of the music with the willow sprigs

they sang in unison the funeral song—the only one of its kind in the tribe. The contrast between the bleeding singers and the blithe major cadences of the song, suggestive of birds, sunshine, and the delights of the upper air, throws light on the Omaha belief relative to death and to song. "Music," it was explained, "can reach the unseen world and carry thither man's thought and aspiration. The song is for the spirit of the dead; it is to cheer him as he goes from his dear ones left behind on the earth; so, as he hears the voices of his friends, their glad tones help him to go forward on his inevitable journey." The song was therefore addressed directly to the spirit of the dead. Of the ceremonial it was further explained that "the shedding of the blood was for the mourners; they were to see in it an expression of sorrow and sympathy for the loss that had come to them." The cutting of the flesh, as has been already stated, was a common method of indicating grief. There was a custom that obtained among the Omaha which also referred to the belief that sound could reach the dead; hence wailing had to cease after a time, for the reason that "the departing one must not be distressed as he leaves his earthly home behind him, since he is obliged to go forward on his journey." This custom is consonant with the meaning of the music of the funeral song, which has no words, only vocables.

FUNERAL SONG

(Sung in octaves) Harmonized by J. C. Fillmore for interpretation on the piano

Smoothly, with feeling

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The vocal line is in 2/4 time and features a melody with several triplets. The piano accompaniment is in 2/4 time and features a steady rhythm of eighth notes. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment, with the vocal line changing to 3/4 time and then back to 2/4 time. The piano accompaniment remains in 2/4 time. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

pp Taps of willow sticks

E a a a tha he ha a he a a
a e tha a he a ha a e tha a tha

a e a ha e ha o e tha he he tho-e ho
 o o e tha tha he a a a ah e tha a
 tha a e a ha e ha o e tha he tho

pp

At the close of the song a near relative of the dead advanced toward the singers and, raising a hand in the attitude of thanks, withdrew the willow twigs from their arms and threw them on the ground. This ceremony, with its bleeding singers and its song of blythe, happy strains, at first glance might appear as a savage rite, devoid of human feeling; but when studied it is found to be an unselfish expression and to emphasize the Omaha belief in the continuity of life and of human relationships.

Among men relief from the stress of grief was generally sought in some stirring occupation, as a war party would afford. Consequently a bereaved father was apt to join the first party that proposed to "go upon the warpath;" if he had lost a little child he would tuck its small moccasins in his belt. On slaying an enemy he laid the moccasins beside the slain in the belief that the dead man would recognize and befriend the little child as it slowly made its way toward its relatives in the other world.

XIV

RELIGION AND ETHICS

There was no class or group among the Omaha whose distinctive duty was to teach either religion or ethics. Religious and ethical teachings were embedded in the rites of the gentes and of the tribe, but there were no succinct, practical commandments as to beliefs or actions expressed in them. The duty of explanation and instruction to the laity, concerning the meaning and teaching of these rites, devolved on the thoughtful elders of the tribe, who generally belonged to those eligible to the office of keeper, and formed a kind of hereditary priesthood.

THE KEEPER

In every gens or subgens there was a particular family to which belonged the hereditary right to furnish the keeper, who had charge of the sacred object of the gens together with its rituals and rites. This man held no title apart from the name of the object or rite of which he had charge; he was the keeper (*athin*, "to possess" or "keep") of the White Buffalo Hide or of the Sacred Pole, or of the rite of Turning the Child, etc. He alone possessed the authority to perform the ceremony, recite the rituals, and conduct the rites committed to his care; it was also his duty to instruct his son and successor, and to transmit this knowledge and right to him. In the event of the death of all the male members of the family of a keeper, the Seven Chiefs were required to select another family in the same subgens to take up the duties of keeper. The compensation given to the keepers for their services has been spoken of (p. 212). A keeper's mode of life did not differ from that of other men; he did not ordinarily wear any part of his ceremonial dress or adopt a peculiar garb to distinguish his calling, nor did the keepers dwell apart from other members of the tribe. They were held in respect and generally conformed their lives to the sacredness of their official duties. Keepers sometimes became chiefs; this was true of the last keeper of the Sacred Pole, he who transferred this ancient object to the writers for safe-keeping (p. 223) and narrated the Sacred Legend of the tribe.

WE'WAÇPE

This name was applied to tribal religious rites and is significant of their object. The definition of this term can not be given in a word; *we'waçpe* means "something to bring the people into order and into a thoughtful composure." The term bears testimony to the thoughtful character of the people, for while the institution of some of the rites of this class was credited to "old men," this should not be taken too literally, for several of the ceremonies show evidence of a growth that may have extended through a long period. The word indicates, however, a discriminating observation of the social value of religious rites not only as a power to hold the people together by the bond of a common belief and the enjoyment of its ceremonial expression, but as a means to augment in the popular mind the importance of self-control, of composure, and of submission to authority.

The rites termed *We'waçpe* partook of the nature of prayer and were believed to open a way between the people and the mysterious *Wakoⁿ'da* (p. 597); therefore they had to be accurately given in order that the path might be straight for the return of the desired benefit. A mistake in rendering a ritual had to be atoned in some cases by a ceremony of contrition in order to avert trouble from the entire people, as the interruption of the prescribed order in a religious ceremony was believed to be a subject for supernatural punishment.

We'waçpe rites were institutional in character and were so regarded by the tribe. They were distinct from individual rites, as, for example, the rite wherein the youth sought to come into relation with the supernatural. The latter experience was strictly personal nor was its character changed if the peculiar type of the vision or dream gave the youth the right of entrance into one of the secret societies.

The rites and ceremonies, both public and private, of the secret societies, except those of the *Hoⁿ'hewachi*, do not belong to the *We'waçpe* class. This society partook somewhat of the character of an order of chieftainship; its ceremonies related to the cosmic forces and therefore touched on religious conceptions.

The following rites belonged to the *We'waçpe* class:

Those connected with the maize.

Those pertaining to the annual buffalo hunt and the White Buffalo Hide; these rites were closely related to the securing of the food supply.

The rites and rituals belonging to the two Sacred Tribal Pipes and those of the Sacred Pole; both of these pertained to the governing power of the tribe and the authority vested in the chiefs. While dependence on *Wakoⁿ'da* was recognized in all of these rites, they were so directly concerned with the temporal welfare of the people

that the religious element was somewhat overlaid by the material benefits sought through the ceremonials.

The introduction of the child to the cosmos.

Turning the Child.

The consecration of the boy to Thunder.

The He'dewachi, the only ceremony in which all the people—men, women, and children—took part and were led by the two Sacred Pipes, borne by their hereditary keepers, in the rhythmic advance by gentes toward the symbolically decorated pole standing in the center of the large circle made by the assembled tribe. The teaching of this joyous and picturesque ceremony, it may be recalled, was that the tribe must be a living unit, even as the tree and its branches are one (p. 251).

The Wa'waⁿ ceremony; this was classed with the We'wacpe because it was a means of bringing about peaceful relations within and without the tribe.

WAKOⁿ'DA

Wakoⁿ'da is not a modern term and does not lend itself to verbal analysis. The word *wanoⁿ'xe* means "spirit." The ideas expressed in the words *wakoⁿ'da* and *wanoⁿ'xe* are distinct and have nothing in common. There is therefore no propriety in speaking of Wakoⁿ'da as "the great spirit." Equally improper would it be to regard the term as a synonym of nature, or of an objective god, a being apart from nature. It is difficult to formulate the native idea expressed in this word. The European mind demands a kind of intellectual crystalization of conceptions, which is not essential to the Omaha, and which when attempted is apt to modify the original meaning. Wakoⁿ'da stands for the mysterious life power permeating all natural forms and forces and all phases of man's conscious life. The idea of Wakoⁿ'da is therefore fundamental to the Omaha in his relations to nature, including man and all other living forms. As has been said by a thoughtful member of the tribe, "No matter how far an Omaha may wander in his superstitious beliefs and attribute godlike power to natural objects, he invariably returns to Wakoⁿ'da, the source of all things, when he falls into deep and sober thought on religious conceptions."

Visible nature seems to have mirrored to the Omaha mind the ever-present activities of the invisible and mysterious Wakoⁿ'da and to have been an instructor both in religion and in ethics. The rites pertaining to the individual (p. 115) reveal clearly the teaching of the integrity of the universe, of which man is a part; the various We'wacpe rites emphasize man's dependence on a power greater than himself and the idea that supernatural punishments will follow disobedience to constituted authority. Natural phenomena

served to enforce ethics. Old men have said: "Wakoⁿ'da causes day to follow night without variation and summer to follow winter; we can depend on these regular changes and can order our lives by them. In this way Wakoⁿ'da teaches us that our words and our acts must be truthful, so that we may live in peace and happiness with one another. Our fathers thought about these things and observed the acts of Wakoⁿ'da and their words have come down to us." Truthfulness in word and in action was fundamental to the scheme of ethics taught among the Omaha. As applied to action, it involved the idea of honesty and of faithfulness to a duty laid upon a person, whatever its nature, whether of a scout (p. 425), a runner in search of a herd of buffalo (p. 279), or the performance of a rite by its proper custodian. No untruthful report or evasion of responsibility was permitted to go unpunished, the penalty it was believed being inflicted supernaturally. The instances related concerning the fate of the keepers of the Sacred Tent of War who shirked their responsibility and met their death by the lightning stroke were cited as proof of the watchfulness of Wakoⁿ'da over truthfulness as applied to acts. For like reason, all vows had to be kept. Sometimes a man when praying for success in hunting vowed to give the first deer or other game secured to Wakoⁿ'da, and no man having made such a vow would break it, even though he and his family had to go hungry. (Such offerings were always handed to a keeper.)

While the conception of Wakoⁿ'da may appear somewhat vague certain anthropomorphic attributes were ascribed to it, approximating to a kind of personality. Besides the insistence on truthfulness in word and deed already mentioned, there were other qualities involving pity and compassion, as shown in the account given in the Sacred Legend concerning the institution of the rite of Noⁿ'zhiⁿzhoⁿ (p. 128) and in the rite itself and its accompanying prayer (p. 130). All experiences in life were believed to be directed by Wakoⁿ'da, a belief that gave rise to a kind of fatalism. In the face of calamity, the thought, "This is ordered by Wakoⁿ'da," put a stop to any form of rebellion against the trouble and often to any effort to overcome it.

Not only were the events in a person's life decreed and controlled by Wakoⁿ'da, but man's emotions were attributed to the same source. An old man said: "Tears were made by Wakoⁿ'da as a relief to our human nature; Wakoⁿ'da made joy and he also made tears!" An aged man, standing in the presence of death, said: "From my earliest years I remember the sound of weeping; I have heard it all my long life and shall hear it until I die. There will be partings as long as man lives on the earth; Wakoⁿ'da has willed it to be so!"

The use of the term *Wakoⁿ'da* in the songs of the Washis'ka athiⁿ, or Shell society, and the Iⁿ'gthuⁿ, or Thunder society, needs a word of explanation, as it has led to misunderstandings of Omaha belief.

This use has been frequently explained to the writers, who have been urged not to fall into error as to what is meant by *Wakoⁿ'da*. These explanations have come from members of the societies to which the songs belonged wherein the word occurs, as well as from men who did not belong to these secret societies, so that the writers feel sure that there is a distinction in the Omaha mind between varying meanings of the word *wakoⁿ'da*. The *Wakoⁿ'da* addressed in the tribal prayer and in the tribal religious ceremonies which pertain to the welfare of all the people is the *Wakoⁿ'da* that is the permeating life of visible nature—an invisible life and power that reaches everywhere and everything, and can be appealed to by man to send him help. From this central idea of a permeating life comes, on the one hand, the application of the word *wakoⁿ'da* to anything mysterious or inexplicable, be it an object or an occurrence; and on the other hand, the belief that the peculiar gifts of an animate or inanimate form can be transferred to man. The means by which this transference takes place is mysterious and pertains to *Wakoⁿ'da* but is not *Wakoⁿ'da*. So the media—the shell, the pebble, the thunder, the animal, the mythic monster—may be spoken of as *wakoⁿ'das*, but they are not regarded as *the Wakoⁿ'da*.

Personal prayers were addressed directly to *Wakoⁿ'da*. A man would take a pipe and go alone to the hills; there he would silently offer smoke and utter the call, *Wakoⁿ'da ho!*, while the moving cause, the purport of his prayer, would remain unexpressed in words. If his stress of feeling was great, he would leave the pipe on the ground where his appeal had been made. This form of prayer (made only by men) was called *Niniba-ha* (*niniba*, “pipe”), “addressing with the pipe.”

Women did not use the pipe when praying; their appeals were made directly, without any intermediary. Few, if any, words were used; generally the sorrowful or burdened woman simply called on the mysterious power she believed to have control of all things, to know all desires, all needs, and able to send the required help.

INTERRELATION OF MEN AND ANIMALS

The relation of animals to the various rites of the gentes is difficult to explain for the reason that the outlook on nature and all living creatures, of the white race is so different from that of the Indian. Accustomed as we are to classify animals as domesticated or wild and to regard them as beneath man and subservient to him, it requires an effort to bring the mind to the position in which, when contemplating nature, man is viewed as no longer the master but as one of many manifestations of life, all of which are endowed with kindred powers, physical and psychical, and animated by a life force emanating from the mysterious *Wakoⁿ'da*.

An old Indian explained: "All forms mark where Wakoⁿ'da has stopped and brought them into existence." The belief that the power of Wakoⁿ'da is akin to the directive force of which man is conscious within himself is implied in the old man's remark; each "form" was the result of a "stop," where there had been a distinct exercise of the will power, an act of the creative force of Wakoⁿ'da performed. Looking on nature from this standpoint, men, animals, the earth, the sky, and all natural phenomena are not only animated, but they bear a relation to one another different from that which we are accustomed to consider as existing among them; man does not stand apart from, he becomes literally a part of nature, connected with it physically and related to it psychically. As has been said by the old men, "Man lives on the fruits of the earth; this is true when he feeds on the animals, for all draw their nourishment from mother earth; our bodies are strengthened by animal food and our powers can be strengthened by the animals giving us of their peculiar gifts, for each animal has received from Wakoⁿ'da some special gift. If a man asks help of Wakoⁿ'da, Wakoⁿ'da will send the asker the animal that has the gift that will help the man in his need." This view of the interrelation of men and animals, whereby in some mysterious manner, similar to the assimilation of food, man's faculties and powers can be reinforced from the animals, may assist in explaining why animals play so large a part in Omaha rites.

This belief concerning the interrelation of men and animals may furnish the key to a better understanding of the myths of the Omaha and their cognates, some of which appear to be survivals of a time when this belief was in an active and formative stage, a time when man was trying to explain to himself the mystery of his conscious life and of his environment. Many thoughts arising from this mental effort, while intrinsically abstract, became concrete through an imaginative, dramatic story, serious in character, with a burden that could not be shifted from symbolic to matter-of-fact speech. In some such way and at a period far back in the history of the people the myth may have had its rise. Viewed by the light of Omaha tribal rites and rituals, it seems probable that some of the myths may be survivals of very ancient ceremonies, skeletons, so to speak, from which the original ceremonial covering has disappeared.

Many of the mythic stories found among this group of cognate tribes are in some of their details obscene, a characteristic for which no adequate explanation is to be found in the daily life and customs of the people or in the rites as practised during recent centuries. Offensive as some of these stories are, they often exhibit a titanic audacity that gives to them a kind of grotesque dignity. Even mythic stories of this class may also be survivals, which have suffered not only from the wear and tear of ages but from accretions of minds

not of the highest type. Natural functions have demanded explanation, and in the absence of teaching based on knowledge of physical laws, man's fancy here as in the world around has run riot. Among all peoples there is an undercurrent of indecent stories that show a strange kinship and that may have a common psychical origin.

Although, according to the Omaha view, man is so closely connected with the animals, he was not born of them; no trace has been found showing any confusion or mixture of forms; no Omaha believes that his ancestors ever were elk, or buffalo, or deer, or turtle, any more than that they were the wind, the thunder, or the sky. Myths which speak of the union of the earth and the sky appear to be an attempt to express in concrete form the idea that a dual force represented in the masculine and feminine forms is fundamental to all creative processes and was ordained by Wakoⁿ'da. The recognition of this dual force in nature seems to have been common to all races, but it has been variously emphasized by different peoples. The idea was a vital one to the Omaha, as has been shown in their tribal organization (p. 134), but it did not assume the strongly anthropomorphic aspect into which it crystalized among Eastern races. The Omaha did not project this dual force into gods and goddesses, their imagination did not so incline to express itself; it was occupied in seeking psychical counterparts to man among birds and animals, in drawing ethical teachings from the natural phenomena of night and day, and in finding lessons in tribal unity and strength from the branching tree.

VENERATION FOR THE ANCIENTS

The belief in the continuity of life made natural the thought that the venerable men who had been instrumental in establishing the ceremonies of the tribe did not abandon interest in the affairs of the people because of their death. (See Ponca Feast of Soldiers, p. 309.) While the worship of ancestors did not exist among the Omaha, reverence was paid to the memory of the Ancient Ones whose thoughts on the relation of man to Wakoⁿ'da embodied in rituals and ceremonies became the medium of religious teaching for the people. The symbolic figure *uzhiⁿ'eti* (p. 241) represented this belief and reverent feeling toward the Ancients.

POSITION OF CHIEFS

Chiefs were respected not only because of their authority, but as having been favored by the unseen powers, who had granted them help and had strengthened their ability to be steadfast in purpose during the years wherein they struggled to perform the acts required (p. 202) to enter the rank of chief. Because of this relation to the unseen powers, a chief had to be deliberate in speech and in movement, for all his words and acts were more or less connected with the

welfare of the people, and by the authority vested in his office the chief was allied to the all-ruling and mysterious Wakoⁿ'da. As the rites connected with the Sacred Tribal Pipes were the medium between the chiefs and Wakoⁿ'da, there was no means by which to atone for, or condone, any mistake or mishap occurring during the ceremonial filling and smoking of these Pipes. Instances have been related in which such an act of sacrilege was followed by death.

TOTEMS

The so-called "personal totem" was not an object of worship, and only in a very limited sense could it properly be termed a fetish. It was a token or kind of credential of the vision granted the youth during his fast; he did not appeal to the thing itself, but to that which it represented, the form sent by Wakoⁿ'da, which could reach him personally, "have compassion" on him, and therefore bring to him the help he required in his hour of need. A reverent attitude was maintained toward all rites and ceremonies that dealt with man's relation to the unseen and tolerance was shown to usages that differed from their own.

MAGIC

Magic formed no part of the Omaha religion in either faith or practice. All the rites and ceremonies classed as We'wage were religious in character and singularly free from anything that could properly be called magical. The supernatural punishments that have been referred to can hardly be considered as connected with magic. Certain other beliefs and acts, as that help or punishment could be brought about through the exercise of will power, in the *wazhiⁿ'thethe* (p. 583) or the *wazhiⁿ'agthe* (p. 497), were not regarded as magical practices, nor were the means employed by the Ghost and Thunder societies to look into the future; these were thought to be different from the usages of the Shell and Pebble societies. Only the members of the two societies last named claimed to be endowed with the ability to exercise powerful magic, and their operations were confined in the main to their own membership.

Witchcraft, such as is said to have existed in other tribes, was not found among the Omaha. There was general fear and dread of magic, but no one who practised it was persecuted or punished for his acts; he might be avoided, but he would remain unmolested.

WARFARE AND ETHICS

The influence on warfare of the higher ethics has never been pronounced in the history of any race or people and the Omaha were no exception to the rule. As has been stated, when in battle an Omaha

found escape impossible he fought until he died. He aimed to kill his enemy, not to take him captive, for there was no custom of adoption among the Omaha as with the Osage; therefore neither men, women, nor children were made prisoners. War meant devastation and probable death to those who engaged in it. While it was not waged along humane lines, sometimes women were allowed to escape. The story is told of a war captain who, when a woman was fleeing, said to his men, "Let your sister go!" The term for aggressive warfare (p. 403) implies that such warfare meant fighting with *men*, a contest between warriors. In view of what has just been said, it was natural that the Omaha should have regarded capture as equivalent to death. With reference to the treatment accorded their enemies it may be added that no authentic account has been obtained of the torture of anyone by the Omaha during the last century or more.^a

TERMS FOR GOOD TRAITS AND GOOD CONDUCT

It may assist toward making clearer Omaha ethics as applied to social life to give some of the terms that denote excellence of character and desirable social qualities.

U'pička, a very old term, meaning that a person is unselfish.

Wazhi'çabe, applied to one who holds himself in control, who avoids all words and deeds that might lead to unpleasantness.

Wa'gaçu, one who is straightforward, whose word can be depended on.

Wawe'nonhiⁿ, one who is willing to help and to serve others.

Wahon'e shtonⁿ, one who never forgets to acknowledge a favor, no matter how small; a courteous person.

Watha'ethatha, a sympathetic person.

Wazhi' çabe, hospitable (*çabe*, cautious, prudent).

Debi'goⁿtha, one who can be persuaded, who will yield; also, a generous and hospitable person.

Wapiuⁿ, applied to a bright child who said clever things. Such a child, it was generally thought, would die young.

Wa'bagthagtha, diffidence.

^a The term *wa'nagthe* implies ownership and the right of the owner to exercise his pleasure with impunity. This word was applied to the birds or animals captured by the Omaha and kept near their lodges, as raccoons and crows. Later the term was transferred to the domestic animals introduced by the white race, since these animals were owned and used as their owners pleased. *Na'gthe*, as a verb, signified "to abuse," "to torment," and could be used to characterize conduct; as a noun, it meant "captive." The song sung by a warrior when going to face death in battle (p. 427) was called *na'gthe waan*, "captive song;" the name probably referred to the custom in other tribes of torturing captives, and indicated, as above explained, the Omaha view of the fate of the captive in war.

TERMS FOR BAD TRAITS AND BAD CONDUCT

Almost equally helpful in understanding a people is to note the phrases of character and conduct for which they have terms implying disapproval or contempt. The following belong to this class:

I'uci shton, a liar.

Wamon'thon shton, a thieving person.

Nion'shton and *nage'shton*, applied to a quarrelsome person.

U'sh'athinga, an impudent, forward person.

U'shige, one who seeks opportunities to take liberties with women.

Wanon'bthe tunga, a glutton.

Wathiton, a meddler in other people's things or affairs.

Wathi'hideshton, one who interferes with, or meddles with, another's affairs or business.

Mon'ca, a boastful person.

I'uthatha, a tale bearer.

Ie'gonc shton describes one who invents speeches and declares that others have made them.

De'geuthishi, an obstinate person.

Wani'te, a stingy person.

We'githe shton, one who "sponges" on others.

Wana' shton, a beggar.

U'zhin shton, one who begs with the eyes.

Wadon'becnede, one who stares.

Wazhethinge, an impolite person who forgets to mention terms of relationship in order to thank and be courteous.

Mishke'da, lewd woman.

PROVERBS

The following are a few Omaha sayings or proverbs:

"Stolen food never satisfies hunger."

"A poor man is a hard rider."

"All persons dislike a borrower."

"No one mourns the thriftless."

"The path of the lazy leads to disgrace."

"A man must make his own arrows."

"A handsome face does not make a good husband."

Religion and ethics, closely interwoven, pervaded the life of the tribe, and in judging the evidences of constructive thought on these topics one should not consider them apart from the natural and social environment of the people.

XV LANGUAGE

An analysis of the Omaha language or a presentation of its vocabulary, grammar, and syntax would demand a fullness of treatment that is not possible at this time. A few words, however, as to the medium by which the people expressed their thoughts are fitting in order to make more complete the present account of the tribe.

The Omaha belong to the large linguistic group known as the Siouan.^a The numerous tribes which form this group may be classified in subgroups by placing together those whose speech shows comparatively slight dialectic differences. This classification has been accomplished by the United States Bureau of American Ethnology, the Siouan family being divided into seven groups.^b Group II, designated by the arbitrary term *Dhe'giha* or *The'giha* (see p. 37) is composed of five cognate tribes: The Omaha, Ponca, Quapaw, Osage, and Kansa.

Omaha grammar is complex rather than simple, the complexity being increased by the use of particles as prefixes and suffixes and by the incorporation of pronouns. By these means a word is modified in form and its meaning is enhanced, made more definite, more circumstantial, in a manner impossible in any European language. Such a modified word may require a sentence for translation into English.

Naturally verbs are the most susceptible to modification, but nouns are not exempt; the particles joined to the latter are generally adjectival in character so that the listener always learns something of the character, appearance, or location of the object spoken of. A few simple examples may make clearer the above statement:

Shi ⁿ 'nuda	to ⁿ	Shi ⁿ 'nuda	ke	Xthabe'	te	Xthabe'	ke
Dog (the)	standing	dog (the)	lying	tree (the)	standing	tree (the)	lying
Zho ⁿ 'hide tho ⁿ							
stump (the) round							

^a This term bears evidence as to the early method by which the names of Indian tribes were generally obtained. The question, "Who lives beyond you?" put to a tribe was apt to elicit the answer, "Our enemies!" In this fashion the Chippewa replied through their French interpreter, who corrupted the native word into *Nadowissiou*, "snake-like," metaphorically meaning "enemies." The final syllable, *siou*, caught the ear of the French and became fastened as a common name on the neighboring Dakota tribes. It was finally transferred to the great linguistic group to which the Dakota belong by Albert Gallatin in his monumental work, *A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes in North America* (*Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., Archaeologia Americana*, II, Worcester, Mass., 1836).

^b See Handbook of American Indians, *Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethnol.*, pt. 2, 579.

Moⁿ'ke bthi'xoⁿ ha, "I broke the arrow with my hands" (man speaking): *moⁿ*, arrow (the); *ke*, long; *b*, I; *thi*, action with the hand or hands; *xoⁿ*, broke; *ha*, masculine termination of a sentence.

Moⁿ'ke anoⁿ xoⁿ ha, "I broke the arrow with my feet" (man speaking)—*noⁿ*, action by or with the feet.

Moⁿ'ke bpixoxⁿ ha, "I broke the arrow by the weight of my body" (man speaking): *bpixi*, action by the weight of the body, lying or sitting; here the pronoun "I" is implied; *ga* implies action by striking; *tha*, action by biting; *ba*, action by pushing or thrusting.

While there are definite meanings for the particles attached to nouns, idiomatic usage changes the meanings and applications. For example: *Pa'heke tu ithe ha* may be literally rendered thus—

Pahe'	ke	tu	ithe	ha
Hills (the)	long	blue	came	masc. termination of sentence

But in this case the literal translation fails to give the meaning of the sentence, namely: "The sight of the long range of hills that lay far in the distance came to our vision as merged in blue." Such an example (many similar ones could be given) indicates how much of the real meaning of a myth, a story, or a native conversation can easily elude the foreigner, or one who obtains these only from a literal translation.

In an unwritten language like the Omaha it is difficult for one of another race to master all the verbal details and grammatical complexities of form and usage, a difficulty augmented by the care that must be exercised in training the ear and the vocal organs in the phonetics of the speech and the observation of the accents. A mistake in either sometimes changes the direct or the implied meaning of a word.

There seem to be five sounds each of the vowels *a* and *u*: four of *e*; three of *i*; and two of *o*. The vowels *i* and *o* are frequently followed by the nasal *n*. All vowels are sometimes "exploded" as are also at times the consonants *k*, *p*, and *t*. The following consonant sounds correspond to those of English: *b*, *d*, *g*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *s*, *t*, *y*, *z*. There is a consonant kindred to *d* and *t*, but distinct from either, and another similarly related to *b* and *p*. Other sounds, particularly the few gutturals of the language, must be indicated by combinations of two or more letters. *Th* has two sounds, one as in "the," the other as in "thin;" *f* and *l* sounds do not occur. The phonetics of the language has never yet been scientifically investigated.

While Omaha speech is not unmusical it is forceful and virile rather than liquid and flowing.

Accents are important; there are cases in which the shifting of an accent completely changes the meaning of a word. In certain forms of address the position of the accent denotes the sex of the person speaking. The determinative particle at the end of a sentence changes according to the sex of the speaker.

The Omaha language lends itself to picturesque and graphic detail more than to generalized statements of facts and experiences, yet it would be a mistake to regard it as not adapted to the expression of abstract thought.

In the preceding chapters there is evidence going to show that the Omaha were inclined to depend on the powers of thought and reflection for ability to bring about beneficial changes in governmental forms, tribal rites, and ceremonies. A notable instance of this trait is the coinage of the word *we'wacpe* (see p. 596) to denote those ceremonies instituted "to bring the people into order and thoughtful composure," a condition favorable to the reception of an appeal to reason and to securing the recognition of authority. The idea embodied in this word must have been the outcome of long and careful observation of social actions and of thoughtful reflection on such observation. The word affords also evidence of the adaptability of the language to the expression of abstract ideas. Another example of the expression in a single word of a complex idea derived from social observation and experience is found in the term *ni'kie* (see p. 136). Many similar examples could be given.

Although the tribe was without written records, it was not without a traditional wealth of thought expressed in rituals and rites that corresponded, in a sense, to literature. These exercised an educative influence and left an impress on the mind of the people that never was wholly obliterated. Those whose position gave them free access to these storehouses of the thoughts and aspirations of the sages of the tribe, came under a masterful control. Not only the thoughts embodied in the rituals and rites, but the language with which they were clothed dwelt in the minds of these men and acted as a refining and uplifting power that was reflected in their choice of words and their manner of expression, and resulted in a quality of attainment somewhat equivalent to our term "scholarly." When discoursing on serious subjects, such men did not express themselves in colloquial terms used in every day pursuits, but selected their words and constructed their sentences appropriately to convey the thoughts that transcended the ordinary affairs of life. Dignified converse of this character was beyond the full comprehension of those not versed in the sources whence these thoughtful "old men" drew their inspiration.

Correlation of the influences bred of environment, avocations, customs, traditions, beliefs, and ideals is essential to the understanding of the life and of the speech of an American Indian tribe.

XVI

CONCLUSIONS

Looking back over thirty years of acquaintance with and study of the Omaha tribe, certain characteristics of the people become apparent.

The traditions of the Omaha indicate that the physiographic conditions of their environment have always been marked by the absence of extremes, as of climate—long seasons of heat and dryness or protracted periods of benumbing cold; nor do they appear to have experienced the shocks and calamities that are met with in a volcanic region; nor have they dwelt amid strikingly impressive features of the landscape, as lofty mountains and deep canyons. On the contrary, they seem to have lived in an hospitable country, where summer and winter without unusual intensity have followed each other in orderly progression. So, too, the days and nights were without the sharp contrasts found in many regions. This equable movement of the seasons and of the days seems profoundly to have impressed the Omaha mind and to have led to a conception of stability and the attribution to it of a high ethical quality, one which came to be regarded as desirable for man, which he should strive to reproduce in his own life and in his relations to others. This quality he allied to the idea of truthfulness. The orderly progression of the seasons and of day and night he regarded as one method by which Wakoⁿ'da taught man to be truthful, so that his words and acts could be depended on. From the emphasis put on truthfulness and the relegation of the punishment of falsehood to Wakoⁿ'da, through such natural agencies as the storm and the lightning, which broke the ordinary calm and stable order of the heavens, we discern how fundamental had become the idea of the necessity of truth to the stability of all forms of life, natural and social.

It may be that because of this manner of viewing nature the Omaha mythologies are less complicated and ornate (if that term may be allowed) than are those of some other tribes. The Omaha seem to have been given more to a practical than a fanciful view of nature and of human life. While this peculiarity may have tended to make them somewhat prosaic along given lines, it led to a certain sturdiness of character that caused them to place a higher value on faculties of the mind than on emotional attributes.

The Omaha estimate of the value of thought is strongly brought out in their Sacred Legend, which briefly recounts their experiences from the time when they "opened their eyes and beheld the day" down to the

adoption of the Sacred Pole as an emblem of governmental authority. Every acquisition that bettered the condition of the people was the result of the exercise of the mind. "And the people thought" is the preamble to every change; every new acquirement, every arrangement devised to foster tribal unity and to promote tribal strength, was the outcome of thought. The regulation of the annual tribal hunt, wherein the individual was forced to give way for the good of the whole people; the punishment of murder as a social offense; the efforts to curb the disintegrating war spirit, to bring it under control, to make it conserve rather than disrupt the unity of the tribe—all were the result of "thought." So, too, was the tribal organization itself, which was based on certain ideas evolved from thinking over natural processes that were ever before their observation. The Sacred Legend speaks truly when it says "And the people thought."

While the Omaha were a thoughtful and a practical people, they were not without poetic feeling, as their ceremonies and rituals indicate—those, for instance, which heralded to the universe the birth of a child, which introduced the child to its place and duties as a member of the tribe, and which in the presence of death gave sympathy to the mourners and at the same time cheered the departing one as he entered on his journey to the realm of spirits.

Like all other tribes, the Omaha was strongly anthropomorphic in its outlook on nature. Everything lived and partook of man's qualities. This is clearly shown in the ritual of the corn (p. 261), in the address to the stone in the sweat-lodge ritual (p. 577), and in other rites and rituals given in the preceding pages. The idea of personality is dominant in the language and in the religious beliefs and practices. The force within this personality was recognized as that of the will, that power which directs one's actions so as to bring about desired results.^a By its iteration of the phrase "and the people thought,"

^a This moving force, or will, is called *wazhin'*, a word used in compounding many words which indicate the use of this dominant force in man. Thus, *wie'wazhin'* means to do something of one's own free will unbiassed by another (*wi*, "I;" *e*, sign of the objective; *wazhin'*, "will power"). When the Omaha first saw a railroad train moving along without visible aid from man or animal, a name was given it derived from the foregoing word: *E'wazhin' nonge* (*nonge*, "to run"), "it runs of its own will." Anger is called *wazhin' piazhi* (*piazhi*, "bad," "evil"). *Wazhin' piazhi* therefore signifies that in anger the will power is charged with evil and the man becomes dangerous to himself and to others. Kindness is termed *wazhin' çabe* (*çabe*, "to be guarded, circumspect in word or behavior"). The word indicates the Omaha conception of what constitutes kindness—it is to use one's will to guard one's speech and conduct so as not to injure anyone. The word for "patience" (*wazhin' çnede*) presents another aspect of self-control: *çnede* means "long;" to be patient demands that a man's will be kept for a considerable length of time to a given course.

One more example, because it bears directly on this power to think, to discriminate, to draw conclusions, and so influence action: *wazhin' çka* means "intelligence," "discernment," "wisdom" (*çka*, "white" or "clear"). *Wazhin' çka* is the application to mental processes of the natural experience of seeing. When the atmosphere is clear, objects can be distinctly discerned, their peculiarities noted, and also their relation to one another; so, when the mind is clear, discrimination is possible as are reasonable conclusions—it is the white, unclouded mind that can perceive what is conducive to the best in words and in deeds, to the attainment of wisdom. These compounded words, which could be multiplied, all go to confirm the statement that the people thought on conduct and its consequences when framing words to describe lines of behavior.

the Sacred Legend, which preserved the experiences of the years, emphasized the vital fact that better conditions are always attained by the exercise of thought, not by magical interferences.

Thus it would appear that the Omaha tribe was a group of native Americans sturdy in mind and in body; more given to industrial than to artistic expression, gifted with an elemental statesmanship and the ability to discover the power of a religious motive for the preservation of social order and the maintenance of peace. While the people were good fighters, they came to recognize that fighting is not the only arena for achievement, and (as their name for tribe indicates) that it is best employed in the defense of the home and the integrity of the tribe.

APPENDIX

RECENT HISTORY OF THE OMAHA TRIBE

CONTACT WITH THE WHITE RACE

The time when the Omaha tribe first came into contact with the white race can not be fixed with exactness but it is probable that the meeting did not take place until about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the French were encountered. Intercourse between the Omaha and the French was never close or prolonged, nor marked by any attempt on the part of Frenchmen to disturb Indian customs or to become possessed of Indian lands. The spirit of adventure or desire to enter into trade actuated those who first strayed into the Indian country. During their stay they mixed with the people on friendly terms and were chiefly concerned in an endeavor to introduce articles of white manufacture among the natives and to establish permanent trading relations. The English, on the contrary, were colonists from the first and aimed to become possessed of land. This they sought to obtain through some form of purchase, always expecting the Indians to vacate the territory acquired and find homes elsewhere, an expectation which frequently gave rise to trouble and involved hardship on the natives. The difference in the relations between the Omaha and the French and the Omaha and the English is reflected in the names given to these two nations. The French were called *Wa'xe ukethiⁿ*; the probable derivation of *wa'xe* has already been given (p. 82); *ukethiⁿ*, "usual," "not strange" or "uncommon"—the term implying that these white men mingled with the people and did not consider themselves strangers. The English were called *Moⁿhiⁿ toⁿga* (*moⁿhiⁿ*, "knife;" *toⁿga*, "big"); the name Big Knife, given the English, old Omaha men said, did not originate in the tribe but was borrowed by the Omaha from some other tribe. The English were known by this name to the Winnebago, the Iowa, the Oto, the Osage, and the Ponca, all members of the same linguistic family as the Omaha. It is not improbable that the Dakota name for American, Long Knife, is a modified form of the old term for Englishman. The

name Big Knife is said to have come into use because of the swords worn by the English. The present Omaha word for sword, *moⁿçe wetiⁿ* (*moⁿçe*, "metal;" *wetiⁿ*, "war club"), was given to the sword when the Omaha learned its special use.

The French and the English were the only white nationalities with which the Omaha had direct relations. They learned of the Spaniards also, whom they called by a corruption of that name, Hespayu'na. The Omaha classed the Germans, Swedes, Italians, and Irish as one people, calling them *Ie'thashathu* (*ie'*, "speech;" *thashathu*, "rattled" or "confused")—"they of the rattled or confused speech." The Negro is called *Wa'xeçabe* (*waxe*, "white man;" *çabe*, "black")—"the black white man."

EARLY TRADERS

By the middle of the seventeenth century Frenchmen had pushed westward beyond the Great Lakes and trading posts had sprung up along the adventurers' trails. The French held the trade of the Omaha and were not supplanted by the English and Americans until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Old men of the last century remembered the stories their fathers told of going on a long journey to trade at a post "on a great lake far to the north." This was probably the post spoken of by Carver as "Fort La Reine" on Lake Winnipeg. "To this place," he writes, "the Mahahs who inhabit a country two hundred and fifty miles southwest come to trade."^a It is not improbable that the Omaha knew of the first trading post on the Missouri river, about 250 miles above its mouth, erected in 1722, and known as Fort Orleans; this fort presaged the coming of the white trader into the Omaha country. During the contention between the French and the English in the middle of the eighteenth century, into which so many Indian tribes were drawn as partisans, the Omaha were fortunate in being sufficiently removed from the sphere of activities to escape entanglement. In fact not only during the wars between the French and English but during those between the English and the Colonists the Omaha took no part, so that the tribe has never taken up arms against any of the white race. While the Omaha kept clear of these difficulties, they were not able to elude the evil influences incident to white contact, many of which were accentuated through the rivalries that sprang up between the fur-trading companies.

At the close of the French and Indian War, in 1763, the English were left in control of all the country to the east of the Mississippi and English traders gradually made their way westward into the territory

^a 'Three Years' Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, etc., by Jonathan Carver, 69, Philadelphia, 1796.

previously occupied exclusively by the French. This nearer approach of the English to the Omaha country soon began to make itself felt along lines that developed rapidly after the Louisiana Purchase had brought their country under the control of the United States—a change that had the effect of relieving American traders from international embarrassments—and as a result, trading posts quickly spread along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, with St. Louis as headquarters.

No important post was built in the immediate vicinity of the Omaha villages but during the last decade of the eighteenth century men in the employ of the fur companies visited the people and instituted trading relations with them. The story of Black-bird, mentioned on page 82, is a memorial of this contact. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century a small post was established near the Omaha village and maintained there for a time. The usual custom among the traders before the establishment of a United States Indian agency among a tribe was to erect a small log cabin and to time the trader's visit so that he would be present with his goods when the tribe returned from its annual hunt, or when special hunting parties which went out exclusively for pelts came back with the product of the chase. At no other time was anyone connected with the trading company present among the Omaha. The trader's arrival was signaled by the firing of guns to draw the people together for business.

INTRODUCTION OF METAL IMPLEMENTS

From the first the native industries were affected by the advent of the traders, who introduced articles of white manufacture. It was not long before the metal knife replaced the native implement of chipped stone. It is said that when metal knives were first brought by the early traders they cost the Omaha the value of one dollar apiece. An interesting example of the conservation, in ceremonies, of early types of useful articles is found in the requirement that one of the gifts essential in the rite of tattooing (p. 503) was a number of the strong, red-handled knives of the kind first known to the tribe. The metal knife soon became the constant companion of men and women, serving all domestic purposes, but it never supplanted the ancient flint knife in tribal rites. The lock of hair taken from the head of the male child when he was consecrated to Thunder (p. 122) was cut by a flint knife; only a flint knife could be used when bleeding for curative purposes. The ancient name (*moⁿhiⁿ*) was transferred without change from the flint to the metal knife. The name for the stone ax, *moⁿ'cepe*, was similarly transferred to the metal ax; that for "hoe," *we'e*, was afterward given to the plow. Sooner or later all stone implements yielded to those of iron and the chipping

of stone became a lost art. One survival held well into the last century, namely, the making and the use of stone disks, (*i'n'thapa*), between which the kernels of corn were pounded to make meal for porridge. These disks were portable and served as a "hand mill" when the people were traveling. Bone awls gave way to awls of iron, which the Indians always fitted into handles of bone: the old name, *wa'ku*, was retained. An iron blade was bound to the edge of the elk-horn scraper to facilitate its use in preparing hides for tanning. Iron hoes supplanted the ancient implement made from the shoulder blade of the elk. The stone implements connected with the daily needs of the people were the first to be displaced by iron ones.

DECLINE OF OLD AVOCATIONS AND THE EFFECT ON THE PEOPLE

With the coming of the trader and the introduction of iron implements and other articles for daily use new conditions confronted the Indians; they were no longer obliged to make all the articles required for use and the time formerly occupied by the long and wearisome process of chipping and rubbing stone was now left free. Furthermore, the stimulus for acquiring skill in the old-time industries was withdrawn. The new iron implements which had brought about this change in conditions had been acquired by bartering pelts. Barter was not new to the people. It had long been practised between various tribes; minerals, seeds, shells, and other articles had found their way by this means into regions remote from their natural environment, but it is safe to say that up to the time of the coming of the white trader no Omaha had slain animals for merely commercial purposes. The barter in pelts established by the traders was therefore different in character from any barter that had been practised between tribes and was destined to give rise to a new industry among the Indians—that of hunting for gain. Heretofore hunting had been carried on in order to secure food and other necessities—clothing, shelter, and bone with which to make implements; moreover it had been conducted with more or less religious ceremony, which had directed the Omaha thought toward *Wakoⁿ'da*, as the giver of the means by which to sustain life, as shown in the rites connected with the annual buffalo hunt (see p. 275) and planting the maize (see p. 262). The quest of game for profit introduced new motives for hunting and also of cultivating the soil, motives not consonant with the old religious ideas and customs; consequently under their influence such customs slowly but inevitably fell into disuse. The effect on the Omaha mind of their obliteration was to weaken the power of ancient beliefs and to introduce new standards, commercial in character; as a result the Omaha became less strong to resist the

inroads of new and adverse influences which came with his closer contact with the white race.

The new character given to hunting produced permanent effects not only on the thought of the people but on their ancient mode of life. The stimulation of hunting as an avocation weakened the influence of the old village life, created different standards of wealth, enhanced the importance of the hunter, and greatly increased the labors of the women in preparing pelts and skins for the market. There is good reason to ascribe to the last-named condition an impetus to the practice of polygamy among the Omaha. There was no special working class in the tribe nor could labor be hired. In the old time one woman could scarcely give proper attention to all the skins secured by a good hunter; still less could she do the additional work occasioned by the pressure of trade.

CHANGES IN ORNAMENTS AND DECORATION

The traders' wares were not confined to tools. Many novelties were brought which appealed to the people and soon created new wants. Glass beads of gay colors lent themselves to decoration as the more cumbersome shell beads could not, but bead decoration did not replace at once porcupine quill work. The latter demanded training, skill, and patience, whereas beads were easily used and made with little effort a garment effective in ornament and coloring, so that in time their use became popular. The old name for the shell bead (*hiⁿčka'*) was transferred to the new glass bead. Silver or brass bangles and finger rings were never as much liked by the Omaha as by some other tribes. The silver "ear bob" introduced by the traders was called *pe'ugashke* (*pe*, modified for euphony from *pa*, meaning "nose;" *ugashke*, "to attach"). This name may refer to the ceremonial piercing of the nose during the tattooing ceremony (see p. 503) for there is no tradition that the Omaha ever wore nose rings. The name for "earring" is *u'wiⁿ*, an old term that strange to say was never applied to the silver "ear bob" brought by the traders. These "ear bobs" were much liked as earrings; sometimes they adorned the entire lobe of the ear.

Another saving of labor in comparison with old methods was involved in buying paints from the traders. The paint was sold in small packages not much larger than a paper of darning needles and the price of one of these packages in the last century was the value of twenty-five cents. The old term for "red paint," *wāçezhide* (*wāçe*, "clay;" *zhide*, "red") was applied to the trader's article as was the old name for "green paint" (*wāçe'tu*). Blue paint was called *moⁿthiⁿkatu* (*moⁿthiⁿka*, "earth;" *tu*, "blue"); yellow paint, *moⁿthiⁿ-ka çi*, "yellow earth"—both old names. Great quantities of paint were sold, this article alone yielding a large profit to the trader.

INTRODUCTION OF CLOTH

The heavy woolen cloth called strouding was probably introduced by the English traders during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In the middle of the last century it cost the Omaha from four to six dollars per yard. Broadcloth cost from eight to twelve dollars per yard. When the Omaha first saw strouding he had no idea of cloth, so when it was spread before him he gave to it the name of the largest stretch of a given surface for clothing with which he was acquainted, the skin robe, calling this cloth *waiⁿ'*, "robe." When, however, he wished to speak of cloth he added the word denoting the color; thus, *waiⁿ'tu*, "blue cloth," or *waiⁿ'zhide*, "red cloth," while the simple word *waiⁿ'* still designated the skin robe. Broadcloth was called *waiⁿ'shnaha* (*waiⁿ'*, "robe;" *shnaha*, "smooth,") because of the difference between its surface and that of strouding.

Strouding was used by the men for leggings, breechcloths, and sometimes for robes. Women made of it skirts, sacks, and leggings extending only to the knees. Broadcloth was not employed by the men; this material was bought by the richer members of the tribe for women's skirts and leggings. Sometimes a woman possessed a robe made of broadcloth. With the introduction of strouding and broadcloth needles and thread became known. Needles were called *wa'kuzhiⁿgau'u^de* (*waku*, "awl;" *zhiⁿ'ga*, "little;" *u'^de*, "with a hole"). Thread was named *wahoⁿ'*, meaning "something spun." Pins were not known until well into the last century. It was about the middle of the nineteenth century when calico was introduced by American traders; owing to its cheapness, it speedily became the material commonly used by the people. It was called *waxiⁿha*, "thin skin." The commercial value attached to dressed skins made them too valuable for common wear, a fact which aided in promoting the substitution of strouding for clothing; later, the high price of the strouding increased the sale of calico.

Steel traps, used to facilitate the catching of beavers, were early introduced by the traders; these were called *moⁿ'ce*, "metal." The unqualified word *moⁿ'ce* came to signify "trap," and the act of trapping was called *moⁿ'ceuzhi*, "to put or place in metal." The principal furs supplied by the Omaha were buffalo, bear, beaver, mink, raccoon, and deer skins. The people were good hunters and trappers and were regarded as a desirable tribe to deal with. Canvas as a substitute for the buffalo-skin tent cover became common about the middle of the last century and took the old name of the tent cover, *ti'ha*, "tent skin."

INTRODUCTION OF GUNS

Guns were introduced toward the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, receiving the name *wahu'toⁿthe*, "to make a noise with." The bullet was called *moⁿ'çemoⁿ*, "metal arrow;" gunpowder was called *moⁿxu'de*, "ashes." The first guns received by the Omaha were flintlocks; rifles did not reach them until the third or fourth decade of the last century. The use of guns destroyed another native industry, arrow making, and made pointless some of the old teachings to the young (see p. 331). Copper kettles and tin and iron utensils took the place of the native pottery, consequently the pottery industry was abandoned. Wooden bowls and cups gradually disappeared from family use but the former were retained in the sacred tribal ceremonies and other rites of a serious character.

INTRODUCTION OF MONEY; PELT VALUES

Before the Omaha had dealings with the United States Government little, if any, coin had been seen by the tribe. The smallest unit of value among the skins used in barter with the traders was the raccoon skin, rated at twenty-five cents. *Mika'ha ithawa* (*mika'ha*, "raccoon skin;" *ithawa*, "to count with") became the established name of a quarter of a dollar. A dollar was called *wiⁿ'bthuga* (*wiⁿ*, "one;" *bthu'ga*, "whole" or "unit"); a fifty-cent piece, *moⁿçoⁿ'thiⁿha*, "half;" a dime, *shuga'zhiⁿga* (*shuga*, "thick;" *zhiⁿga*, "little"—"little thick"). A silver half dime was called *bthe'kazhiⁿga* (*bthe'ka*, "thin;" *zhiⁿga*, "little"—"little thin"); a nickel (5 cents), *we'thawaça'toⁿ* (*wethawa*, "counters;" *ça'toⁿ*, "five"); a copper cent, *we'thawazhide*, "red counter;" seventy-five cents, *mika'haithawa tha'bthiⁿ* (*tha'bthiⁿ*, "three"), the value of three raccoon skins. A thousand dollars was called *ku'ge wiⁿ* (*ku'ge*, "box;" *wiⁿ*, "one"), the name originating from the custom of packing this number of silver dollars in a small box for convenience of transportation. In the case of payments to Indian tribes by government agents the term for the number 1,000 was *gthe'boⁿhiwiⁿtoⁿga* (*gthe'boⁿ*, "ten;" *hiwiⁿ*, "progressing toward one;" *wiⁿtoⁿga*, "big").

The following prices were obtained for the skins named, in the middle of the last century: Buffalo, \$15 to \$20; otter, \$12 to \$15; mink, \$2 to \$5; beaver, \$4 to \$6. As beavers were plentiful and the use of traps facilitated catching them good trappers sometimes gave up the more laborious pursuit of large game and confined their efforts to securing beavers, in this way being able to secure good pay for their skins and at the same time to keep their families supplied with meat. Comparatively little trading in furs was done for cash. Trading on a barter basis continued until the destruction of the fur-bearing animals brought the old-time trader's career to an end.

INTRODUCTION OF INTOXICANTS

The competition among the rival fur companies led to the introduction of intoxicating liquors among the tribes for the purpose of securing skins and trade. So great was the trouble experienced by the tribes, and so earnest were the appeals from the old chiefs and other leading men, that as early as 1802 President Jefferson made this traffic the subject of a message to Congress, which resulted in the passage of an act forbidding the sale of liquor to Indians, under penalty. Knowledge of congressional action traveled slowly in those days and laws were difficult to enforce in the sparsely settled country; consequently the fur trade continued to be stimulated and the natives demoralized by intoxicants offered by the trader. The harm done by this unlawful procedure has not yet passed away from the tribes in the United States. It is singular that "fire water" should be a common term for intoxicants in widely different languages. The Omaha word is *pcede'ni*, literally "fire water" (*pede*, "fire;" *ni*, "water").

The Omaha tribe did not escape the baneful influence of liquor. The traders plied the people with rum; it was cheaper than goods to use in barter and although the traffic was illegal, the gain to the companies was so great that their agents were instructed to take the chances of detection; they did so and unfortunately generally succeeded in eluding discovery.

DRUNKENNESS AND ITS PUNISHMENT

In the third decade of the last century an incident occurred in the Omaha tribe which is still spoken of; this took place in the hut erected to accommodate the visiting trader and his wares.

The agent of a trading company had arrived with his half-breed son, then a lad about seventeen years old, who acted as clerk. The Indians had gathered with their pelts and had received goods and liquor in payment. Late one afternoon, when the clerk was alone in the hut, two men, more or less intoxicated, came in and began to quarrel. A third with his little son entered the hut to trade but, being afraid of the quarreling men, he kept back from them. A fourth man entered who had had liquor and was disposed to be troublesome and the quarreling men seemed to excite him still more, when, catching sight of the quiet man and his boy, he drew his knife, rushed at him and buried the weapon in his throat. As his victim fell dead the drunken man realized his deed and became suddenly sober. The two men ceased to quarrel and stole away, leaving the murderer alone with the dead man and the young half-breed clerk. Meanwhile the boy had run off to spread the news of his father's death. The clerk counseled the guilty man to remain in the hut, as it was his only place of safety, and for a time he heeded this advice; but at last he exclaimed: "I have forfeited my life. I may as well meet my death now!" and went out into the night. He had gone only a few steps when he was shot with an arrow and shortly died.

The horror of this murder and the realization it brought to the young clerk that liquor was robbing the people of their manhood

and morality so impressed him that he then and there registered a vow that if he ever rose to a position of power in the tribe he would use his authority to break up the habit of drinking. Years passed, and this young clerk, who was Joseph La Flesche, became one of the principal chiefs of the tribe. True to his vow, he issued an order that men who drank were to be flogged.^a During the time that Chief La Flesche remained in power drunkenness was practically checked in the tribe. Unfortunately cabals arose. The right of the chief to inflict such severe penalties was questioned by men who were not interested in the moral welfare of the people. Other authorities were invoked and in the end liquor found its way surreptitiously among the people. But the drastic measures of the chief were not soon forgotten and years elapsed before their effect was wholly lost.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF TRADERS

In accordance with the English policy, by which the Crown had the right to regulate trade and to license traders, the Articles of Confederation reserved that right to Congress. An act of 1786 required Indian traders to be citizens of the United States. An act of 1790 vested the power to appoint traders in the President or an officer appointed by him. When, by virtue of the Louisiana Purchase, the Omaha country became part of the domain of the United States trading with the tribe came under the restrictions of the laws mentioned. After the tribe passed under the control of the "Agency system" resident traders were licensed by the Indian Bureau. These traders opened stores on the reservation and absorbed the trade of the tribe. The destruction of the buffalo herds in the seventh decade of the last century, the rapid increase of white settlements, and finally the opening of the country by railroads, all produced marked and lasting effects on the life and avocations of the people, bringing the industry of hunting to a close and diminishing greatly the influence and the business of the trader.

^a It happened that a prominent man, whose reputation for bravery was second to none, yielded to temptation and became drunk. He was a very close friend of the chief and everyone thought that the chief would not order this friend, a man honored by the tribe, to be flogged like a common offender. But the order was given and the "soldiers" who were commanded to execute the punishment advanced to the warrior's tent, not without serious questionings as to whether they might not have to fight the offender, who had never been defeated in battle. The warrior was in his tent; he heard the "soldiers" approaching and knew their errand. He stepped out to meet them. As he appeared, the "soldiers" halted; looking at them he said: "Do your duty. I broke the order of the chief and must take my punishment." He was duly flogged; no one of the "soldiers" dared to abate his strokes. As a result of this warrior's act, he not only rose higher in the esteem of the tribe because of his manly recognition of his fault but his action strengthened the chief in his effort to put a stop to drinking. Until his death, which took place toward the close of the last century, this warrior was one of the most respected and influential men in the Omaha tribe.

INTRODUCTION OF NEW FOODS, GAMES, AND DISEASES

Besides the numerous changes in tools, weapons, and clothing brought about by the traders, new foods were introduced, which eventually became common among the people. Wheat became known in the second decade of the last century, receiving the name *wamu'cke*. This name was applied also to bread made from wheat. Coffee was known earlier and was called *monkoⁿçabe*, "black medicine." Sugar was termed *zhoⁿni* (*zhoⁿ*, "wood;" *ni*, "water"), evidently a transfer of the name for "maple sugar." To the large white potato was given the name of the native potato, *nu*. Beef and all other fresh meats were called by the old term *tanu'ka*, "wet meat."

Two new games were received from the white people—playing cards and checkers. Cards were called *wathi'baba*, "something spread out repeatedly with the hands," the name referring to the act of shuffling and dealing the cards. The suits were called as follows: Diamonds, *ke'pa* ("turtle head"); hearts, *ni'deawiⁿ* ("buttock"); spades, *moⁿ-hiçi* ("arrow-head"); clubs, *t'a'zhi* (literally, "never dies"), referring, it is said, to the flower immortelle. Checkers were spoken of as *wakoⁿ'pamoⁿgthe* (*wakoⁿ*, "to gamble;" *pa*, "head;" *moⁿgthe* "bowed"—"to play with bowed head").

New diseases found their way among the people. Smallpox (*di'xe*) wrought great havoc just before 1800, reducing "the once powerful tribe to a few hundreds." Measles (*di'xebthoⁿçe*, "little smallpox") was almost as fatal and is still dreaded. Malaria (*wa'xewakega*, "white man's sickness") would seem from the name to have come from contact with the white race and changed environment.

INTRODUCTION OF NEW WORDS

Many new words were coined to meet the changed conditions. The following are in common use:

- Store, *u'thiwiⁿti*, to trade in.
- Window glass, *we'ugoⁿba*, to make light with.
- Chimney, *tihukoⁿ* (*ti*, tent; *hukoⁿ*, old name of the smoke vent).
- Table, *wa'thate*, to eat on.
- Chair, *a'gthiⁿ*, to sit on.
- Rocking-chair, *a'gthiⁿkipiaçaça*, to rock one's self in.
- Scales, *we'thihoⁿ*, to lift with.
- Stove, *moⁿ'çeunethe*, iron to make fire in.
- Shovel, *pe'deithiçe*, to take fire with.
- Bottle, *pe'xeha*, gourd skin.
- Brick, *i'e'nazhide*, stone burned red.
- Wagon, *zhoⁿmoⁿthiⁿ*, walking wood.
- Horse, *shoⁿge*.
- Cattle, *te'çka*, white buffalo.
- Chickens, *wazhiⁿ'gazhide*, red birds.
- Pigs, *ku'kuçi*.

- Shoes, zhoⁿhiⁿbe, wooden moccasins.
- Stocking, hiⁿbegawiⁿxe (*hiⁿbe*, moccasins; *gawiⁿxe*, to wind around the foot).
Formerly matted grass was wound about the foot under the moccasin.
- Button, moⁿgeithagashka (*monge*, breast; *ithagashka*, to fasten with).
- Ring, nombeuthixtha (*nombe*, hand or finger; *uthixtha*, to thrust in).
- Spade, toⁿ'deinoⁿçe, to cut the ground with.
- Pitchfork, xaⁿ'deithiçe, to rake grass with.
- Reaper, wamuⁿ'çkeinoⁿçe, to cut wheat with.
- Mower, xaⁿ'deinoⁿçe, to cut grass with.
- Saw, weⁿ'magixe, to cut with.
- Grist mill, uⁿ'noⁿtube, to grind in.
- Silver, moⁿ'çeçka, white metal (used also for "money").
- Gold, moⁿ'çeçkaçi, yellow white metal.
- Sailboat, moⁿde'gioⁿ, flying boat.
- Watch, or clock, miⁿ'idoⁿbe, to look at the sun.
- Rubber, haçi'çige, elastic skin.
- Telegraph, moⁿ'çeiuçishtoⁿ, lying metal (referring to the incredulity with which the telegraph was received).
- Postage stamp, iⁿdewathiaçkabe (*iⁿde'*, face; *wathaçkabe*, to stick on).
- Railroad train, eⁿ'wazhiⁿnoⁿga, self runner.
- Harness, shoⁿ'geweiⁿ, for horses to carry.
- Bridle, moⁿ'çethahe, metal to bite.
- President of the United States, Itigoⁿthaiuzhu (*itigonthai*, grandfather; *uzhu*, principal).
- Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Itigoⁿthaizhiⁿga (*thai*, to whom; *zhinga*, little).
- General, Nudoⁿhoⁿgauzhu (*nudonhonga*, war leader; *uzhu*, principal).
- Colonel or Captain, Nudoⁿhoⁿgazhiⁿga (*zhinga*, little).
- Private, theiⁿ, kettle carrier.
- Bayonet, moⁿdehi, spear.
- Flag, haçka (*ha*, skin; *çka*, white); the name arose from the use of the flag of truce.
- Paper, waba'gtheçe, to make stripes on.
- To read, weⁿ'thadi (*we*, the act; *thade*, to speak).
- Teacher, waba'gtheçewethade, one who reads paper.
- To write, waba'xu, to make marks.
- Pen or pencil, weⁿ'baxu, to write with.
- School, waba'gtheçeathaditi, paper, to read, house—the house where paper is read.
- Minister or clergyman, wagoⁿ'çe, one who instructs.
- Newspaper, waba'gtheçegawa, paper open, opened paper.
- Photograph, iⁿde'ugaxe, face picture.
- Milk, te'çka moⁿçeni (*te'çka*, cow; *monçe*, udder; *ni*, water).
- Flapjack, wamu'çke btheke (*wamu'çke*, bread; *btheke*, thin).
- Cake, wamu'çke çkithi (*çkithi*, sweet).
- Peaches, she hiⁿ shkube (*she*, apple; *hiⁿ*, hair; *shkube*, deep or thick).
- Chinaware, waçe'çoⁿuxpe, clay dishes.
- Tumbler (glass), niⁿ'ithatoⁿnoⁿ'xeegoⁿ, water, to drink, spirit-like—to drink water from that which is like to a spirit, translucent.
- Spoon, moⁿ'çetehe, metal buffalo horn (referring to the old spoons of buffalo horn, *tehe*).
- Fork, waⁿ'kuwethate (*wa'ku*, awl; *wethate*, to eat—awl to eat with).
- Pin, waⁿ'kuzhiⁿga, little awl.
- Coal, noⁿxthe, charcoal.
- Kerosene, noⁿxthe wegthi (*wegthi*, grease).
- Marbles, iⁿezhiⁿga (*ine*, stones; *zhinga*, little).

A few old terms survive and are applied to modern conditions, as the phrase, *Tiupe*, "I am going to make a visit," (*ti*, tent; *upe*, to creep into); the word refers to the stooping posture necessary in entering the low opening of the tent. Even if going into a large dwelling the Omaha would say *Tiupe*, as did his forefathers.

TREATIES WITH THE UNITED STATES

The first treaty between the United States and the Omaha was made at Portage de Sioux in July, 1815 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. VII, p. 129). Similar treaties were made at that time with a number of tribes that during the War of 1812 had been more or less under the influence of English traders. The purpose of this treaty was to "place all things in every respect on the same footing as before the late war between the United States and Great Britain." Injuries were to be "mutually forgiven," "peace maintained," and the United States acknowledged by the tribe as its protecting power.

It was about the time of making this treaty that the Government took the first measures against the smallpox. The Omaha were persuaded to submit to vaccination and this treatment may have been instrumental in saving the tribe from the inroads of the disease, when, in 1837, some of the tribes to the northward were almost exterminated by it.

The second treaty was made at Council Bluffs in 1825 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. VII, p. 282); this related mainly to granting supremacy to the United States in punishing those who committed offenses and to the protection of traders. The Omaha agreed not to furnish ammunition to hostile Indians. In both these treaties the Omaha were dealt with under the name "Maha," this form arising from misunderstanding on the part of the whites of the native speaker, who lightly sounded as *u* the initial letter of Omaha, at the same time placing the emphasis on the second syllable.

In the treaty of July, 1830 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. VII, p. 328), made at Prairie du Chien, the Omaha, together with the Sauk and Foxes, Bands of the Sioux, the Iowa, Oto, and Missouri tribes, ceded to the United States their claim to lands within the present State of Iowa. The Omaha, Iowa, Oto, Yankton, and Santee Sioux agreed that a reservation in the present Nemaha county, Nebraska, should be given their half-breed kindred, 640 acres to be allotted to each individual. The half-breeds among the Omaha all received their quota of lands on this reservation. Some of them left the tribe and went to live on their newly acquired allotments; others accepted land but disposed of it and never left the tribe. Under this treaty the Omaha received their first payment from the United States for ceded land and were promised a blacksmith and farming implements—a promise that was not fulfilled until several years later. The headquarters of the Western Superintendent of Indian tribes was at St.

Louis. To him reported subordinate officers, called Agents, who were placed in charge of the several tribes that were being assigned about this time to tracts reserved for their use, some of which covered the region in which their villages were situated.

At the time of this treaty (1830) the Omaha had left their village on Omaha creek, near the site of the present town of Homer, Dakota county, Nebraska. They had been driven thence by the continued warlike incursions of the Sioux and were living to the southwest in the vicinity of the Elkhorn river.

In a treaty made at Bellevue during October, 1836 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. vii, p. 524), the Omaha, together with the Oto, Missouri, Yankton, and Santee Sioux, ceded to the United States their claim to land lying between the State of Missouri and the Missouri river, and received payment therefor. The Omaha agreed to build their village near the agency that had been recently established at Bellevue, the Government promising to break and fence 100 acres for the use of the tribe.

Between 1836 and 1854 the Omaha villages were not far from Bellevue. This United States Indian agency had control over the affairs of several tribes besides the Omaha, some of which had been reduced in numbers by disease and other mishaps. During this period the Omaha made two attempts to return and live on their old village site near Homer but each was frustrated by Sioux war parties threatening their families, crops, and ponies.

In 1854 the Omaha made a treaty with the Government at Washington (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. x, p. 1043) by which they ceded their hunting grounds in Nebraska, keeping for their own use a tract of 300,000 acres bordering the Missouri river a few miles south of the place where their old village, near Homer, had stood. A provision was introduced into the treaty, which was repeated in most of the treaties of that date made with Indian tribes, namely, to survey a portion of the reservation and apportion a certain amount of land to those individuals who desired to possess permanent homes (sec. 6). A sawmill and a gristmill were to be erected and maintained out of tribal funds, on the new Omaha reservation; also a blacksmith and a farmer were to be provided. The moneys received for the land ceded by this treaty were to be held by the United States and the payments were arranged to extend through forty years.

By a treaty of March, 1865, made at Washington (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. xiv, p. 667) the Omaha sold to the United States a strip from the northern part of their reservation, for the occupancy of the Winnebago tribe, which had been removed from their old home in Minnesota. A portion of the payment for this land was to be expended for stock, implements, breaking of lands, etc. The provision for allotting the Omaha individual holdings, contained in

section 6 of the treaty of 1854, was repeated and the stipulation made that their half-breed relatives then residing with them should be included in the promised allotment.

By an act of March 3, 1871, the mode of government negotiations with Indian tribes was changed; treaties were no longer to be made but legislation was to be enacted, the execution of any act to be "with the consent of the tribe."

By the act of June, 1872 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. xvii, p. 391), the Omaha sold to the Government 50,000 acres from the western part of their reservation. A portion of the proceeds of this sale was to be expended for fencing farms, building houses, purchasing implements and live stock, and establishing and maintaining schools.

Under an act of June, 1874 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. xviii, p. 170), 20 additional sections in the northern part of the reservation were sold for the use of the Winnebago tribe.

By an act of August 7, 1882 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. xxii, p. 341), the Omaha were given their lands in severalty, each man, woman, and child receiving a portion of the tribal land, which was secured by a patent, the United States holding the patent in trust for twenty-five years, during which time the land was not taxable and could not be encumbered or sold; at the end of the trust period patents in fee were to be given to the original allottees or their heirs, according to the laws of the State of Nebraska. The act placed the Omaha under the laws of the State, civil and criminal. The unallotted land in the southwestern township of the reservation and west of the railroad running between Sioux City, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska, was thrown open to purchase by white settlers.

By a clause in the "severalty act" of February 7, 1887, the Omaha as allotted Indians became citizens of the United States.

A right of way was granted to a railroad through the reservation in 1894 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. xxviii, p. 95). The right was extended and new rights were granted in 1896 (U. S. Stat. at Large, vol. xxx, pp. 344, 912). The survey of the Sioux City and Western Railroad was approved by the Secretary of the Interior May 2, 1905. The road was completed and was running through the reservation in April, 1907. Two towns were located on this railroad, the land being negotiated for with Indians who had inherited the tracts and were permitted by an act of Congress to sell the lands. The town site of Rosalie was approved by the Secretary of the Interior January 18, 1906, and the first lot was sold in the summer of 1907; the town was named for the late Rosalie La Flesche Farley, a daughter of Joseph La Flesche. Its population in 1910 was 147. The town site of Walthill was approved by the Secretary of the Interior at the same time as that of Rosalie and the first lots were sold on May 22, 1907. The town was named for Walter Hill (son of J. J. Hill), who had had charge of the construction of a portion of the railroad on which

the town lies. The deeds for the lands sold by the Indians for these town sites were withheld for a time through the influence of Susan La Flesche Picotte, M. D., and other members of her family, until the provision was made that—

No malt or spiritous or vinous liquors shall be kept or disposed of on the premises conveyed, and that any violation of this condition, either by the grantee or any other person claiming rights under said party of the second part, shall render the conveyance void and cause the premises to revert to the party of the first part, his heirs or assigns.

With the sanction of the Secretary of the Interior this clause was inserted in all town-site deeds on the Omaha and Winnebago reservations. In the town of Walthill the Townsite Company restricted



FIG. 126. Graded school at Walthill, Nebraska.

the material of buildings on the main street to brick and stone; while this action temporarily retarded the erection of structures, it has added greatly to the appearance and permanency of the town. The population (1910) of Walthill is 810. In less than a year after its organization the town expended \$14,000 for a commodious brick and stone building (fig. 126) for a graded school, in which both white and Indian children receive instruction.

WORK OF MISSIONARIES

It would be difficult to trace the tribe or even the direction whence the first missionary influence came to the Omaha. In the last decade of the eighteenth century individuals of the tribe had descended the Missouri to St. Louis to carry their pelts for barter. While there they

saw something of civilized modes of living and noted the religious customs of the residents of the town. Through intercourse with tribes among which missions had been established came a vague knowledge concerning Christianity. In the early part of the nineteenth century a few Frenchmen employed with the trading companies had taken Omaha women as wives but these men had not shown a proselyting spirit nor had they made any change in the mode of native life or in the native beliefs. Sometimes the sons of these men were taken to St. Louis on their fathers' trading trips; here they acquired some knowledge of the French language and of business methods, the possession of which enabled them to assist their fathers in the duties connected with trading. In some instances these sons were sent to school and learned to speak English and in two cases, those of Logan Fontenelle and Louis Sansouci, they were able to serve as official interpreters. It was not until the third decade of the nineteenth century that the Omaha came into direct contact with missionaries and then the contact was occasional rather than constant. In 1845 the first permanent mission was established by the Presbyterian denomination at Bellevue, Nebraska. At that time the Omaha had been induced by the Government to settle near Bellevue, partly for the sake of protection from their enemies, the Sioux, and partly to bring them under the supervision of the newly established Indian agency. A school was built for the mission on land claimed by the Omaha tribe and several Omaha children were brought under the influence of the teachers. In the gardens and fields attached to this school the Omaha had their first opportunity to observe the practical use of the plow and other agricultural implements. When the iron hoe introduced by the traders superseded the shoulder blade of the elk no change was made in the old method of planting and cultivating corn. Until the Omaha beheld the fields of the mission they had never seen the earth turned over in furrows and corn planted in long straight rows. At this mission school some of the Omaha children received their first instruction, scanty as it was, in avocations that were to help them to meet the changed conditions of living so soon to come upon their people. Already Missouri was a State; homes were being erected within sight of the Missouri river; the Mormons had already crossed that stream and had passed on farther to the westward. Nebraska was soon to become a territory and the new settlers were casting hungry eyes on the Indians' land. In 1853 a United States commission arrived at Bellevue to take the preliminary steps looking to the extinguishment of the Omaha right of occupancy of the broad fertile lands lying on the Missouri north of the Platte river. The following year a group of chiefs and other leading men went to Washington, passing down the Missouri and up the Ohio in boats, crossing the Alleghany mountains by slow stages, and so

making their way to the capital, where the treaty of 1854 was executed. Within the next three years the Omaha left Bellevue and turned their faces northward toward their reservation but before leaving they donated a square mile of land to the Presbyterian Mission, on which Bellevue College stands today.

THE MISSION

In 1857 the Presbyterian Mission followed the tribe and the next year a large stone structure erected for its use was completed. The mission house (fig. 127) stood on a bench overlooking the Missouri river. Behind it rose the bluffs; below it stretched a broad bottom heavily timbered in some parts and opening out here and there into wide savannahs. In this ample building a boarding and day school was



FIG. 127. The old "Mission," now fallen to decay.

maintained. The assembly hall served as a chapel. The missionaries and their families dwelt in the house, and the Omaha children were thus brought under their immediate care. The children were all given English names, most of which remain until the present time, having become the accepted names of families and appearing on the land patents. For nearly thirty years this mission school was kept up, being in general faithfully and effectively managed. The children were taught to speak, read, and write English. The boys were instructed in farming and the care of stock, the girls (see fig. 128) in cooking and the making of garments. The work accomplished by these missionaries has been of lasting benefit to the people and the teachers and workers who so assiduously labored to prepare the Omaha to live among their rapidly increasing white

neighbors are today held in grateful and affectionate remembrance.^a The church, which held its meetings in the school assembly room, numbered among its membership many native men and women. The industrious and orderly lives of these Christian Omaha reflected the earnestness with which they sought to apply to their daily lives the Christian precepts taught them at the mission and its school during the closing decades of the last century. In 1885-6 another mission building was erected by the same denomination in the southern part of the reservation, but after a few years it was abandoned. About this time a church (fig. 129) was built near the agency, not far from the blockhouse erected in 1864 to protect the government employees from Sioux war parties, and services conducted by the regular pastor are still held in this edifice.



FIG. 128. An Omaha girl, a "Mission" scholar.

One great difficulty beset the efforts of the missionary teachers; this was the influence exerted on the native mind by the contradiction between the principles taught as belonging to Christianity and the conduct of most of the white people with whom the Indian came into contact. Regarding all white persons as Christians, he naturally looked to their lives for the exemplification of their beliefs. The Indian's old religion taught that the man who spoke or acted falsely was in danger of supernatural punishment; instances were known to the people in which the lightning stroke had cut short the life of the unfaithful person. The Indian was now brought into con-

^a For the names and record of the men and women who devoted themselves to missionary work among the Omaha tribe, the reader is referred to the Annual Reports on the Foreign and Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, which alone has ministered to this tribe.

tact with persons who could speak untruthfully and yet seemingly suffer no evil consequences and it is not surprising that the Omaha found it difficult to reconcile the precepts taught by the missionaries with the conduct of many of the white people whom he met. As a result, he could not give hearty acceptance to a religion which seemed to have so little power over the lives of those who professed it. The teaching of his fathers he still revered and he was slow to change his native point of view of justice and of truth. Yet there were here and there men and women to whom the life of Jesus Christ appealed,



FIG. 129. The Omaha church.

The "blockhouse" which formerly stood on the right has been removed. The church has now (1911) been enlarged at an expense of more than a thousand dollars, raised by the Indians.

who recognized in it a high ideal difficult of attainment, and perceived that failure to realize it in the life of a person is to be attributed to the weakness of the individual rather than to the ideal itself.

NEW RESERVATION AND AGENCY

The agency buildings on the new reservation were placed about three miles west of the Missouri river on the only road in that region which ran from the trading posts on the south to those that were near the Missouri farther to the north; this was known as "the military road." In the course of a year or two the Omaha divided and settled in three villages: one in the southeastern part of the

reservation; another (the largest) near the agency; the third to the northeast not far from the banks of the Missouri. This division of the people had no tribal significance. When the tribe moved out on its annual buffalo hunt, the people camped as one body, forming the *hu'thuga* (see p. 138); the old tribal organization was not affected in any way. The Middle village, as the one near the agency was called, was on the stream now known as Blackbird creek. The picture of the earth lodge shown in plate 19, taken more than twenty-seven years ago, represents the last of these lodges, erected at the time the Middle village was built.

AGENCY BUILDINGS

At the time when the Omaha reservation was established the Missouri river was the highway of travel. The steamers from St. Louis brought the supplies needed for the agency and the mission. The landing place was on the bottomland below the mission buildings. Here the agency shops were first erected and in these the boys from the mission school were permitted to work and learn something of the carpenter's and the blacksmith's trade. Later a boarding school was established at the agency, to which the shops were removed, and a saw mill and a grist mill were built. All these were given up before the close of the last century. Public day schools were established and the agency shops were supplanted by private enterprises of the native population.

In 1878 Congress provided for the establishment of Indian police, who were to be directly under the authority of the United States Indian agent: they were to maintain order; to arrest offenders, including those engaged in the illegal liquor traffic; to return truant children to school; to protect government property; and to perform various other services. A few years subsequent to this a number of "police" were appointed at the Omaha agency; some of the best men of the tribe were included in the force. Their duties gave them and through them the people practical lessons in some of the methods employed in white communities to promote social welfare and order—a lesson that was timely, as settlements were rapidly springing up around the reservation and contact with the white race was increasing daily.^a

PRESSURE OF TRADERS ON TRIBAL AFFAIRS

The changes in the avocations and life of the Omaha brought about through the influence of the traders have been spoken of; but there were other ways in which the traders had made themselves felt. Trading companies made gifts to chiefs and other leading men whom

^a For the details of the United States Indian Service and of the efforts made by the Government to assist the tribe to a knowledge of civilized life, see the Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs.

they found pliant and government officials through the influence of traders sometimes made "paper chiefs" by giving certificates to such men. Medals were hung about their necks, flags were presented to them, and efforts were made to keep them loyal to the trading companies. English traders succeeded the French and the American the English, consequently the medals, flags, and certificates of one nation had to be relinquished when another nation came into power; finally the United States authorities had to see that American badges were substituted for foreign gifts. This outside pressure on tribal affairs complicated the life and thought of the people and disturbed the ancient forms and authority of the chiefs. The people could no longer pursue the path their fathers had trod—changes were on every hand. The steady stream of immigrants brought added trouble and perplexity. Indian garden patches were often treated as though maize grew wild and few rights of the natives were respected in the onward rush of white men. All this was more or less bewildering to the mass of the tribe. Sometimes, however, a man was able to lift himself above the turmoil and discern the trend of events. Such a man was Big Elk, the last chief of his name; his apprehension of coming events and his counsel, embodied in a sort of allegory, have been given on page 84. Big Elk impressed his own outlook on the changeful future on a half-breed youth toward whom he was drawn in friendship and whom he afterward adopted. This young man, Joseph La Flesche, later became so powerful a factor in the welfare of the tribe that it is proper to give a few details of his career. The facts here presented were obtained from Waje'pa (Wa'thishnade, pl. 29) during his last visit to the writers in Washington, shortly before his death.

JOSEPH LA FLESCHÉ

In the early part of the last century an Omaha boy was taken captive by the Sioux. He grew up among his captors and became a man of influence among that people. One of his sisters became the wife of Joseph La Flesche, a French trader in the employ of one of the fur companies. A son was born of this union, probably about 1818, in the old village Toⁿ'woⁿtoⁿga, on Omaha creek. The long absences of her husband, made necessary by trading business, were irksome to the young Omaha wife and she finally left her French husband and married one of her own tribe. Little Joseph was about six years old when his mother married again. He was taken by his aunt to visit her brother, who was living with the Sioux, and remained three years or more. While there he learned to speak the Dakota language, which he never forgot. At the time he returned to the Omaha with his aunt his father was there trading with the tribe. He pleaded with the aunt to give him

his son but she refused. A few years later she consented and La Flesche took his son to St. Louis, where the lad learned to speak French; later he accompanied his father on trading expeditions. Young Joseph was a favorite with the old Omaha chiefs, especially with Big Elk, and used to talk with them and learn from them the qualifications requisite for chieftainship. The tribe was then living in the vicinity of Bellevue. La Flesche became impatient with his son and reproved him for lingering with the chiefs but the youth was becoming versed in tribal customs and lore and already had determined in his mind to become a chief. Joseph continued, however, to accompany his father on trips and learned to speak the Iowa, Pawnee, and Oto languages. He was a good hunter and planned to enter into trade on his own account; this he did later on and was quite successful. It was while living in the vicinity of Bellevue that he finally concluded to settle down and cast his lot with his mother's people and he soon became identified with them. He had seen enough of the world to recognize that the white race were in the country to stay and that the Indian would have to conform more or less to white ways and customs. The problem how to meet the new conditions that were already looming on the horizon of tribal life occupied much of his thought as well as the mind of Big Elk. One summer about this time (probably between 1845 and 1850), when the tribe were preparing to go on the annual buffalo hunt, Big Elk asked Joseph to join the preliminary council (see p. 276). No objection was raised and he was given a seat next to Big Elk. This was a marked step forward in the young man's proposed career. He had already begun to make the gifts necessary toward chieftainship (see p. 202) as well as to count his hundred (see p. 495). At this time Big Elk's son was living and it was the wish of the chief that this son should succeed him. But the young man died and after that event Joseph became recognized as the son of Big Elk and was counted as belonging to the We'zhi'shte gens; this was contrary to usage, for, as his mother belonged to the I'ke'cabe gens and as his father was white, he should have been considered as belonging to her gens. Meanwhile the tide of settlers increased and while Joseph La Flesche (fig. 49) was carrying forward plans to rise to the place occupied by Big Elk he was also engaged in thoughts and projects for helping the people forward to the best advantage in the new path he saw opening before them, which they must take. He watched the mission school established at Bellevue and talked with the missionaries. He was active in the negotiations which resulted in the selection of the present reservation when the Omaha disposed of their hunting lands to the United States. On the death of Big Elk in 1853 Joseph La Flesche had fully complied with the old requirements for chieftainship; he took Big Elk's place and became one of

the two Ni'kagahi u'zhu, or principal chiefs. He was with the Omaha delegation that went to Washington to complete the treaty of 1854. La Flesche argued with the officials against payments being made in goods. He demanded that the tribe receive money for their land, declaring that with money the people could buy what they needed—tools, food, clothing. The silver dime he used to illustrate his contention was long cherished in memory of the victory which gave to the Omaha cash payments instead of merchandise but which won for him the enmity of certain trader factions. He had gathered about him at Bellevue the young, active men of progressive spirit, who formed the nucleus of what afterward became known in the tribe as the "young men's party." When the tribe occupied their new reservation and were settling in villages Joseph La Flesche selected a site slightly south of that on which "The Mission" was about to be built and there he formed a village which he planned should be somewhat similar to a white settlement.

"THE VILLAGE OF THE 'MAKE-BELIEVE' WHITE MEN"

For this new enterprise the followers of Joseph La Flesche cut logs and hauled them to a sawmill, where they were prepared for use. Joseph hired white carpenters to construct his own house and under the direction of these mechanics the men of the village erected small frame houses for themselves out of the lumber secured from the logs. The shingles had to be purchased. Joseph's house was a large building two stories high with rooms on both sides of the hall; here he had a store and for several years carried on considerable trade. He laid out roads, one leading to the agency, one to the steamboat landing and Mission, and one through the center of the village. On this last road and branch roads stood some of the houses. He fenced a tract of 100 acres or more in the bottom and furnished the oxen and plow to break this land. It was divided into separate fields so that each man in the village could have a tract of his own for cultivation. A few families started other little fields not far from the village. It was on this bottom that the first wheat raised on the reservation was planted. Sorghum and large crops of corn were also harvested and in the winter the men hauled their produce on the ice to Sioux City, then a newly formed settlement on the Iowa side of the river to the north. All the children of this village were sent by their parents to the Mission School. The conservatives of the tribe called this village by the derisive name, "the village of the 'make-believe' white men."

The enterprise shown by the people of this village had a marked influence on the tribe in general. La Flesche's action in reference to drunkenness has been told (p. 621). Of course this man did not

escape criticism and he had to endure persecution because of his championship of what he thought were the rights of the people. Through all the changes that came about he remained until his death, in 1888, a leader of the tribe. Throughout his eventful life he bore well his part in all the rites and requirements of chieftainship and lived to cast his vote as a citizen of the United States. The following incident is characteristic of the man: Although he could "count" more than needed to entitle him to place the "mark of honor" (see p. 505) on his daughters, he would not have them tattooed nor would he permit the ears of his sons to be pierced. When questioned why he, who had fulfilled so many of the ancient requirements, should have refused so to distinguish himself and his children, he replied: "I was always sure that my sons and daughters would live to see the time when they would have to mingle with the white people, and I determined that they should not have any mark put upon them that might be detrimental in their future surroundings."

SURVEY OF THE RESERVATION

The promise made in the treaty of 1854 and repeated in 1865, that the land should be surveyed in order that the people might enter on tracts and possess their individual homes was not fulfilled until 1872. It was the influence of the village of "the 'make-believe' white men" that stimulated the people of the other villages and finally secured the delayed governmental action. The eastern portion of the reservation, from the Missouri to the Omaha Creek region, was surveyed into townships and the usual subdivisions. Oxen and breaking plows were bought with tribal money and prairie was broken on the selections that were made by many of the people, their right to the land selected being secured to them by certificates issued by the Government. The people spent all the winter after the survey was made in cutting timber and hauling it to the agency mill. Only a few reaped benefit of their labor by having their logs made into lumber and the houses built. The bulk of the material gathered was never used; like many other promises, the fulfillment was deferred until the people lost hope and ambition.

EXTERMINATION OF THE BUFFALO

About this time the slaughter of the buffalo herds had seriously affected the supply of the game, so that after 1876 there were no more annual buffalo hunts and a new dilemma confronted the people. Unused to depend solely on a diet of grain and not accustomed to the taste of beef, they suffered from the change. It was during this distress that the tribe sought to make their appeal to Wakoⁿ'da

through the old ceremonies connected with the anointing of the Sacred Pole (see p. 230) by purchasing beef as a substitute for buffalo meat (see p. 244). A few of these costly experiments brought a new sorrow—the realization that the food on which their fathers had depended and which through past centuries had never failed, had been destroyed although they had been taught that the buffalo had been sent “from every quarter” for man’s use, by Wako’da (see ritual, p. 294). Distress of mind accompanied their distress of body. The maize remained to them and its cultivation increased, as did the raising of wheat. These articles they sold to the white settlements and with the proceeds bought food. Pigs, chickens, and cattle were raised in moderate numbers. The once thrifty Omaha had become poor; they never received rations from the Government, however, but struggled on by themselves, the older people supported by the hopefulness and efforts of the younger generation.

During the period of the Civil War the Omaha were loyal to the United States Government and served as scouts and guards during the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad.

ESTABLISHMENT OF “THE COUNCIL”

The enforced abandonment of the annual hunt and the changes taking place in the life and habits of the tribe led to a modification in tribal government, one favored by the United States agency officials. Questions frequently arose the determination of which required cooperation between the tribe and the Agent. Tribal meetings were cumbersome and difficult to manage, so it came about that a “council” was formed of a small number of chiefs and other leading men, who could be easily called together by the Agent. Chieftainship in the old meaning of the term thereby lapsed. The council represented the people but all governing power had become centered in the United States Indian Agent.

Nothing belonging to the past now seemed stable to the Omaha; only the familiar landscape remained to remind them that they were still in the land of their fathers.

THE PONCA TRAGEDY

Suddenly, in 1877, like a bolt out of the blue sky, came the distressing removal of their kindred, the Ponca, from their home on the Niobrara river to the Indian Territory. The pathetic return in the spring of 1879 of Standing Bear and his followers, bearing the bones of that chief’s dearly loved son for burial, and the coming of United States soldiers to carry them back to the dreaded “hot country,” brought terror to every Omaha family. Thinking that their own

homes might be in danger, some of the men took the certificates for their individual lands and houses to the larger white settlements and consulted lawyers in order to find out the legal value of these papers. When they were told that the certificates carried no patent rights to the land the fear and sorrow this knowledge brought passed description. It seemed that the very ground was cut from under their feet, that they were forsaken by all in whom they had ever put trust, and that even the Government which they had always respected had betrayed them.

APPEAL FOR LAND PATENTS

Such were the practical conditions when one of the writers entered the tribe for ethnological study. She knew little of political affairs but firmly believed that were the truth known to the United States Government its officials would give the Omaha a legal right to their homes and to the land hallowed by the graves of their fathers. Actuated by this belief, much time was spent in gathering data concerning the efforts of those among the people who had striven to gain their livelihood on the lands for which they held certificates or on tracts selected since the issuance. These men were invited to join in a petition to Congress, here given as an historical document^a that proved of importance to the Omaha tribe and was the forerunner of the Severalty Act of 1887, which marked a change in the policy of the Government toward the Indian tribes of the United States.

MEMORIAL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE OMAHA TRIBE OF INDIANS FOR A GRANT OF LAND IN SEVERALTY

To the Senate of the United States:

We, the undersigned, members of the Omaha tribe of Indians, have taken our certificates of allotment of land or entered upon claims within the limits of the Omaha reserve. We have worked upon our respective lands from three to ten years; each farm has from five to fifty acres under cultivation; many of us have built houses on these lands and all have endeavored to make permanent homes for ourselves and our children.

We therefore petition your honorable body to grant to each one a clear and full title to the land on which he has worked.

We earnestly pray that this petition may receive your favorable consideration, for we now labor with discouragement of heart, knowing that our farms are not our own and that any day we may be forced to leave the lands on which we have worked. We desire to live and work on these farms where we have made homes that our children may advance in the life we have adopted. To this end and that we may go forward with hope and confidence in a better future for our tribe, we ask of you titles to our lands.

Respectfully submitted.

^a Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 31, 47th Cong., 1st sess.

Then follow the signatures of 55 men. The statistics for each signer, as to the amount of land he cultivated, the stock he owned, and the number of persons dependent on him for support, were appended, together with such remarks as he desired to make in his behalf.

The following "remarks" quoted from this petition are typical of the burden that was voiced by each man.

Xitha'gaxe said:

I have worked hard on my land so that I should not go round begging. I thought the land was my own, so I went to work and cultivated it. Now I have found out it is not my own, and this makes me stop. I am afraid if I should build a house and spend money on it I would lose it if the Government should move the Indians from this land. Three times I have cut wood to build a house. Each time the agent told me the Government wished to build me a house. Every time my wood has lain and rotted, and now I feel ashamed when I hear an agent telling me such things. * * * I want a title to my land; I want a house that is my own.

Hoⁿ'doⁿmoⁿthiⁿ:

When I was a boy I saw much game and buffalo and the animals my forefathers used to live upon, but now all are gone. Where I once saw the animals I now see houses and white men cultivating the land. * * * I want a title for my land. I am troubled about it. * * * In the morning I get up and look at my fields, and I wish that God may help me to do better with my land and let it be my own.

Mawa'doⁿthiⁿ:

I have taken hold of the plow. I did not know how, but I put in my ponies and my wife held the reins. * * * There is a party among us in favor of titles. When it first started I was one of them. * * * I want a title to my land. I may never know all the good it will bring but my children will know. * * * If I were a young man I would say more; but I am too old to speak much. The reason I have worked so hard is that I wished to set an example to others that they might see how an old man could work because he wanted to.

Wa'thishnade:

Before I began to farm I was just a wild Indian doing as I pleased, going round the country looking for death. * * * We have no government on the reserve. We have trouble which we would not have if we had government and law. We want these. We are right among the white people, and as we have no law we can't get along very well. There are persons living on the reserve who have certificates of allotment; they believe that the land is theirs and that they can always keep it. I know differently. * * * I went on my farm with my certificate. I believed the land was mine. I have found out the land is not mine; that the Government can take it away. We are going to ask for our titles. As long as the Government does not give them, we will ask until the Government gets tired. We won't stop asking until we get our titles.

Du'bamoⁿthiⁿ:

* * * The road our fathers walked in is gone, the game is gone, the white people are all about us. There is no use in any Indian thinking of the old ways; he must now go to work as the white man does. We want titles to our lands that the land may be secure to our children. When we die we shall feel easy in our minds if we

know the land will belong to our children and that they will have the benefit of our work. There are some Omahas who do not yet care for titles. We desire the Government to give titles to those who ask for them. * * * We are willing the others should do as they please but we are not willing that they should keep us from getting titles to our lands. Our children would suffer even a greater wrong than would befall us. Give us who ask titles to our lands. * * * Do not let us be held back and our children be sufferers because of the inaction of those who do not seem to care for the future.

Om'patoⁿga:

When we look at a person we are apt to know what that person is thinking of. All who look at me must know I am thinking of a title to my land. * * * I wish I could speak English, then I could tell you directly from my heart of the way in which I wish to go. * * * We want titles to our lands. We are thinking of little else. We shall think of little else until we get our titles. We are afraid of losing our lands. When we receive titles to our farms then we shall be treated as men.

Joseph La Flesche:

* * * I was born in this country, in Nebraska, and I have always lived among the Indians. There was a time when I used to look only at the Indians and think they were the only people. The Indians must have been long in this country before the white man came here. * * * In the spring they would take their seed and farm their 1 or 2 acres. There were no idlers, all worked in the spring. Those who had no hoes worked with pieces of sticks. When they had their seed in, they went on the hunt. They had nothing to worry them; all they thought of was their little garden they had left behind. In the middle of the summer they came back with the skins for their tent cloths, the meat for their food, and the skins for their clothing. They made use of all animals. When they got home they gathered their corn, dried it, buried a part of it, and taking enough to serve them started out on the winter hunt to get furs. Then it was I used to see white men, those who were going around buying furs. Sometimes for two or three years I would not see any white men. At that time the country was empty, only animals were to be seen. Then after a while the white men came, just as the blackbirds do, and spread over the country. Some settled down, others scattered on the land. The Indians never thought that any such thing could be, but it matters not where one looks now one sees white people. These things I have been speaking about are in the past and are all gone. We Indians see you now and want to take our steps your way. * * * It seems as though the Government pushes us back. It makes us think that the Government regards us as unfit to be as white men. The white man looks into the future and sees what is good. That is what the Indian is doing. He looks into the future and sees his only chance is to become as the white man. When a person lives in a place a long time he loves the place. We love our lands and want titles for them. When one has anything he likes to feel it is his own and belongs to no one else, so we want titles; then we can leave our land to our children. You know, and so do we, that some of us will not live very long; we will soon be gone into the other world. We ask for titles for our children's sakes. For some years we have been trying to get titles but we have never heard from the Government. * * * We are not strong enough to help ourselves in this matter, so we ask you to help us. In the past we only lived on the animals. We see that it is from the ground that you get all that you possess. The reason you do not look upon us as men is because we have not law, because we are not citizens. We are strangers in the land where we were born. We want the law that we may be regarded as men. When we are in trouble we want to have courts to appeal to. The law will teach wrongdoers. It will prevent trouble as well as punish those who commit offenses.

We know that in asking for titles we are asking for that which will bring responsibility. We are ready to accept it and to strive to fulfill its requirements. It seems as though in the past the Government had not listened to the words of the Indians. We know our own needs, and now we speak to you directly.

The petition was presented by the Hon. John T. Morgan, of Alabama, in the United States Senate, was ordered printed—and there the matter rested. All that winter the writer and the Indians waited for a response. Almost every day some Indian would ride over the snowy hills and ask: "Any news from Washington?" and every day the same answer had to be given: "None." It was a heartrending wait for all who knew of the little missive that had gone to the



FIG. 130. A modern Indian home, not far from site of the old "Mission."

country's capital, but particularly for the sender. On her one hand stood the trusting Indians, feeling that their homes were in danger from forces they could not face, could not even speak to and be understood by, and, on her other hand, stood the Government, great and strange, almost unapproachable, but which alone held the power to avert the feared disaster.

With the spring came a firm resolve to follow that petition and make it heard by those who had the power to act on it. A long, and for a time a single-handed, campaign followed. Addresses were made by Miss Fletcher in Washington before congressional committees, before churches, in the parlors of leading citizens, until the story of the Omaha people bore results in the passage of the act of August 7, 1882 (see p. 624). The following year the provisions of the

act were carried out by the writers, and every man, woman, and child of the tribe received a share of the land inherited from their ancestors.

On March 3, 1893 (27 Stat., 612), Congress amended the act of August 7, 1882, and granted to wives 80 acres of land in their own right and the same amount to children. The provisions of this act were carried out in 1900.

The twenty-five-year "period of trust" has been fraught with many experiences, not all of which have been happy. The untaxable character of the land has made improvements in roads and bridges slow and the increasing value of farms in that vicinity has brought pressure on the Omaha to lease their allotments. Many have done so; the



FIG. 131. An Omaha farmer's home.

act has not been altogether evil nor has it been wholly good for the people. It has brought the Indian into closer contact with white neighbors and established business relations between them. While the Omaha have learned much from this relationship, in some instances, as was natural, they have come to depend on the income derived from leasing their property rather than on their own labors, to secure the full product and profit from their lands, a condition not altogether favorable to a healthful social growth. When one of the writers was last among the tribe (during the summer of 1910) and recalled the conditions that obtained thirty years ago, the present state showed how much, during the intervening years, had been thought out and accomplished by the people. (See figs. 130-132.) Although she missed the presence of the old men who were formerly the leaders

in progress, she saw the results of their leadership manifested in the comfortable homes on farms tilled by the Indians, in the increasing ability of the people to manage their own affairs, in the attendance of the children at school, in the growing appreciation of the value of temperate habits, and in the capacity the Omaha are showing for maintaining themselves under the new conditions imposed on them by the white race.

Here and there quaint survivals of old customs under a new guise could be noted, as in reference to marriage. Men and women still observe the old rule of exogamy and when a man dies, his widow feels that she honors her husband's memory by remaining in the family, a



FIG. 132. A well-to-do Omaha farmer and his family.

feeling shared by any unmarried brother of the deceased, who, even if much younger than the widow, promptly becomes her husband.

During the recent years of stress there have been noble men and women in the tribe who have stood steadily for virtuous, industrious living, and their example has exerted an influence all the stronger because coming from within, not from without, the tribe, and this influence is a vital and a growing power.

PRESENT CONDITION

The "period of trust" technically expired during the year 1910. Realizing the unwisdom of throwing at once indiscriminately on the people so large a property burden and the necessity of protecting

the interests of the old and the backward, the Indian Bureau has appointed a commission to determine what individuals among the Omaha are prepared to be released absolutely from the care of the Government.

The following is the latest official statement ^a concerning the tribe:

The population according to the last census was 1,270. Ninety per cent of those under forty years speak English to some extent; many of them speak quite well. All except a few of the very old understand English and most of the men between forty and sixty can speak it a little.

All live in houses, none in tents except as a change in the summer time. With the exception of about twenty, the men dress in citizens' clothes. Most of the women dress after a fashion of their own, which is partly like that of a white woman. Several of the younger women dress in all respects as white women do. None of the very old women and very few of the old men ride horseback. The young men often ride. A few of the young women ride but they always dress for the purpose with divided skirts, using men's saddles. About 95 per cent of the people own carriages and buggies and most of them have good teams and take fairly good care of them.

About 90 per cent of the children of school age and in proper health are in school a reasonable portion of the year. I do not recall but one healthy child between the ages of ten and twenty who has never attended school and he speaks English quite well. There are fourteen public schools on the reservation besides the graded school at Walthill. There have been 110 or 115 Omaha children in the public schools the past year. They are given the same recognition as the white children and show about the same ability.

Two members of the tribe are merchants, two are attorneys, one is manager of the athletic teams of Wabash College, one is a physician, three or four are extensively engaged in real estate and stock business, a few are in the government service, and a great number are making good homes for themselves as farmers.

Fourteen Omaha families live in the town of Walthill and more than sixty lots are owned by Omaha. Several families reside in the town of Rosalie. The Title Map (pl. 65) of the Omaha reservation here presented, with the following list of the original owners of the allotments indicated thereon,^b forms an historic record of the tribal lands.

^a Extract from a letter by Supt. John M. Commons, dated September 10, 1909.

^b For permission to use these data the writers are indebted to H. L. Keefe, esq., attorney-at-law, of Walthill, Nebraska.

ORIGINAL OWNERS OF ALLOTMENTS ON OMAHA RESERVATION

(NOTE.—The numbers which appear below correspond to those on the Title Map, plate 65.)

A

O. C. Anderson 1406
J. R. Ashley 123, 130, 132, 133
Louise Paul Atkin 1430

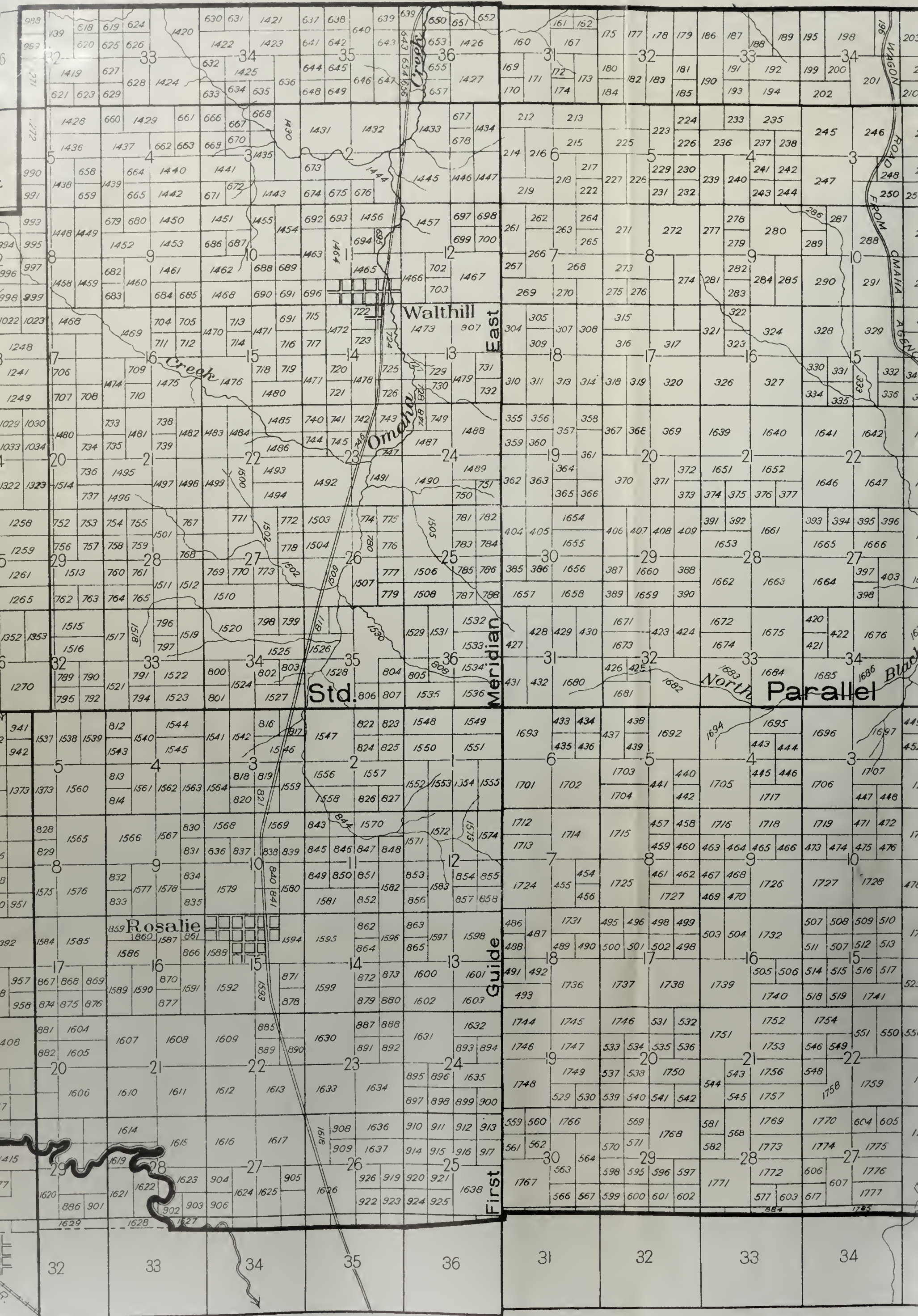
B

Kate Ballou 1455
F. B. Barber 674, 1451, 1454
J. L. Barber 386, 1267
Josaphine Barnaby 1618
Amos Baxter 939, 1348
Bertie Baxter 936, 987
Chas. Baxter 1349
Chris Baxter 1343
David Baxter 937
Fannie P. Baxter 1273
Harry Baxter 934, 1078
John Baxter 134, 944
Lenora S. Baxter 1360
Louisa White Baxter 563
Richard Baxter 3
Samuel Baxter 1367
Thomas Baxter 1375
Ta-in-ne Baxter 1368
Ash-na-me-ha Baxter 137
Washington Baxter 1695
Elizabeth Paul Baylis 1431
Harrison D. Baylis 673
Henry Baylor 1160
Chas. Beckenhauer 120
T. G. Benedict 636, 648
Ponca-we Big Elk 1061
John Big Elk 1391
Alcorn Black 852, 966
Alexander Black 396, 730
Lucy S. Black 749
Harry Black 698
James Black 1408
Maggie Black 1649
Me-ma-she-ha-the Black 851
Min-gra-da-we Black 732, 1628
Min-gra-tae Black 1493
No-zae-in-zae Black 395
Sarah Black 727
Stewart Black 728
Alfred Blackbird 868, 882
Alice Blackbird 1703
Cyrus Blackbird 1648
Ellis Blackbird 21
Caroline Blackbird 606
Frank Blackbird 1632, 1748
George Blackbird 1355
Harry Blackbird 569
Henry Blackbird 81
Henrick Blackbird 1052, 1157
Hiram Blackbird 1711
James Blackbird 441, 1746
John Blackbird 856, 881
Mary Blackbird 853, 958, 115
Mary L. Blackbird 869

Me-me-ta-ga Blackbird 559
Me-da-sho-ne Blackbird 1447
Me-gra-ta-in Blackbird 827
Me-me-sha-he Blackbird 1553
Me-gra-tae Blackbird 1589
Me-ah-con-da Blackbird 1280
Na-zae-in-zae Blackbird 1635
Ou-ga-zhoo Blackbird 899
Ou-go-shan Blackbird 561
Philip Blackbird 1218
Ponca-we Blackbird 900
Peter Blackbird 415, 1167
Ponca-sa Blackbird 1336
Sarah Blackbird 1168
Solomon Blackbird 43
Sophia Blackbird 80
Sarah Thomas Blackbird 417
Ta-gra-na Blackbird 1744
Te-gre-num-pa-be Blackbird 560
Ta-in-gra-gra Blackbird 1225
Walter Blackbird 23
William Blackbird 607
Wa-ta-we Blackbird 1121
J. E. Blenkiron 505, 1313, 1746
John Brown 69, 988
John Ku-ku Brown 70
Jacob Brown 1751
Ma-zha-we Brown 1740
Me-hu-sa McCauley Brown 1024
Zhon-ic-wa Brown 71, 989
Arthur Brownrigg 1317
Etta Pilcher Brownrigg 1021
Ah-ga-ha-mon Buffalo 921
Jennie Buffalo 385
Me-tae-za Buffalo 920
Me-te-he-ga Buffalo 404
Sleeping Buffalo 67
Heen-hu-dāne Burn 260
Julia Burt 298
Mary Burt 299
Wah-me Burt 1720
Wa-ta-wa Burt 1583
Mary Butler 439, 642
H. D. Byram 127, 128

C

Antoine Cabana 1413, 1414
Annie Cabney 1561
Francis Cabney 1415
Henry Cabney 1538
Mary Cabney 1411
Maggie Woodhull Cabney 814
Maurice Cabney 1537
Reuben Cabney 974, 1012
Thomas Cabney 1412
Agnes Callon 516
Tae-gra-ha Callon 195
William P. Callon 1708
Emily Campbell 1151
Florence Campbell 1196
Ida Campbell 1042, 1172



R 8 E

R 9 E



T 26 N

42°10'

• TITLE MAP •

OMAHA RESERVATION

THURSTON COUNTY

NEBRASKA

BY

H.L. KEEFE

T 25 N

North

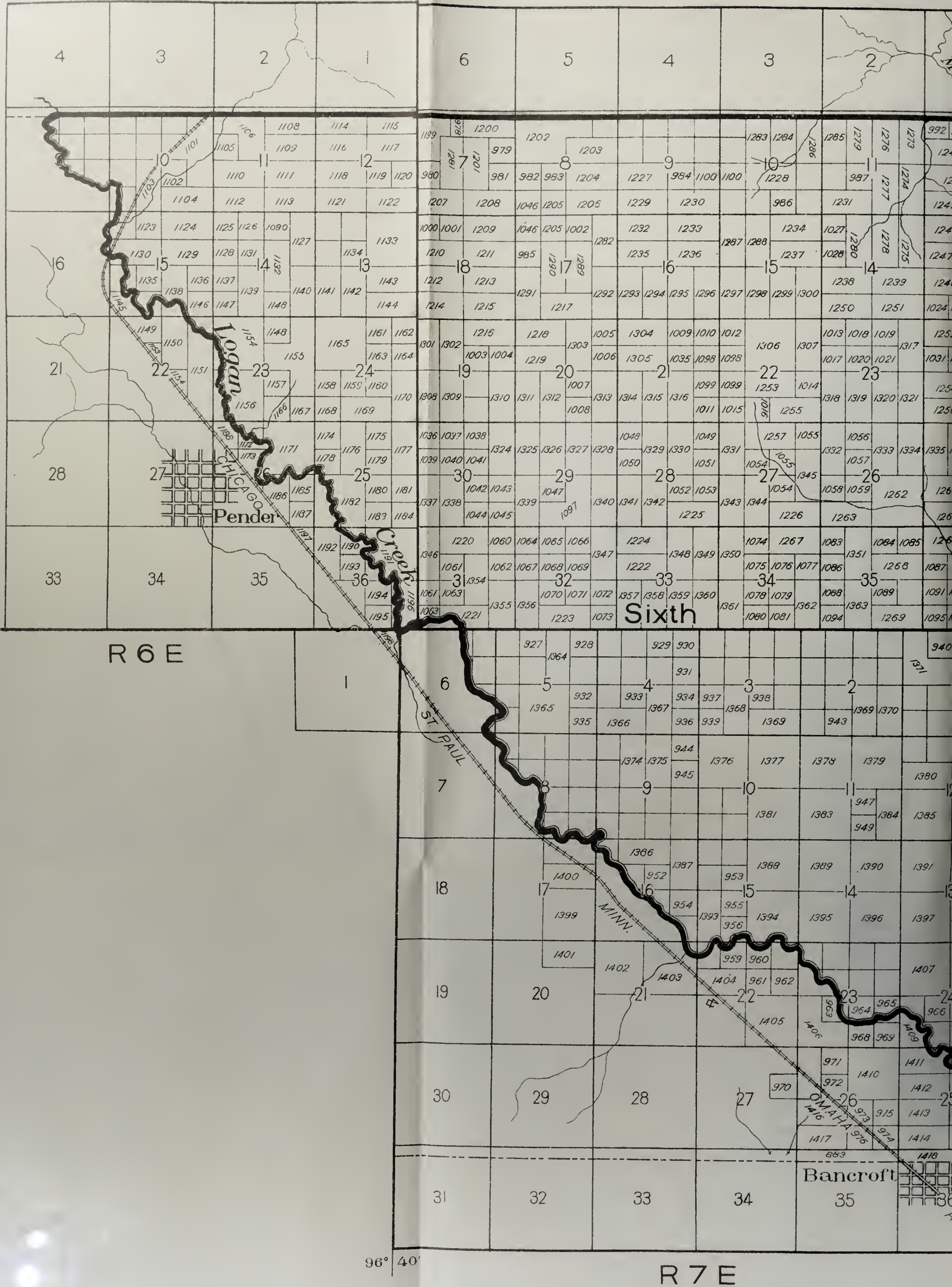
42°05'

T 24 N

96° 20'

R 10 E

Decatur



Louisa Campbell 1220
 Pearly Campbell 1148
 William H. Campbell 1044, 1149
 Aes-na-du-ba-the Canby 1208
 Horace Canby 770
 Kae-the-he Canby 1510
 Me-ah-con-da Canby 1249
 Me-um-ba-the Canby 1209
 Tae-gra-ha Canby 1046
 Thomas Canby 63
 William Canby 1782
 Francis M. Cayou 87, 217
 Lee Cayou 131
 Louise A. Cayou 86
 Me-um-ba-the Cayou 1155
 William W. Cayou 172
 Cy Chase 978
 Cynthia Chase 1108
 Ethelyn Chase 1111
 Gertrude Chase 1109
 Hiram Chase 411, 1105
 Isabell Chase 1106
 Paulina Chase 157
 Thurman Chase 1110
 John Clark 598, 638
 Ponca-we Clark 640
 Roland Clark 118
 E-hun-ge-ne Clay 1519
 Francis Clay 1522
 Hannah Clay 1474
 Henry Clay 33
 John Wa-nua Clay 399
 Not-a-afraid Clay 276
 Me-me-she Clay 666
 Me-me-she-hon-ne Clay 796
 Me-gthe-ta-in Clay 401
 The-wa-nuz-ze Clay 709
 Wa-baska Clay 400
 Albert Cline 1694
 E. C. Cline 1153, 1154
 Edith Drum Cline 365
 Edward Cline 335
 Henry Cline 1191
 Horace Cline 1607
 Josaphine Cline 1704
 Julia Leaming Cline 1103
 Lucy Cline 994
 Me-da-be Cline 186
 Me-ma-sha-ha-the Cline 76
 Me-ga-sho-ne Cline 1487
 Me-hu Cline 330
 Me-na Cline 331
 Ta-in-ga-ne Cline 334, 1068
 Ta-gra-ha Cline 285
 Edith Cook 838
 John Cook 406
 Little Cook 1612
 Lizzie Cook 407
 Mabel Cook 778
 Maggie Cook 1569
 Ta-sa-bae Cook 839
 Te-gah-hah Cook 408
 To-in-ge-na Cook 1623
 To-in-ge-nah (Mabel) Cook 902
 Michael Cooney 1260
 Adeta Cox 1244
 Alvin Cox 201

Clover Cox 319
 Dora Cox 1272
 Edna Cox 991, 992
 Eva Cox 371
 Frank Cox 1359
 Grace Cox 1003
 Grace Insta-son-we Cox 529
 Henry Cox 655, 890
 Harriet Cox 993
 Jesse Cox 1285
 Joseph Cox 1613
 Lucy Cox 1243
 Luke Cox 1469
 Luther Cox 14
 Me-tae-na Cox 202
 Ou-ba-ne Cox 894
 William P. Cox 655, 890

D

John Daggert 498
 Arthur Dale 1497
 Eliza Dale 1526
 Me-grae-da-we Dale 1690
 A. M. Daniels 1386
 Lester Davis 1402
 Warren Davis 11, 257
 Albert Dick 278
 Charlie Dick 36
 Elizabeth Dick 1314
 Emily Dick 797
 Ida W. Dick 764
 James Dick 49
 Joseph Dick 46, 765
 Lewis Dick 1767
 Lizzie W. Dick 562
 Logan Dick 84
 Lucy Dick 57, 526
 Marguerita Dick 101, 1232
 Mary Dick 1235
 Me-pe Dick 710, 769
 Me-ta-he-u Dick 26
 Mitchell Dick 1518
 Na-zo-in-za Dick 56
 Susette Dick 1517
 Tecumseh Dick 1122
 Marguerite Diddock 1584
 Charles Dixon 1560
 Harry Dixon 318
 Jerry Dixon 55
 Jesse Dixon 32
 Phillip Dixon 40
 Robert Dole 119
 Edith Drum 597
 Eliza Drum 1043
 Joseph Drum 554
 Lydia Drum 438, 553
 Paul Drum 556, 1045
 Peter Drum 62
 Burns Duvall 1733
 Herbert Duvall 510, 708

E

Anna Edwards 97
 Cada-we Edwards 1443
 Charles Edwards 98

Dora Edwards 138, 523, 601
 Gustavius Edwards 73
 John Edwards 528, 596
 Jonathan Edwards 1771
 Maria Edwards 527, 602
 Me-ah-ste-sta Edwards 1323
 Me-tae-na Edwards 13
 Min-gra-sha-ne Edwards 1322
 Roland Edwards 82
 Sarah Edwards 1252
 Tae-gra-ha Edwards 60, 94
 Walter Edwards 29
 J. J. Elkin 27, 1551
 Albert Esau 135
 Daisy Esau 107, 680
 Edward Esau 1565
 Joseph Esau 102, 105
 Lettie Esau 960
 Mary Esau 106, 679
 Me-ah-sha-ta Esau 691
 Me-tah-he Esau 141
 Nora Esau 1575

F

Caryl E. Farley 833, 968, 973, 976, 1018, 1724
 Fletcher Farley 1319
 John Farley 1020
 John Francis Farley 883
 La Flesche Farley 1321
 Louis La Flesche Farley 1318
 Mary R. Farley 1017
 Marguerite Farley 1320
 Mary Farley 975
 Rosalie La Flesche Farley 1416, 1417
 George Fields 1164, 1166
 Joseph Fields 1163, 1178
 Josiah Fields 1171
 Me-gthe-ta-in Fields 409
 Nellie Fields 1143
 Nettie Fields 1144
 Birdie J. Filson 905
 Florence Filson 1170
 Josephine P. Filson 1617
 E. S. Flor 126, 964, 1365
 Emily Fontenelle 1139
 Eugene Fontenelle 1138
 Henry Fontenelle 89, 1132
 Leon Fontenelle 142, 1114
 Lucienne A. Fontenelle 1150
 Raymond Fontenelle 1129
 Ae-the-wa-he Fox 1241
 Cau-za-we Fox 1247
 George Fox 324
 George H. Fox 1520
 Grace C. Fox 1358
 Hattie Fox 1479
 Helen Fox 818
 Henry Fox 731
 Howard Fox 1677
 Joel Fox 820
 Nettie Fox 321
 Ponca-we Fox 320
 Shu-in-na Fox 1564
 Ponca-son Fox 1718
 Silas M. Fox 1511
 Ta-e-na Fox 1248
 Walter Fox 369
 A. Freemont 1356
 Agnes Freemont 575
 Allan Freemont 68
 Alice Freemont 96
 Alice McCauley Freemont 477
 Allison Freemont 1653
 Bertram Freemont 1364
 Caroline Freemont 151
 Charlotte Freemont 1671
 Eagle Freemont 582
 Emily Freemont 364, 522, 1048
 Ezra Freemont 1399
 Francis Freemont 1028, 1400
 George Freemont 356
 Harriet Freemont 576
 Hiram Freemont 437
 Howard Freemont 986
 Jackson Freemont 664, 950
 James Khe-tha Freemont 1681
 Jesse Freemont 12, 78, 366
 Joel Freemont 10
 John Freemont 593
 John C. Freemont 1328
 Julia Freemont 2, 358
 Laura McCauley Freemont 643
 Little Eagle Freemont 1327
 Logan Freemont 268, 1698
 Lottie Wolf Freemont 545
 Mabel Freemont 970
 Maud Freemont 332
 Marguerite Freemont 336, 1027
 Ma-ha-zin Freemont 158
 Me-me-ta Freemont 1325
 Me-um-ba-the Freemont 335
 Minnie Freemont 359
 Miriam Freemont 1357
 Naomi Freemont 952
 Nettie Freemont 954, 1070
 Oscar Freemont 1729
 Paul Freemont 928, 1073
 Rufus Freemont 1732
 Samuel Freemont 360
 Tae-gra-ha Freemont 368
 Ta-da-we Freemont 304
 Thos. Freemont 697, 700
 Virginia Freemont 355
 White-bird Freemont 1326
 Charles Frost 922
 Elizabeth Frost 884, 926, 1784
 Fanny Frost 221
 Howard Frost 99, 305
 Jack Frost 83
 Mary Frost 309, 919
 Me-me-she-oh-ne Frost 1127
 Susan Frost 220
 Wa-ta-we Frost 815
 William Frost 1783
 Anna L. Fuller 845
 Charles E. Fuller 843
 Elsie M. Fuller 850
 George T. Fuller 844
 Isabelle Fuller 1581
 Louise L. Fuller 849
 Susan Fuller 846
 Therese Fuller 1595

Aes-ma-ma-hoe Furnas 1507
 Henry Furnas 579, 623
 Me-me-ta Furnas 1419
 Oliver Furnas 1509
 Ponca-son Furnas 152
 Rachel Furnas 572

G

Da-da-thin-gae Gilpin 880
 Kaw-sae-da-the Gilpin 108
 Louisa Gilpin 168
 Ma-sa-de-the Gilpin 50
 Me-gra-tae Gilpin 164
 Na-ho-dra Gilpin 165
 Nancy Gilpin 163
 Nah-ra-dae-mon-ne Gilpin 873
 Sampson Gilpin 1599
 Samuel Gilpin 222
 Sarah Gilpin 166
 Ta-dae-on-mon-ne Gilpin 879
 Ta-da-we-ha Gilpin 124
 To-in-the Gilpin 872
 Anna Grant 434
 As-sa-hoo-ba Grant 672
 Charlie Grant 4, 911
 Charles Grant 619, 719, 1084
 David Grant 590
 Daniel Grant 1781
 Edna Grant 433
 Ernest Grant 860
 Eva Grant 436
 Faith Grant 218
 Frank Grant 1262
 Grace Grant 187
 Grae-da Grant 624
 Grae-da-we-tae-he Grant 910
 George Grant 1392
 Henry Grant 1777
 Helen Olive Grant 699
 Irene Grant 1307
 Jane Grant 1332
 James Grant 435, 892
 John Grant 786, 951, 1083, 1085
 John U. Grant 589
 Maggie McCauley Grant 639
 Martha T. Grant 716
 Me-me-tae Grant 176
 Me-gra-tah Grant 1357
 Morgan Grant 5, 109
 Ne-ka-hoe-ga Grant 612
 Ponca-sa Grant 1268
 Rice E. Grant 1602
 Rosa Grant 897, 1030
 Samuel Grant 626, 893
 Solomon Grant 246
 Tae-hae-ga Grant 588
 Ulysses Grant 1702
 Walter Grant 1586
 Washington Grant 216
 Willie Grant 489, 491
 Me-sha-de-the Gray 1578
 Millie Grier 580
 Charles Guitar 1215
 Emily Guitar 1123
 Frank Guitar 1213
 Henry Guitar 1135

Lucy Guitar 1130
 Stephen Guitar 1780
 Susette Guitar 1211

H

Alfred Nebraska Hollowell 16, 1101
 Arthur Hollowell 1636
 Benjamin Hollowell 1633
 Clara Hollowell 711
 Clyde Hollowell 20
 David Hollowell 977
 Hu-ta-ta Hollowell 931, 1069
 Insta-son-we Hollowell 530
 Jacob Hollowell 455
 Joseph Hollowell 18
 Me-tae-gra Hollowell 793
 Me-ma-she-ha-me Hollowell 1116
 Ne-da-we Hollowell 933
 Nice-day Hollowell 1118
 Sarah Hollowell 1727
 Silas Hollowell 1140
 Simeon Hollowell 1476
 Stella Hollowell 493, 1362
 Susette Hollowell 1637
 Thomas Hollowell 456, 712
 Willie Hollowell 19
 William B. Hollowell 1141
 James Hamilton 315
 John Hamilton 316
 Joseph Hamilton 297, 735
 Julia Hamilton 313
 Me-ta-za Hamilton 1481
 Walter Hamilton 1229
 William Hamilton 291
 Adolph Hanika 1097
 Alice Hanika 1337
 Mary Hanika 1338
 William H. Hanika 1346
 A-de-ta Harlan 1716
 Charlie Harlan 488
 Edgar Harlan 855
 Edward Harlan 1193, 1289, 1571
 Emma Wolf Harlan 486
 Grover Harlan 1290, 1588
 Helen Harlan 854, 1570
 Jesse Harlan 1735
 John Harlan 1721
 Joseph Harlan 1714
 Me-ge-na Harlan 1601
 Me-gra-tae Harlan 1572
 Me-tae-ma Harlan 214
 Me-un-ba-the Harlan 1278
 Reuben Harlan 832
 Robert Harlan 296, 481
 Samuel Harlan 1682
 Snake [Henry] Harlan 1600
 Ta-in-ne Harlan 463
 Ta-sum-da-be Harlan 1597
 Walter Harlan 848
 Wa-ta-we Harlan 402
 Willie Harlan 1598
 William Harlan 1686
 Elizabeth Harvey 92
 Mary Harvey 91
 Richard Hastings 1401
 Charles Henderson 226, 867

Henry Henderson 1535
 Jane Henderson 1606
 Me-wah-sah Henderson 223
 Mollie Henderson 1536
 Sarah Henderson 224, 874
 Upton Henderson 1647
 Anna Hewitt 440
 Daniel Hewitt 1684
 Emily Hewitt 442, 826
 Hoo-ta-we Hewitt 1552
 Na-ju-ge-ta Hewitt 1557
 Zha-e-wa-tha Hewitt 1513
 J. E. Hinkle 1758
 Clara Springer Hogan 1345
 Ira A. Hogan 1055
 Larry James Hogan 1257
 John R. House 140, 941, 1093, 1095
 Herman House 955
 Phillis Hull 1112
 Victoria Fontenelle Hull 1154
 F. B. Hutchens 155, 733, 945, 1058, 1102, 1145, 1161

I

George Irwin 199
 Me-me-ta Irwin 194
 Samuel Irwin 160

J

Andrew Jackson 1456
 James Jewett 255, 468
 John Jewett 1697
 Ponca-se Jewett 254
 Andrew Johnson 1473
 Caroline Wolf Johnson 490, 1014
 Nils Johnson 943

K

Gustavus Keech 462
 James Keech 1715
 Julia Keech 509
 Me-hae-we Keech 478
 Patty Keech 461, 1004
 Tha-ta-da-we Keech 177
 William Keech 1727
 H. L. Keefe 88, 454
 Gustavius Keen 1001
 Edward Kemp 121, 696
 Fanny Kemp 1757
 Fred Kemp 306, 688
 Horace Kemp 1756
 Joseph Kemp 113
 John Kemp 117
 Mary Kemp 116
 Ma-zae-da Kemp 1468
 Me-ta-na Kemp 1658
 Sarah Kemp 571, 689
 Samuel Edward Kemp 1656
 Thomas Kemp 1763
 Washe-ah-ne Kemp 1462
 A. L. Krause 219, 633, 1424
 Celestine B. Kuhn 1227

L

Carey La Flesche 875, 957
 Frank La Flesche 1398

Joseph La Flesche 1403
 Lucy La Flesche 1035, 1066
 Mary La Flesche 859, 1071
 Noah La Flesche 1395
 Phoebe C. La Flesche 876
 Susan La Flesche 1404
 Alta Lamson 1477
 Amos Lamson 1486
 Grace Ann Lamson 1478
 Herbert R. Lamson 1312
 Zoe Lamson 1484
 Eileen Lawless 1216
 As-sa-hoo-ba Leaming 1495
 Ga-hez-zin-ga Leaming 1104, 1620
 Graff Leaming 1505
 Tae-hae Leaming 773
 Julia Leaming 886
 Little Kaw I. Leaming 1119
 Silas Leaming 114
 Wun-ga Leaming 1081
 Thu-ta-we Leaming 1173
 Hans Leudert 946
 Angeline Levering 346
 Baptiste Y. Levering 347
 Jackson Levering 1379
 Julia Levering 215
 Levi Levering 1369
 Louis Levering 1370
 Mary Jane Levering 344
 Milton Levering 1778
 Me-da-sha-ne Levering 184, 343
 Polly Levering 245
 Antoine Lewis 1353
 Frederick Lewis 1515
 Robert Lewis 1516
 Alice Lieb 1037
 Andrew Lieb 1036, 1180
 Arthur Lieb 1039, 1188
 George Lieb 1041, 1184
 John Lieb 1324
 Lizzie Lieb 93
 Mary Lieb 1182
 Mary Tyndall Lieb 1185
 Silas Lieb 1040, 1181
 Alice Lovejoy 766
 Amelia Lovejoy 1007
 Amos Lovejoy 1124
 Asa Lovejoy 1381
 Davis Lovejoy 303
 Elizabeth Lovejoy 302
 Emma Lovejoy 405
 Henry Lovejoy 1627
 In-sta-pae-da Lovejoy 924
 Louisa Lovejoy 1657
 Me-gthe-ta-in Lovejoy 1603
 Me-me-tae Lovejoy 925, 1629
 Noah Lovejoy 635, 668
 Paul Lovejoy 959, 1008
 Richard Lovejoy 1330
 Samuel Lovejoy 1759
 Susan Lovejoy 144, 1051
 Ah-sa-hoo-ba Lyon 1494
 Andrew Lyon 112, 270
 As-sa-hae-ba Lyon 213, 284
 Clema Lyon 536, 707
 Don Lyon 85, 1292
 Harriet Lyon 541

Harry Lyon 1388
 Horace Lyon 1768
 Joseph Lyon 611
 John Lyon 279, 534, 1436
 Laura Lyon 197
 Mary Lyon 110, 542, 1025
 Metain Lyon 75
 Me-tae-na Lyon 277
 Me-me-sho-ne Lyon 1428
 Nathan Lyon 1750
 Ne-da-we Lyon 555, 663
 Nicholas Lyon 1331
 Old Omaha Lyon 1501
 Oliver Lyon 592
 Oscar Lyon 1761
 Ponca-son Lyon 1217
 Thomas Lyon 263

M

Albert Martin 383, 750
 Charles Martin 1645
 Emily Martin 724
 George Martin 1592
 Maggie Martin 1541
 Minnie Martin 1542
 Ralph Martin 751
 Thomas J. Martin 953
 C. C. Maryott 54, 447, 1169, 1298, 1530, 1679
 Ah-hae-wae-te Matthews 420
 Henry Matthews 1664
 Joseph Matthews 74
 Me-ga-sho-ne Matthews 1540
 Me-ma-she-ha-the Matthews 421
 Peter Matthews 373
 Alfred McCauley 1640
 Albert McCauley 653
 Abbott McCauley 650
 Anna McCauley 1266
 Alice McCauley 1120
 Arthur McCauley 1099
 Clark McCauley 1723
 Columbus McCauley 1641
 De-sou-we McCauley 479, 1002
 Ella McCauley 1098
 Eva G. McCauley 985
 Harrison McCauley 329
 Heen-hae-ga McCauley 376, 382
 Jennie McCauley 183
 Jennette McCauley 1316
 Jeremiah McCauley 171
 John McCauley 1291
 Josephine McCauley 1315
 Julia McCauley 1372
 Mary Ann McCauley 1205
 Mau-ma-oo-ga McCauley 182
 Me-ma-she-ha-the McCauley 169
 Me-hu-sa McCauley 1158
 Me-hoo-sa McCauley 1256
 Silas McCauley 1165
 Ta-in-gra-hae McCauley 377
 Theodore McCauley 681
 Thomas McCauley 1762
 Wa-ta-ne McCauley 942
 L. A. Mercum 196
 Adeline Merrick 678
 Albert Merrick 227

Alfred Merrick 695
 Benjamin Merrick 1626
 Charles Merrick 242, 389
 Daniel Merrick 748
 Daniel B. Merrick 1134
 David Merrick 694
 Ernest Merrick 1253
 Frederick Merrick 1445, 1660
 Jane Merrick 239
 John Merrick 228
 Joseph Merrick 1457
 Mary Merrick 1434
 Me-gthe-to-in Merrick 558
 Me-tech-a Merrick 1659
 Me-um-ba-the Merrick 557
 Ollie Mary Merrick 1255
 Peter Merrick 243, 387
 Samuel Merrick 241
 Ta-sa-da-ba Merrick 273
 Ta-in-gra-ha Merrick 1754
 Uriah Merrick 1306
 Wa Merrick 722
 Garry P. Meyers 1261, 1265
 Alice Miller 767, 1499
 Caroline Miller 1204
 Edward Miller 211, 290, 983
 George Miller 1202
 John Miller 652
 John G. Miller 1203
 Mary Miller 651
 N. Alice Miller 736
 Thomas Miller 251
 Wallace Miller 210, 982
 Charles Milton 236
 Cleveland Milton 552
 Daniel Milton 1687
 Fanny Milton 551
 Henry Milton 1741
 James Milton 550
 Me-gre-ta-in Milton 545, 763
 Ponco-sa Milton 546
 Pomcosah Milton 232
 Wa-tan-na Milton 543
 Wae-ton-na Milton 762
 Ah-so-hu-boo Mitchell 501
 Amos Mitchell 753, 755
 Annie Mitchell 703, 758
 Arthur Mitchell 1576
 Bertram Mitchell 1496
 Charles Mitchell 51
 Dan-ma Mitchell 608
 Edward Mitchell 670, 702
 Edith Webster Mitchell 752
 Gladys Mitchell 1333
 Gtha-de-gthe Mitchell 495, 809
 Hae-bae Mitchell 1128
 Ha-ba-zha Mitchell 810
 Hoe-buc-ne-ha Mitchell 229
 Helen Mitchell 720
 Hiram Mitchell 721
 Ida Mitchell 301
 Jennie Mitchell 179
 Julia Jennie Mitchell 310
 Ke-tha-pa-he Mitchell 499
 Lucy Mitchell 754, 962, 1452
 Mabel Mitchell 757
 Mary Mitchell 1334

Mary T. L. Mitchell 918
 Me-gthe-toin Mitchell 234
 Me-mon-ne Mitchell 573
 Me-me-tae Mitchell 502
 Me-gra-da-we Mitchell 1672
 Me-ta-in Mitchell 759, 1126
 Musk-ha-the Mitchell 367
 Nancy Mitchell 1737
 Na-ka Mitchell 1125
 Nathan Mitchell 961
 Neal Mitchell 1056
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